

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL
CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN
October 4 to 14, Inclusive
1926



THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1926

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

THE AMERICAN
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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1927

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DELEGATES

TO THE

Forty-Sixth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated.....	1	104	Paul Dullzell, 45 West 47th Street, New York City.
Asbestos, Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators, and.....	1	25	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Benham Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, N. Y.
		72	A. A. Myrup, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	72	Jacob Goldstone, 1823 Holland Avenue Bronx, N. Y.
		72	Peter Beisel, 4100 South Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.
		103	James C. Shanessy, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
		103	Jacob Fischer, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	102	Roe H. Baker, 440 28th Street, San Francisco, Calif.
		102	H. C. Wenzel, 418 North Franklin Street, St. Paul, Minn.
		102	Leon Worthall, 129 Hammersmith Avenue, Toronto, Ont., Can.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	16	John Jilson, 607 Garrick Theatre Building, 64 West Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		25	W. G. Powlesland, 250 Beatrice St., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	3	49	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kans.
		48	Charles F. Scott, 125 W. Broadway, Mauch Chunk, Pa.
		48	John Dohney, 7915 South Sangamon St., Chicago, Ill.
		43	William Glockling, 307 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	43	Felix J. Belair, 308 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		43	Miss Anna Neary, 2509 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Md.
		74	Collis Lovely, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass.
		74	Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	5	74	Clara Katzor, 1626 McReynold St., Chicago, Ill.
		74	Israel Blume, P. O. Box 268, New Bedford, Mass.
		73	Michael E. McFarland, 946 Parker St., Roxbury, Boston, Mass.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	54	Joseph Obergfell, Box 28, Station E, Coryville, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		53	A. J. Kugler, 156 Grant Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.
		53	John Sullivan, 412 Bible House, New York City.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	117 117 117 117 116 116	John J. Corcoran, care A. E. Brokeller, 910 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill. George Jones, 510 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. John T. Bristoe, Mare Vista, Apt. 4, Ocean Drive, Miami Beach, Fla. William Lyons, 265 Washington Street, Newark, N. J. Daniel O. Collins, 15392 Petoskey Avenue, Detroit, Mich. James F. Cavanaugh, 65 3rd St., High- wood, Conn.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	2	25 25	Frank Kasten, Room 440, 327 South La Salle St., Chicago, Ill. William Tracy, Room 440, 327 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	4	48 48 48 47	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Mo. John O'Brien, Insurance Center Bldg., Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio. Edward Ryan, 179 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill. William Bowers, 1615 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Inter- national Union.....	1	6	Will R. Boyer, 853 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
Building Service Employees' Inter- national Union.....	2	31 31	William F. Quesse, Sixth Floor, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill. Paul David, 5427 West Adams St., Chicago, Ill.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	3	296 296 295	Martin F. Ryan, 503 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo. F. J. Cullum, 28 Milton Street, Strat- ford, Ont., Can. T. F. Hyland, 316 West 9th Street, Horton, Kans.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	400 400 400 400 400 399 399 399	Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Build- ing, Indianapolis, Ind. John T. Cosgrove, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind. Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Ind. J. Rex Anderson, P. O. Box 1313, Dallas, Tex. Wm. Crissman, Box 470, N. S. Pitts- burgh, Pa. Jas. E. Rickets, 4083 17th Street, San Francisco, Calif. Harry Lindeman, Grand and Cozen St., St. Louis, Mo. W. R. Bennett, 1621 4th Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	4	50 50 50 70	G. W. Perkins, Room 620, 508 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. I. M. Ornburn, Box 1728, New Haven, Conn. R. S. Sexton, Room 620, 508 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. W. A. Campbell, Room 620, 508 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. Thos. F. Flaherty, Room 306 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....	4	70 70 69	Theodore Lippold, 1480 27th St., Mil- waukee, Wis. William Radke, P. O. Clerk, Detroit, Michigan. Harry Meyers, 248 Wadsworth Avenue, New York City.
Clerks' International Protective Ass- ociation, Retail.....	2	50 50	John B. Schulte, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind. C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, La- fayette, Ind.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.....	3	29	Max Zuckerman, 1779 Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
		29	Percy Ginsburg, 3845 W. Congress St., Chicago, Ill.
		29	I. H. Goldberg, 1328 Grant Avenue, New York City.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	1	23	M. D. Hauser, 12200 Washburn Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	1	11	Forrest M. Krepps, 541 Minnesota Avenue, Kansas City, Kans.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	7	C. L. Rosemund, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	203	James P. Noonan, 501 Machinists' Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		203	Martin T. Joyce, 819 Lawyers' Bldg., 11 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
		203	Rose Sullivan, 1110 Tremont Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		203	Charles M. Paulsen, 4919 N. Guyler Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		203	R. L. O'Hara, 130 E. 16th St., New York City.
		203	Edw. J. Evans, Room 1505, 127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
		202	H. C. Lenehan, 11770 Washburn Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	32	Frank Feeney, 402 Perry Bldg., 16th and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
		32	James J. McAndrews, Room 1603 Capitol Bldg., 159 North State Street, Chicago, Ill.
		31	Walter Snow, 700 Wesley Avenue, Oak Park, Ill.
Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating.....	4	68	Arthur M. Huddell, 6334 Yale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
		68	Dave Evans, 6334 Yale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
		67	Chas. E. Haury, 6334 Yale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
		67	Jos. Fay, 18 Read Street, Newark, New Jersey.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	2	39	Matthew Wolf, Room 701, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		38	Fred R. Ballbach, 508 Morgan Bldg., Detroit, Mich.
		45	Luther C. Steward, 10 B Street S. W., Washington, D. C.
Federal Employes, National Federation of.....	4	45	Gertrude M. McNally, 10 B Street S. W., Washington, D. C.
		45	John Fitzgerald, 72 Adelphi Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
		44	Lee R. Whitney, 330 Federal Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	2	80	Fred W. Baer, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		80	Albert Higgins, 312 Ave. E North, Saskatoon, Sask., Canada.
		27	Timothy Healy, 110 East 23rd St., New York City.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	3	27	C. L. Shamp, 3611 North 24th Street, Omaha, Nebr.
		26	J. W. Morton, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		39	Oizer Shachtman, 1608 E. 4th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International.....	2	39	Hyman Sorkin, 1409 W. 9th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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Garment Workers of America, United....	5	95	T. A. Rickert, Room 506, 175 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		95	B. A. Larger, Room 621, Bible House, New York City.
		95	Frank Doyle, Room 210, 69 Canal St., Boston, Mass.
		95	A. Adamski, 547 Doat Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
		95	Mrs. Daisy A. Houck, Room 621, Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	6	134	Morris Sigman, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.
		134	Louis Pinkofsky, 231 East 14th St., Skirt Makers' Local 23, New York City.
		134	Basilio Desti, 231 East 14th St., care, Cloak Makers' Local 48, New York City.
		133	Abraham Snyder, 117 Second Avenue, New York City.
		133	Philip Oretsky, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	30	Isidore Nagler, care, Amalgamated Cutters' Union, 231 East 14th St., New York City.
		30	James Maloney, 1006 Colonial Trust Co. Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
Glass Cutters and Flatteners' Association of America, Window.....	1	30	Frank Lambaizer, 105 Sheldon Avenue, Lancaster, N. Y.
		3	Edgar H. Gillot, 1104 Standard Life Bldg., Fourth Ave. and Smithfield St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....	2	26	Wm. P. Clarke, American Bank Bldg., Cor. Jefferson Ave. and Huron St., Toledo, Ohio.
		26	C. A. C. Crosson, 1940 East Atlantic St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Glass Workers, Window, National.....	1	20	J. M. Siemer, 712 Park Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
		29	Sam Squibb, 25 School Street, Quincy, Mass.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	3	28	James Duncan, 25 Gilmore Street, Wollaston, Mass.
		28	James Garvey, 171 Mulberry St., Pawtucket, R. I.
		39	Michael F. Greene, 418 Bible House, New York City.
		38	William Harding, 100 First Street, Newark, N. J.
		38	Herman S. Finkelstein, 799 Broadway, New York City.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	111	J. V. Moersch, P. O. Box 183, Chicago, Ill.
		111	Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Calif.
		111	J. B. Etchison, 1233 Roosevelt Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
		111	Frank E. Garity, Labor Temple, Detroit, Mich.
		111	Samuel F. Luzzo, 800 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	6	110	Herbert Rivers, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
		15	Hubert S. Marshall, 1101 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen.....	1	15	

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Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance, and Bartenders' International League of America.....	5	78 77 77 77 77	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. Jere L. Sullivan, Room 610, 528-530 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio. Thomas S. Farrell, The Davis and Farley Co., Davis and Farley Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio. John J. McDevitt, 2908 Aramingo Avenue Philadelphia, Pa. Emanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association.....	1	100	M. F. Tighe, 510 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	4	40 40 40 40	John H. Bell, Lathers Bldg., 2605 Detroit Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. William J. McSorley, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. Charles J. Case, 917 Main St., Cincinnati, Ohio. George T. Moore, 2510 N. Harding Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Laundry Workers' International Union.....	1	55	Joseph Regnier, 274 High Street, Detroit, Mich.
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	5	80 80 80 80 80	Edw. J. Gainor, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. M. T. Finnan, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. Chas. D. Duffy, 834 Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Ill. L. E. Swartz, Stahlman Bldg., Nashville, Tenn. John T. Mugavin, Provident Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	27 27	Philip Bock, 499 Chestnut Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Robert Bruck, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	3	101 100 100	A. J. Chlopek, 744 Bramson Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y. W. B. Jones, 408 Hodges Bldg., Detroit, Mich. Joseph P. Ryan, 164 11th Avenue, New York City.
Machinists, International Association of.....	6	119 119 119 119 119 119	A. O. Wharton, Machinists' Bldg., Washington, D. C. Chas. W. Fry, 113 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Daniel Haggerty, 936 Capp St., San Francisco, Calif. Robert Fechner, Room 31, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass. Fred Hewitt, Machinists' Bldg., Washington, D. C. Chas. E. Wills, 6019 South Maplewood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of.....	4	73 73 73 72	Fred H. Fljozdal, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich. Elmer E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich. Leo E. Keller, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich. George H. Davis, Room 19, Cohen Bldg., 18 Pike Street, Covington, Ky.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, International Association of.....	2	21 21	Stephen C. Hogan, 406 East 149th St., New York City. Louis Rode, 406 East 149th St., New York City.

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Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	3	41	Dennis Lane, 160 North La Salle Street, Room 604, Chicago, Ill.
		41	M. J. Kelly, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		40	C. B. Ackerman, Henry Clay Hotel, Detroit, Mich.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet.....	4	63	John J. Hynes, 32 Long Avenue, Allston, Mass.
		63	Thomas Redding, 4941 West End Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		62	Richard Pattison, 162 East 23rd St., New York City.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....	3	62	James T. Moriarty, 9 Appleton St., Boston, Mass.
		27	Charles H. Moyer, 502 Mercantile Bldg., 15th and Arapahoe Sts., Denver, Colo.
		27	Edward Crough, Box 266, Mulberry, Fla.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	27	John McMullen, 514 South Montana St., Butte, Mont.
		500	John L. Lewis, 1102-09 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		500	Philip Murray, 408 Columbia Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	4	500	William Green, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		500	Frank Hughes, 807 Bellaire Ave., Brookline, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		500	Walter Nesbit, Springfield, Ill.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	6	500	Lee Hall, 75 Ruggery Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
		500	Thomas Kennedy, 1107 Merchants' Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		500	C. J. Golden, Shamokin, Pa.
Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	71	M. J. Keough, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		71	John P. Frey, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		71	Pierce F. Hayden, 2089 E. 55th St., Manhattan Apts., Suite 1, Cleveland, Ohio.
Papermakers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	71	J. W. Mara, 100 Portland St., Worcester, Mass.
		134	Joseph N. Weber, 1440 Broadway, New York City.
		134	Edward Canavan, care Local 802, A. F. of M., 958 Eighth Avenue, New York City.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	2	133	Chauncey A. Weaver, City Hall, Des Moines, Ia.
		133	David A. Carey, 170 Montrose Ave., Toronto, Can.
		133	Adolph Hirschberg, 1553 N. Natrona St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		133	John W. Parks, 2009 1/2 Main St., Dallas, Tex.
		186	George F. Hedrick, Painters and Decorators' Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
		186	Joseph Balhorn, Detroit, Mich.
		186	John J. Doyle, 54 Norwalk Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		186	John J. Riley, 106 Federal St., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		185	James P. Meehan, 54 Olive Ave., Lawrence, Mass.
		185	Christian M. Madsen, 1320 North Kedzie Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		23	W. R. Smith, 25 South Hawk St., Albany, N. Y.
		23	F. P. Barry, 948 Albany St., Schenectady, N. Y.
		35	James Wilson, Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		35	A. J. Berres, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

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Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	20	Edward I. Hannah, 336 E. 59th St., New York City.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....	1	24	Carl Bergstrom, Lock Box 130, Rockport, Mass.
		65	Edward J. McGivern, 17 Robbins Road, Arlington Heights, Mass.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	5	65	John Donlin, 3241 Lexington St., Chicago, Ill.
		64	Peter G. Cook, 122 Walnut St., Roselle, N. J.
		64	J. Aldridge, 906 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.
		64	Wm. A. O'Keefe, 4031 Scanlan Place, St. Louis, Mo.
		90	John Coefield, 1138 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	5	90	Thos. E. Burke, 1138 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
		90	John C. Imhoff, 604 East 221st St., New York, N. Y.
		90	Charles Anderson, 1901 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		90	William H. Fallon, 129 Bidwell Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Polishers, Metal, International Union....	2	30	W. W. Britton, 409 Neave Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		30	Ray Kelsay, 1308 Olney St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	1	78	George H. Carlidge, Broad Street Bank Bldg., Trenton, N. J.
Printers' and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	12	Thomas McQuade, 1130 Montello Ave., N. E., Washington, D. C.
		80	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	80	P. J. O'wonnell, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		80	Walter Wisdom, 18610 Carrie St., Detroit, Mich.
		80	Harry Bell, 1221 La Fayette Bldg., Detroit, Mich.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	2	80	Richard Johnston, 1221 La Fayette Bldg., Detroit, Mich.
		25	John P. Burke, P. O. Drawer V, Fort Edward, N. Y.
		25	Herbert W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Mass.
Quarry Workers, International Union of North America.....	1	30	Fred W. Suito, Scampini Bldg., Barre, Vt.
		202	Wm. B. Fitzgerald, 260 East High St., Detroit, Mich.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	5	202	P. J. Shea, 101 South Irving Ave., Scranton, Pa.
		202	William Quinlan, 328-338 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		202	P. J. McGrath, 510 Fourth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		202	John J. Bruce, 332-338 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		98	W. M. Collins, 506-508 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Railway Mail Association.....	2	97	H. W. Strickland, Rooms 506-508 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition.....	1	30	William W. Clark, 1519 North 16th Street, St. Louis, Mo.

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Seamen's Union of America, International.....	2	75	Andrew Furuseth, Room 410, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		75	Thomas Conway, 71 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad.....	3	27	D. W. Helt, 4750 North Kimball Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		27	T. A. Austin, 4750 North Kimball Ave., Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		26	D. C. Cone, 582 Sanford Ave., Newark, N. J.
Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	55	William F. Canavan, 1440 Broadway, New York City.
		55	Thomas Maloy, 500 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		55	Harry C. Griffin, 1315 Lafayette Bldg., Detroit, Mich.
		55	Patrick J. Ryan, 448 Clarke St., Montreal, Can.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	35	Winfield T. Keegan, 78 Lincoln St., Jersey City, N. J.
		34	Chas. A. Sumner, 3110 Olive St., Kansas City, Mo.
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	20	M. W. Mitchell, 324 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		28	James A. Short, 1245 Farwell Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	16	W. L. Funder Burk, 6466 Jefferson Avenue, East, Detroit, Mich.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	3	29	T. C. Cashen, 217 West North Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
		29	James B. Connors, 217 West North Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
		29	Thomas Clohessy, 217 West North Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	3	28	Thos. Sweeney, 6753 Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		28	Gust. Soderberg, 219 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
		27	C. N. Bolander, 6753 Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	1	35	Henry R. Linville, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.
		120	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		120	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	120	Michael Casey, 295 Sanchez St., San Francisco, Calif.
		120	Edward McCaffrey, 565 Hudson St., New York City.
		120	William A. Neer, 220 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		120	John M. Gillespie, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		70	E. J. Manion, 3673 West Pine Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		70	D. G. Ramsay, Suite 1125, Chicago Temple, Chicago, Ill.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	5	70	H. B. Perham, 1378 Montclair Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
		70	G. R. Smith, Trenton, Michigan.
		70	E. R. Derrickson, 1831 South Hamlin Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial.....	2	21	Roscoe H. Johnson, 113 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		21	Percy Thomas, care 113 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

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		75	Thomas F. McMahon, 603 Bible House, New York City.
		75	Sara A. Conboy, 603 Bible House, New York City.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	4	75	George Creech, 228 E. Allegheny St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		75	Arthur McDonnell, 152 West Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	14	E. Lewis Evans, 50-53 Our Home Life Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1	37	John J. Collins, 246 East 116th Street, New York City.
		123	James M. Lynch, Meridian at 28th, Indianapolis, Ind.
		122	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		122	Max S. Hayes, 2829 Coventry Road, Shaker Heights, Cleveland, Ohio.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	122	John C. Harding, 110 North Pine Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		122	T. W. McCullough, 2005 Manderson St., Omaha, Nebr.
		122	William Young, 1530 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	1	86	William Kohn, 230 East 58th St., New York City.
Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United.....	1	6	Chas. A. Alexander, 212 13th St., Hoboken, N. J.
Building Trades Department.....	1	1	William J. Tracy, 500-506 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	James O'Connell, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employees' Department.....	1	1	B. M. Jewell, Room 402, America Fore Bldg., 844 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	John J. Manning, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. J. Bailey, 622 East Tombigbee Street, Florence, Ala.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Don Witt, 633 58th St., Oakland, Calif.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. M. Atkins, 409 Ingleside Avenue, St. Petersburg, Fla.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. L. McBrayer, 112 Trinity Avenue, Atlanta, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John H. Walker, 728 Illinois Mine Workers' Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. N. Taylor, 2421 South 7th Street, Terre Haute, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. G. Lewis, 609½ Mulberry St., Des Moines, Ia.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Chas. G. Gorman, 934 East Jefferson St., Louisville, Ky.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert J. Perigoni, 2439 N. Johnson St., New Orleans, La.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Michael J. O'Donnell, 81 Canal St., Boston, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank Wade, 1374 Cleveland Avenue, Flint, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Geo. W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Pfeiffer, 608 Walsix Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Edwin H. Manson, 1306 Wilder Ave., Helena, Mont.
New Hampshire State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John L. Barry, 50 Conant St., Manchester, N. H.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John M. O'Hanlon, 25 South Hawk St., Albany, N. Y.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
North Carolina State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. P. Barringer, 721 South Jackson St., Salisbury, N. C.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Mrs. Kitty Donnelly, 320 Superior Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. D. Barry, 458 Stafford Ave., Erie, Pa.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, Box 270, San Juan, P. R.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Francis J. Gorman, 237 Lobon St., Providence, R. I.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Albert E. Hill, 1901 Hayes St., Nashville, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. J. Moran, care, Labor Advocate, El Paso, Tex.
Virginia State Federation of Labor....	1	1	James R. Stewart, 212 Dinwiddie St., Portsmouth, Va.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. L. Studdard, Room 216, I. O. O. F. Bldg., Fairmont, W. Va.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Henry Ohl, Jr., 516 Metropolitan Block, Third and State Streets, Milwaukee, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Harry W. Fox, P. O. Drawer 892, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades....	1	1	L. P. Marquardt, P. O. Box 2119, Atlanta, Ga.
Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Phillip Rohr, 29½ Pennsylvania Ave., Atlantic City, N. J.
Altoona, Pa., Blair County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles Kutz, 1228 Jefferson Ave., Altoona, Pa.
Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	H. H. Barnes, 305 Collinsville Ave., E. St. Louis, Ill.
Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jeremiah Ryan, 53 State St., Binghamton, N. Y.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council.....	1	1	J. C. Barrett, 6901 Georgia Road, Birmingham, Ala.
Brownville, Pa., United Trades Council.....	1	1	Steve Douglas, P. O. Box 644, California, Pa.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Pierce Quinlan, care, Herman Koster, 185 Hancock St., Cambridge, Mass.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John Mangan, 7700 Lowe Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Milton J. Doll, 217 West 12th St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor....	1	1	James F. Malley, 1355 Central Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties.....	1	1	Frank Hammer, 217 West 12th St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union....	1	1	John H. Riley, P. O. Box 68, Danbury, Conn.
Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor....	1	1	Frank X. Martel, Labor Temple, 274 High Street East, Detroit, Mich.
Erie, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Wm. P. McAndrew, 645 East 19th St., Erie, Pa.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	G. Mueller, P. O. Box 311, Flint, Mich.
Grand Rapids, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Wm. H. Wenger, care, H. A. Loomis, 6 Palmer St., Grand Rapids, Mich.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. A. O'Dell, 20 Rutherford Ave., Hamilton, Ont., Can.
Hammond, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Carl Mullen, 274 Sibley St., Hammond, Ind
Houston, Tex., Labor and Trades Council.....	1	1	George A. Wilson, 513 San Jacinto Street, Houston, Tex.
Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Edward S. Alden, Maple Street, Holyoke, Mass.
Jackson, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James G. Hanley, Jackson, Mich.
Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Tony Augustino, Joliet, Ill.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	John H. Murphy, 7925 Bishop St., Chicago, Ill.
La Crosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Herman Burchardt, Labor Temple, La Crosse, Wis.
Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William Campbell, 157 Sherwood Avenue, Rochester, N. Y.
Lansing, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	H. E. Chamberlain, c/o 620 East Dowland Ave., Lansing, Mich.
Logansport, Ind., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Richard Woodling, c/o 206½ East Fifth Street, Logansport, Ind.
London, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John Colbert, Arcade Bldg., 227 Dundas St., London, Ont., Can.
Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. W. Buzzell, Labor Temple, 538 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John H. Murphy, Box 43, Lynn, Mass.
Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Fred McClain, 530 West Johnson St., Madison, Wis.
Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	R. L. Harris, 922 N. W., 39th St., Miami, Fla.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Frank J. Weber, 483 40th St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Minneapolis, Minn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Arthur E. Evans, 601 4th Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Moberly, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	D. A. Frampton, care, Geo. Heppel, U. M. W. of A., Moberly, Mo.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council.....	1	1	William Umstadter, 708 South 14th St., Newark, N. J.
New Kensington, Pa., Allegheny Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	P. T. Fagan, 407 Columbia Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York.....	1	1	Joseph J. McCrann, Fourth Floor, 287 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Olympia, Wash., Trades Council.....	1	1	T. P. Hollcraft, 314 East Sixth Ave., Olympia, Wash.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, 172 McLaren St., Ottawa, Ont., Can.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, and vicinity.....	1	1	Joseph M. Richie, Heed Bldg., 1211 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburg, Kansas., United Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	R. M. Coffelt, 420½ North Broadway, Pittsburg, Kans.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William J. Kelly, 245 Fourth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Portsmouth, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Louis C. Herder, 616 Sixth St., Portsmouth, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	A. P. Bower, 105 North 6th St., Reading, Pa.
Reno, Nev., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Lee Tarbett, 203 Vine St., Reno, Nev.
Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Art. C. Johnson, 114 South Wyman St. Rockford, Ill.
Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	J. L. R. Marsh, Box 2, Labor Temple, Sacramento, Calif.
Saginaw, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John Murray, 1503 Lyon St., Saginaw, Mich.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	William Brandt, 3248 Texas Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Salem, Oreg., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	L. A. Elwell, 1940 State Street, Salem, Oreg.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council.....	1	1	T. A. Reardon, Labor Temple, San Francisco, Calif.
Sarasota, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	B. J. McCauley, Sarasota, Fla.
Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	R. L. Eckhardt, 820 Helen St., Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lawrence F. Hart, 521 Lackawanna Ave., Scranton, Pa.
Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	C. O. Carvell, 1720 Madison Ave., Shreveport, La.
South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mrs. Mary Garner, 721 North Hill St., South Bend, Ind.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 223½ South Sixth St., Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	R. T. Wood, Route 5, Box 255, Springfield, Mo.
Tiffin, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. H. Trimmer, 36 Hudson St., Tiffin, Ohio.
Topeka, Kans., Industrial Council.....	1	1	C. V. Hope, 823 Kansas Ave., Topeka, Kans.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council.....	1	1	William P. Covert, 257 Brock Ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Uniontown, Pa., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Samuel Seehaffer, 21 Maple St., Uniontown, Pa.
Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James Wm. Fitzpatrick, 13 Wall Street, Waterbury, Conn.
Wichita, Kans., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	W. F. Keeny, Wichita, Kansas.
Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Robert M. Williams, 127 South Main St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John C. Saylor, 415 Shipley St., Wilmington, Del.
Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor of Westchester County.....	1	1	William J. McGeary, 56 Oak St., Yonkers, N. Y.
Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress.....	1	1	E. J. Tinney, 308 Custor Ave., Youngstown, Ohio.
Zanesville, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Bender, 208 Richards Bldg., Zanesville, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City.....	1	4	Ernest Bohm, 3 West 16th St., New York City.
City and County Public Service Employees' Local No. 17848, Detroit, Michigan.....	1	1	Joseph Basso, 4045 Tuxedo Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers Union No. 17742, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Ben. A. Albert, 934 Winona Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Cleaners' and Dyers' Union (Retail) No. 17782, Chicago, Ill.....	1	5	Samuel Ruben, 629 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Cleaners', Dyers' and Pressers' Union No. 17834, Detroit, Mich.....	1	3	Jack Ellstein, 8660 Wilson Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Cleaners', Dyers' and Pressers' Union No. 17837 (Retail).....	1	5	Sam Polakoff, Labor Temple, 274 East High St., Detroit, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 17873, New York City.....	1	9	A. I. Shiplacoff, 177 Fountain Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	Willie Shaw, 2252 East 86th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Freight Handlers' and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.....	1	1	Ben F. Oglesby, 616 Garfield Ave., Kansas City, Kans.
Freight Handlers' Local No. 17775, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	Albert C. Campbell,
Newspapers Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Michael J. Flynn, Box 1646, Boston, Mass.
Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Melville C. Purves, 5335 South Mozart St., Chicago, Ill.
Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.....	1	2	Edward J. Tracy, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Local No. 16812, Detroit, Mich.....	1	1	John J. Scannell, 1586 Dickerson Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Theatre Employees' Union No. 15330, Schenectady, N. Y.....	1	1	W. L. Darrington, Box 797, Schenectady, N. Y.
Tire Repairers' and Rubber Workers' Union No. 17725, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	M. J. Powers, 14 North Sacramento Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Tire Repairers', Vulcanizers' and Rubber Workers' Union No. 17825, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1	1	Edw. Ryan, 501 Thomas Ave., Wauwatosa Wis.
Tuck Pointers' and Front Cleaners' Union No. 13046, Chicago, Ill.....	1	2	Thos. Portway, 5941 S. Sawyer Ave., Chicago, Ill.
United Neckwear Makers' Union No. 11016, New York City.....	1	6	Louis Fuchs, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	J. Bromley, M. P., 9, Arkwright Road, Hamstead, N. W., 3, London, England.
		1	G. Hicks, "The Builders," Crescent Grove, Clapham Common, London, S. W. 4, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress....	1	1	Richard Lynch, 4065 Strandre Street, Montreal, Quebec, Can.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Mexican Federation of Labor.....	3	1	Ricardo Trevino, Allende 24, Mexico City, Mexico.
		1	Jose F. Guiterrez, Allende 24, Mexico City, Mexico.
		1	Salustio Hernandez, Allende 24, Mexico City, Mexico.
Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary....	1	1	Anna Fitzgerald, 5436 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....	1	1	Rose Schneiderman, 247 Lexington Ave., New York City.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
92	National and International.....	277	27,312
4	Departments.....	4	4
29	State Bodies.....	29	29
72	Central Labor Unions.....	72	72
19	Trade and Federal Unions.....	19	47
5	Fraternal Organizations.....	8	6
221		409	27,470

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers. 1911 James Duncan. 1913 George W. Perkins.
*1915. *1917.

To British Trades Union Congress

1895 Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire. J. W. Sullivan.	1906 Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	1917 John Golden. James Lord.
1896 Adolph Strasser. Martin Fox.	1907 John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky.	1918 J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.
1897 Geo. E. McNeill. James Duncan.	1908 Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1919 Wm. L. Hutcheson. John J. Hynes.
1898 Harry Lloyd. James O'Connell.	1909 John P. Frey. B. A. Larger.	1920 Timothy Healy. Mrs. Sarah Conboy.
1899 Thomas F. Tracy J. M. Hunter.	1910 W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1921 Wm. J. Spencer. James J. Forrester.
1900 Sidney J. Kent. Daniel J. Keefe.	1911 Wm. B. Macfarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1922 Benjamin Schlesinger. E. J. McGivern.
1901 Eugene F. O'Rourke. Patrick Dolan.	1912 George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1923 Peter Shaughnessy. Anthony J. Chlopek.
1902 Henry Blackmore. Max S. Hayes.	1913 Chas. L. Balne. Louis Kemper.	1924 Peter J. Brady. Edward J. Gainer.
1903 Martin Lawlor. W. D. Ryan.	*1914 Matthew Woll. W. D. Mahon.	1925 A. Adamski. Edw. J. Evans.
1904 D. D. Driscoll. John A. Moffitt.	***1915 W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1926 †Frank Farrington. Wm. L. Hutcheson
1905 James Wood.	1916 W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	

From British Trades Union Congress.

1894 John Burns. David Holmes.	1905 William Mosses. David Gilmour.	1916 H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.
1895 Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.	1906 Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.	1917 John Hill. Arthur Hayday.
1896 Sam Woods. John Mallinson.	1907 David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.	***1918 F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield
1897 Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.	1908 John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.	1919 Miss Margaret Bondfield J. W. Ogden.
1898 William Inskip. William Thorne.	1909 A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.	1920 J. Jones. J. H. Thomas.
1899 James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	1910 W. Brace. Ben. Turner.	1921 James Walker. E. L. Poulton.
1900 John Weir. Pete Curran.	1911 G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.	1922 H. Smith. R. B. Walker.
1901 Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett.	1912 J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.	1923 W. C. Robinson. C. F. Cramp.
1902 M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.	1913 I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.	1924 A. B. Swales. Ben Smith.
1903 William Mullin. James O'Grady.	**1914 C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.	1925 A. A. Purcell. J. Bromley.
1904 William Abraham. James Wignall.	1915	1926 G. Hicks.

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd. James H. Sullivan.	1908 Hugh Frayne. Jerome Jones.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward. Sam Griggs.
1900 W. D. Mahon. John R. O'Brien.	1910 John J. Manning. Wm. J. Tracy.	1920 W. G. Shea. John O'Hara.
1901 John R. O'Brien. D. D. Driscoll.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy. John T. Smith.	1921 John O'Hara. William E. Hulsbeck.
1902 D. D. Driscoll. John Coleman.	1912 John T. Smith. Wm. J. McSorley.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck. Walter N. Reddick.
1903 John Coleman. John H. Richards.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley. M. M. Donoghue.	1923 Walter N. Reddick. Walter W. Britton.
1904 John H. Richards. Frank Feeney.	1914 M. M. Donoghue. H. J. Conway.	1924 Walter W. Britton. James Duncan.
1905 Frank Feeney. Thomas A. Rickert.	1915 H. J. Conway. Harry P. Corcoran.	1925 James Duncan. James B. Connors.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert. Robert S. Maloney.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran. Emanuel Koveleski.	1926 James B. Connors.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898 David A. Carey. David A. Carey.	1908 P. M. Draper. F. Bancroft.	1917 Wm. Lodge. Thos. Moore.
1899 David A. Carey. David A. Carey.	1909 F. Bancroft. R. P. Pettipiece.	1918 Thos. Moore. J. M. F. Bush.
1900 David A. Carey. P. M. Draper.	1910 R. P. Pettipiece. Wm. Glockling.	1919 J. M. F. Bush. J. A. McClellan.
1901 P. M. Draper. John H. Kennedy.	1911 Wm. Glockling. John W. Bruce.	1920 J. A. McClellan. U. M. F. Bush.
1902 John H. Kennedy. James Simpson.	1912 John W. Bruce. Gus Frang.	1921 U. M. F. Bush. Ernest Robinson.
1903 James Simpson. John A. Flett.	1913 Gus Frang. R. A. Rigg.	1922 Ernest Robinson. James A. Sullivan.
1904 John A. Flett. William V. Todd.	1914 R. A. Rigg. Fred Bancroft.	1923 James A. Sullivan. John Colbert.
1905 William V. Todd. Samuel I. Landers.	1915 Fred Bancroft. Thomas A. Stevenson.	1924 John Colbert. Donald Dear.
1906 Samuel I. Landers. W. R. Trotter.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1925 Donald Dear. Richard Lynch.
1907 W. R. Trotter.		1926 Richard Lynch.

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 Jose W. Kelly. Roberto Haberman.	1925 Canuto A. Vargas. Roberto Haberman.	1926 Ricardo Trevino. Jose F. Gutierrez. Salustrio Hernandez.
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*No convention.

**No delegates.

***Delegates did not attend.

†Did not attend.

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-21.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Michigan.	October 4-14.

Forty-Sixth Annual Convention OF THE American Federation of Labor 1926

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day—Monday Morning Session

Detroit, Michigan,
October 4, 1926.

The forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor met, pursuant to law, at 10 o'clock a. m. in Graystone Hall, Mr. William B. Fitzgerald, First Vice-President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, temporarily presiding.

Previous to the opening of the convention a musical program was given by the Louisville Loons Orchestra, and as President Green came to the platform the orchestra played "The Star Spangled Banner."

The Rev. R. W. Woodrofe, Rector of the St. John's Episcopal Church, representing Bishop Herman Page, of the Episcopal Diocese of Detroit, delivered an invocation, as follows:

Oh, Almighty and eternal Father, we come into Thy presence and ask Thy blessing upon this convention of the American Federation of Labor. Do Thou protect its deliberations and grant to its leadership a right judgment in all things; and oh God, do Thou grant that the interests of the many may be served. We rejoice to think that the Master of men Himself worked with His own hands and knew something of the joy

of honest work. Help us to follow His example and to live by that rule which He enunciated for all time, to do unto others as you would have others do unto you.

And, oh God, do Thou grant that in every effort that is put forth for the betterment of the conditions of labor, that prudence may assert itself; may they not be used for the satisfying of evil passions, but for the building of fairer homes and the upbuilding of a stronger manhood.

Do Thou bless the countries that are represented here today. May there be a great sense of brotherhood that will cover the earth as the waters cover the seas; may there be a recognition of the great fatherhood, and grant, oh God, that we may live with each other as fellow men. May we do the work for the work's sake, and not with a primary sense of reward. May the ideals of this great commonwealth ever be held high, may we realize those fundamental principles that were written into our Declaration of Independence. May justice be done by all; may equal opportunity be afforded to each one to realize the very best possible that is within himself.

And, oh God, do Thou grant that we

may love our country and our country's flag and stand for those great ideals for which this country has ever stood. Help us to realize that we have common interests, those who employ and those who are employed, and may we stand for the very best in human life and human character. Grant that we may see the day when children may not be employed in industry and men everywhere may have the just rewards of their toil. God grant that we may see the day when there shall be a great brotherhood that will stand for the very best there is in human life. We ask it of Thee, oh God, in the name of Him who taught us to pray: Our Father, Who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

Chairman Fitzgerald: We are also honored in having with us this morning a representative of the Right Rev. Bishop Gallagher, of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Detroit, in the person of the Right Rev. M. J. Grupa, Director of the Seminary, Orchard Lake, Michigan.

The Right Rev. Grupa spoke as follows:

"A brother that is helped by his brother is like a strong city." (Prov. 18:19). This message that God sends to you through His Holy Scripture you have realized in your work and in your association. His blessing is upon those who are not mere hearers, but doers of His divine word. Your strength is in the union of many, actuated by the desire of helping one another, in the brotherly bond of many hands united in the welfare of labor.

It is meet that you approach the work of your convention with your souls raised to God, the source of all wisdom, because the problems that confront you clamor insistently for solution. May you realize that labor holds today in its hands the keys to the peace and prosperity of the nation and of the world. You may indeed, more than any other organized body, be reminded that you approach with caution and trembling, for the ground upon which you tread is the sacred ground of the safety and welfare of both bodies and souls of fellow men.

Labor today is the great temporal force behind authority, behind thrones,

and presidential chairs and cabinets, and more—it is the basis of the happiness of the home and the keystone of the structure of industry. Your convention's sacred business is to prepare medicinal measures to heal disorders in times of crises. May the Holy Ghost grant you wisdom to see ahead, that you may now make ready such measures as will prevent further troubles, rather than to suffer your great organization to have itself put to the task of curing when the hand trembles and the heart throbs under the pressure of a present industrial problem. Peaceful times are seasons for fruitful thought; permanent gains and lasting victories must come to labor from cool thought and profound study. For such study you have gathered.

May God grant you a vivid realization of the great power of love. Charity must warm your heart and kindle your thoughts into action. You must be held together by that charity which prompts you to love your neighbor as yourself, and not alone by those cogent reasons which demonstrate the advantage of strength in numbers, united for one and the same purpose. Reason may unite and bring together, but charity will weld the members of your body into an organization that will feel, think and judge as one enlightened mind on the compelling purpose of your Federation.

May God inspire you with a keen sense of justice, that you may see what is the just share of material welfare that belongs rightfully to the calloused hand that turns the wheels of industry. The laborer has an inalienable right to a just proportion of returns from his labor, and these returns must be measured not merely by bread and shelter for himself and those who depend upon him, but they must secure for him his share of participation in the culture and in the religious care which is due to him. "For what doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his soul." (Matt. 16:26.)

He will not be able to profit from the gains of civilization unless he is provided with rest, so that the tired body may recoup sufficiently to obey the promptings of a will aspiring for higher things than mere matter.

Justice demands further that you strive ceaselessly for the betterment of the conditions of labor. Human life and human dignity are sacred things, and their custodian is the Almighty God, whose blessings we implore. The in-

dustrial machine in all its complicated ramifications must be made as safe for labor as it is humanly possible.

And finally, may God grant that the world generally realize that both the success of industry and its problems have their roots in the common soil of relations between employer and employee. The eyes of the world are upon America. Its prosperity is unrivalled, it is today the envy and the admired marvel of the world. The American Federation of Labor is a large part of that prosperity. You have, then, onerous duties to fulfill and a multitude of hearts to satisfy. God bless your sincere endeavors and prosper your labors in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

**ADDRESS BY MR. WILLIAM B.
FITZGERALD**

(First Vice-President Amalgamated
Association of Street and Electric
Railway Employees.)

Ladies and gentlemen, friends and delegates of the forty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor: The duty and honor which has been given me this morning, though it has been termed "substitute," if there be such a position in our American labor movement, is a mission which I shall record in my memory as one of the happiest moments that has come to me during my connection and work with our American labor movement. This privilege has come to me unexpectedly and due, I regret sincerely to state, to the unavoidable absence of our honorary chairman, Brother William D. Mahon, whom I feel sure you would all be glad to see and hear on this occasion.

It seems to me needless to say that those of us who live in Detroit are pleased that you are here and happy that your decision at Atlantic City was that you come to Detroit for this forty-sixth convention. In our desire and hope that Detroit would be chosen, it was not only with the thought in mind of the pleasure of your company and the holding of the convention, the thought uppermost in our minds was, first, the great value it would be if the convention should meet in Detroit and the good results that would obtain to our movement in this great, progressive and growing city of industry.

Secondly, while it is true that many representatives in our movement are more or less acquainted with the growing industrial conditions of our city,

particularly as they apply to the workers in the several industries, we are convinced that those who have not had that opportunity in the past can, in their short stay, view it to a great advantage and familiarize themselves to a degree with the conditions prevailing, conditions which we are of the opinion represent one of the most important industrial developments that is confronting the American labor movement today.

In Detroit there are about four thousand industrial plants, each and every one playing its part in supplying important needs to the human family, while others are supplying that which has grown to be recognized as a part of the life, not alone of the city, but of the whole world. With all of these I venture to say there is no place we can point out where the genius of man in the form of machines has dominated the worker more than in these progressive and growing industries.

If we agree to this conclusion we must likewise agree that our problems are great and difficult, and while at times there has been disappointment to those in immediate charge of our movement in Detroit, yet I would be remiss in my duty and honesty if I failed at this time to say that, with all the obstacles and antagonism they have been confronted with, they are doing splendid work and in an able manner—yes, at times I wonder how so much can be done by them under the circumstances.

In all of its efforts it cannot be said that our American Federation has been neglectful of its duty. In September, 1925, we were honored, and, I may say, materially helped by the personal visit of President Green and by his personal advice and public addresses, which have aided us beyond anything that words can express. We have had the additional help of the representative of the American Federation of Labor, who has worked hard and faithfully, with the result that our situation is better than before he came among us. I wish it to be understood that what I have said regarding help and assistance rendered applies to the several international organizations and their representatives who have from time to time visited our city and who have shared, with earnest effort, in the work of building up a sound and constructive labor movement in Detroit.

There is much more to be done, and much more that can be accomplished, in

my opinion. It is our hope that by your personal contact and observation of the labor problems of Detroit, you will render helpfulness, not alone to labor of Detroit, but to the workers generally.

The labor movement of Detroit and vicinity, yes, in the state of Michigan and across the imaginary boundary line, welcomes you. We are honored to have you with us, and I, as a representative of labor and of the citizens of this growing and progressive city, welcome you. See our city—we are proud of it; see its industries, not alone in the city of Detroit, but in the neighboring cities; discuss our problems of labor.

May you accomplish great things in the interests of the worker and may you bring future progress and success to our movement, for after all, this great American Federation of Labor typifies the highest ideals of American democracy and patriotism, untainted by alliance with any organization in the entire world whose object may be to overthrow an orderly government by disorderly methods.

I have tried to be as brief as possible, having in mind that I may ask the indulgence of the delegates of this convention during the sessions of the convention, and I have no intent of abusing that anticipated request for your patience.

With the further thought in mind of the adage of the old Belgian wheel maker, "the longer the spoke the greater the tire," it now gives me great pleasure to hand to our temporary chairman this gavel of authority—the chairman of the Committee on Arrangements for this convention, President and Business Agent of the Detroit Federation of Labor, Mr. Frank X. Martel.

ADDRESS BY MR. FRANK X. MARTEL

President Green, guests, ladies and gentlemen of the forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor: I want to say that it indeed gives me pleasure to welcome you to the city of Detroit in the name of the Detroit Federation of Labor. We hope that your stay in our city will be a happy one and that it may be fruitful of legislation that will not only strengthen the movement in the city of Detroit, but in all the United States and Canada.

While you are in our city you will possibly hear the complaint and howl from those who oppose the labor movement, and I want to assure you, my

friends, that when these things reach your ears you are not to interpret them as being the expression of the people of the city of Detroit, but rather as the expression of that minority that is obsessed with the idea that the labor movement can be broken up. While it is true that the labor movement in Detroit is not as strong numerically as it might be, in comparison with other cities, I want to assure you, my friends, that those organizations that are here have been holding the fort, carrying on the work of the organization, strengthening the condition and the position of the trade union movement in this community, with the hope that some day the American Federation of Labor and its various international unions would realize the possibility of the splendid work that could be done in this city.

We invited you to Detroit with this as one of the main purposes in mind—that you yourselves might have an opportunity of seeing our city and seeing the conditions under which some of our workers are employed, and of seeing the opportunity of organization and of doing for the workers of this country by bettering the conditions of the industrial workers of this community.

Just recently one of the industrial princes of our city, Henry Ford, announced the five-day work week in his factory. The press gave him the credit of being the pioneer in the five-day work week. You men know that the trade union movement has instituted the five-day work week in many localities in several of the trades of this country already. We want to welcome Henry Ford's conversion to the five-day work week, because we believe it will add a little more momentum to the movement that will ultimately make it possible for the workers of this country to enjoy two holidays a week instead of one.

I want to say that we have arranged a program of entertainment for you. It is not very elaborate, but possibly the best we could do under the circumstances, and we want to ask all of you to avail yourselves of the entertainment that the committee has provided.

At this time I want to call upon the chief executive of our city to welcome you in the name of the people of the city of Detroit, and I want you to know that he is a man who understands the labor movement, that he is of the labor movement, having been a business agent in our city at one time, and I am sure that he will have words of encouragement

and welcome for you. I take pleasure in introducing Honorable John W. Smith, mayor of the city of Detroit.

**ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN SMITH
Mayor of Detroit**

Mr. President, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen of the convention: A very pleasing privilege do I esteem it indeed to be permitted, as the chief executive of this great city, to express the warm welcome of all the people of Detroit to the forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. As your temporary chairman has told you, before I went to the bad I was connected with the labor movement; in fact, for a good many years I was not only a member of a trade union but I organized a union in Detroit and was its first president. And when the chairman said I was a business agent I appreciated the compliment, but I didn't get any salary as business agent. And then more recently I have been honored by having been made a member—and I am still in good standing—of the Letter Carriers' Association of the United States. And if you don't believe it, you can ask my friend, Ed Gainor.

This business of welcoming conventions to the city borders on the routine. During the past year I have welcomed and entertained conventions of many kinds. Conventions of scientists and social workers and captains of industry have assembled here and discussed their problems, but none of them, in my judgment, has contributed as much to the sum total of human happiness as this splendid organization which meets here today.

I believe you could quite properly take the prayers of the two clergymen as the resolutions of this convention and no one could find fault with them. I am for this five-day movement, and I hope the labor movement of the city of Detroit in the future will leave me alone so that I can get one holiday a week. The Detroit Federation of Labor in both my elections supported me, and I am sure you won't feel I am egotistic when I tell you I believe they did the right thing.

We have just recently had a little quarrel in the city of Detroit, and for the first time I found myself enjoined so frequently that I didn't know whether I could go to bed or not. We had to fight and we went to the great umpire, the people of the city, and again the gods of war were with me and the people, but we have forgotten all about

that and we are going to try to work together again.

What I want to say to you men and women is this: that we are very happy and very proud to have you in the city of Detroit. We want you to take off your coats and feel that you are in the house of your best friend. You are welcome to every place in the city of Detroit except the police station, and if any of you get there I will come over personally and apologize and take you out.

It is customary for me to say to any convention that we hope your deliberations will be fruitful, and I mean it in this convention. There is much you can do here. As said by the previous speaker, this is the wonder city of the world, and there is a great deal to be done here. We have some of the finest employers in the world in our city and we have some of the toughest, and we hope you will be able to soften them up a little bit. If there is anything the city administration can do to help you, please call upon us.

**ADDRESS BY MR. FRANK WADE
President Michigan State Federation
of Labor**

Mr. President, officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor—to me it is a privilege and a pleasure to add a few words of welcome to those which have already been extended to you, on behalf of the Michigan State Federation of Labor. As the other speakers have said, the labor movement of the State of Michigan is proud to have you here. We are proud of the work we are doing and proud of the fact that we are co-operating with you in the state of Michigan in this great work. We needed this convention in the state of Michigan on account of the influence that would emanate from it, which would help us in the many problems confronting us in this state.

Perhaps many of you read an editorial in the Detroit Free Press this morning telling you you were welcome to the city and what a wonderful organization you were, but advising you not to attempt to interfere with the wonderful open shop conditions in the city of Detroit. They told you what a wonderful city we have and how the wonderful conditions had been brought about by the open shop movement in Detroit. Detroit is a wonderful city, but, ladies and gentlemen, what a wonderful place it would be if the working men and

women of the state of Michigan were working under the mantle of the trade union movement of this state. The city of Detroit, fellow delegates, is a wonderful city, not because of the open shop movement, but in spite of it. We in the labor movement in the state of Michigan are pleased with the statement made by Secretary Morrison a few days ago that the labor movement was in the best condition in the history of its existence.

We in Michigan are receiving some of that widespread wave of organization and education, a revival of the morale of the labor movement, and the militant spirit which is going to carry us on into organization work.

During the last year in the state of Michigan we have built up our organization, and we have the entire movement of the state working today. I want to say to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that much of the good work we have been able to do here is due to the fact that they put at our disposal the services of William Collins, who has done a great deal for us.

In closing I want to reiterate my previous statement that we are mighty glad you are here, and we feel certain that your deliberations at this convention will be a milestone on the road of progress for the labor movement of America and of the world.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN.

(Response to Address of Welcome).

President Green: President Martel, representatives of the Church, His Honor the Mayor of the City, and the representatives of the Michigan State Federation of Labor, Fellow Delegates and Friends—

It indeed is a very great pleasure to respond in my official capacity to the cordial addresses of welcome that have been extended to the representatives of the American Federation of Labor this morning. I am sure that none of us failed to appreciate the warmth of the welcome extended us, and I know that we will feel from now on until the end of the convention that we are among sympathetic friends in this great city, and we can look forward with pleasant anticipations to our brief stay here.

This is indeed a great city, a great manufacturing center, a beehive of industry, and as I look at this great

city, with its broad streets, its towering buildings, its beautiful homes, I am reminded, that, after all, it is the great hosts of labor that, through their skill and genius and their service, builded and erected this great city. If the busy life of this community, if the manufacturing plants established here, if the homes that have been built and the buildings that have been erected, depended absolutely and wholly upon the capital that men possessed, it would still remain a broad expanse of prairie; but with money used and the magic hand of labor applied, we have seen a city erected here that challenges the admiration of the world, a city of which we are proud and which we are delighted to honor.

I am reminded just now that there has come to us through devious ways the information that there are some minority groups of this city who seemed somewhat alarmed because of our presence here. Perhaps they still entertain the idea that the representatives of labor are those vicious backwoodsmen who know little about cultured life, but as a refutation of that impression, I invite them here; I invite them to come among us during the deliberations of this convention, sit with us, look and listen, and when they depart I will leave it to their judgment and to their conscience as to whether or not the representative men and women of labor assembled here in this city do not compare favorably with any other group in society.

I am reminded further that there is some apprehension in the minds of some who assume to speak for these minority groups lest we might disturb the tranquility and economic peace that prevails in this city. That would imply that there is tranquility, peace and satisfaction among the working people of this city. Well, I wonder if that is true? If that assertion is correct, then I ask in all fairness why did these people who are so peaceful and subdued elect a trade unionist as the chief executive of this city? As an answer to the assertion that peace and tranquility prevail in this city, I would submit in evidence, as exhibit number one, the Honorable John Smith, Mayor of the City of Detroit.

But, my friends, I am sure that much of this apprehension expressed is due to a lack of understanding of the mo-

tives, the principles and the policies of our great American labor movement. We come into every community as a constructive force, an organization that attempts to establish in every community a full and free exercise of all the rights of men. We hold that men must be free, and anyone who is not economically free is not free indeed, and it is our purpose to make men politically free, religiously free and economically free, and we propose, with all the diligence at our command, with all the force of our economic movement to carry on our work among the working people of America in every city and in every state of the union—the work of freedom, of liberty, until every man may exercise his own judgment in deciding as to whether or not he will identify himself with the labor movement.

I think I can with profit to us all direct our attention to some of the things with which we are called to contend, some of the difficult situations that face us. We know from our history, from the experience of the labor movement, that our whole pathway, the road over which we have traveled, is marked with conflict and struggle and sacrifice. Our labor movement did not reach the proud position it occupies today without struggle and without sacrifice. Men gave their all for this movement and as men gave their all for it in the past, we have millions of volunteers now who are just as willing to give their all for it today.

Now, a movement that is inspired by such sentiments, by such loyalty and devotion to principles, should be accepted by all thinking citizens as a fixture in our institutional and economic life. The labor movement is here, it will ever remain; its destruction is inconceivable; it has proved by conflict and contest its right to be recognized as a part of the institutional life of our great land. But we have been met with open opposition and subtle opposition. We welcome; we are ready to meet it, because we are standing fairly and squarely upon sound principles; our cause is just; we believe in it; it must ultimately and eventually appeal to the heart and conscience of every honest, upright, upstanding American citizen.

It is unnecessary, fellow delegates, for me in this brief reference to sum up

our experiences to refer to the open struggles in which those whom you represent have been engaged. They are fresh in your minds. Some of you are here today deeply concerned about struggles which are going on now among your constituents. We know about these things, and therefore, it will not be to my purpose to review in detail these open struggles in which we have been, and in some of which we are now engaged. But I want to refer to a subtle influence that is attracting the attention of the working people of our country. I refer to this movement among manufacturers who sensed the instinct of the workers for organization and who attempted to satisfy that instinct by conferring upon them a ready-made organization fashioned upon their own notions and subject to their own control.

I refer to this organization of company unions, shop representation plans, these organizations which were conceived and developed by the so-called industrial experts. I think I can say that it is in our country where this experiment is being tried upon a large scale. We know about it, we meet it, we must contend with it, consequently it deserves some consideration at our hands. I think the employers who favor this kind of opposition—and I classify it as that—to the bona fide, democratically controlled organized labor movement of our land learned some time ago that it was impossible to prevent the workers from identifying themselves with the bona fide organized labor movement.

We are living in an age of organization, when the instinct and the urge to organize is strong and impelling, when men realize, and women as well, that it is impossible to stand aloof as individuals, either socially, politically, or economically. These employers, sensing that new development in our modern life, have tried this new tack of grasping these forms of organization, of presenting them to their workers, and then hoping and expecting that these workers will sit down satisfied because their instinct for organization has been in a measure met.

My friends, if I am a student at all of economics and economic development, I predict that this experiment will fail ultimately, just as experiments of this kind and character in other fields have

failed. Why? Because, first, these movements are local in character; each employer has his own peculiar form of organization—an organization so localized in character, so transient in its basis, must ultimately fail.

Again, the company union does not permit the worker to exercise his own freedom, to exercise his own opinions, to put into effect his own will; he is always controlled by those who shaped and formed this organization and conferred it upon him. The working people will not long subject themselves to such subordination of conscience, judgment or will, because if there is any one characteristic of the working people of our land that stands out more prominently than another it is this determination to be independent and free in America—economically free and politically free.

There is another reason why, in my judgment, the company union will fail ultimately, and that is because it cannot, in the very nature of things, serve the needs of the working people. I must enlarge upon that just a moment. The trade union movement has been serving the workers for more than half a century in America. It has sensed their needs, and in season and out of season it has served the workers of our land. Who was it that led in the agitation for high living standards? Who was it that demanded increases in wages? Who was it that advocated a progressive reduction in hours of labor suitable to the needs of the workers and the development of our modern industrial life? Who was it that led in these great economic reforms in America?

Long before the company unions were thought of, long before this idea originated in the minds of those who formed them, the trade union movement was on the economic field, using its great economic and moral strength in furthering the interests of the working people of America and the working people of the world.

When legislation was advanced in the interest of the children, in the interests of working women, in the interest of the sanitary inspection, in the interest of social justice, workmen's compensation, who was it appeared before the committees of legislatures of the different states and of the federal government? Whose voice was heard in

the councils of our legislative chambers? Who was it spoke for the women and children? Were the representatives of these company unions there? Can they claim credit for a single legislative reform? And the movement that cannot protect the women and children of our land, that cannot advance a moral and economic influence can never live in America.

We are committed to a definite program. We are organizing for definite purposes. We are united for the purpose for advancing the economic, the social, the industrial and cultural welfare of the great mass of the people. Who was it that led in the fight for reduced hours, the shorter workday and the shorter week? I leave that to the record. Let it answer, because the record made justifies the claim that organized labor makes the shortening of the hours of labor was one of the fundamental demands of practically the first convention of the American Federation of Labor that met in this country. And from that time until now we have never ceased in our efforts to secure shorter working days for the worker, and it is our purpose to continue that policy of securing for the workers a shorter workday and a shorter work week, as industrial conditions will permit and as the productivity of our working people will demand.

We are glad to welcome action on the part of any employer, large or small, in establishing the shorter work week, and we ask him to accept the philosophy and the theory of the American Federation of Labor regarding this great social reform.

There are many in this country who reap what they do not sow, who enjoy blessings and benefits for which they are not responsible. There are many who would like to claim credit for themselves when the credit belongs to other groups and to other people, but in our old fashioned way, in our methodical work, we will go forward doing the things we have in mind, performing the work we have set our face to do, bringing about the reforms that are close to the hearts and minds of the working people until we make America an ideal place in which to live.

Now, fellow delegates, I have covered briefly some points that appeal

to me and about which I know you are thinking. You are here for the purpose of legislating in the interests of the working people of our land, for what we do here will not only affect the economic and social welfare of the membership of organized labor, but in a larger and broader sense it will affect the well-being and happiness of those thousands of unorganized workers who are inarticulate and whose voice cannot be heard.

So, sensing our deep responsibilities, let us apply ourselves to the task, let us discharge the responsibility which rests upon us in a manner befitting the representatives of our great organization. Let us go back to our homes with a record of which we are proud, one that will compare favorably with the records of past conventions. And as we sense new problems, as we face new issues, let us face them courageously, because we know that within our ranks we possess the intelligence and the virtue and the courage and the common sense to deal with these problems rightfully and correctly.

And let us not forget the children, let us remember them and the fight in which we are engaged for them. If we do not speak for them, who will? If we do not carry on the agitation for the adoption of the federal amendment, who will? Do we hear it coming from the other groups? Are there other voices raised in behalf of the children? It must remain for the American Federation of Labor to carry on the struggle, to hold aloft the banner, to keep alive the issue until the conscience of the American people is sufficiently aroused to the needs of the situation and the different states will then approve of the federal amendment.

Now, Mr. Martel, I want to express to you again my very deep appreciation of the cordiality of your welcome. I would like to repeat to each of those who so kindly and so generously welcomed us our sincere and deep appreciation. I want to say to our fraternal delegates from Great Britain, from Canada, and from the Republic of Mexico, that they are welcome in our midst. We want them to feel that they are thrice welcome and we want them to understand and to know that our services are at their command, that we want to make their visit to America one that will remain long and pleas-

antly in their memories.

I feel deeply the great responsibility that rests upon me. I have tried during the past year to translate into words the hopes and aspirations of the working people of our country. I have carried the message of organized labor into fields hitherto unimproved. I have spoken to friend and foe and I have endeavored to truthfully and honestly bespeak the heartbeats, the hopes and aspirations and the purposes of our great movement. I bring to this convention the record of the past year. I leave it to you for your determination; but I promise and pledge to you that all the powers I possess, physical and mental, will be given to the great work of this organized labor movement.

President Green: It affords me very great pleasure now to declare this Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor open for the transaction of all business which may be properly and legitimately brought before it.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Mugavin, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Detroit, Michigan,
October 4, 1926.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, consisting of three duly elected delegates, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submits the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 403 delegates representing 91 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 28 State Branches, 72 Central Bodies, 16 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 7 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Paul Dullzell, 104 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 25 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A.

Myrup, Jacob Goldstone, Peter Beisel, 216 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, Jacob Fischer, Roe H. Baker, H. C. Wenzel, Leon Worthall, 512 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, W. G. Powlesland, 50 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, Chas. F. Scott, John Dohney, 145 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—Arnold Wardle, Felix J. Belair, Anna Neary, 129 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—Collis Lovely, Charles L. Baine, Clara Katzor, Israel Blume, Michael E. McFarland, 369 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United, Joseph Obergfell, A. J. Kugler, John Sullivan, 160 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—John J. Corcoran, George Jones, John T. Brisbee, William Lyons, Daniel O. Collins, James F. Cavanaugh, 700 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kaston, William Tracy, 50 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, John O'Brien, Edward Ryan, T. M. Brandle, 191 votes.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—Will R. Boyer, 6 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—William F. Quesse, Paul David, 62 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, F. J. Cullum, T. P. Hyland, 887 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcherson, John T. Cosgrove, Frank Duffy, J. Rex Anderson, William Crissman, Jas. E. Ricketts, Harry Lindeman, W. R. Bennett, 3,197 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of

America—I. M. Ornburn, George W. Perkins, R. S. Sexton, W. A. Campbell, 200 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Thos. F. Flaherty, Theodore Lippold, William Radtke, Harry Meyers, 279 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—John B. Schulte, C. C. Coulter, 100 votes.

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union—Max Zucker- man, Percy Ginsburg, I. H. Goldberg, 87 votes.

Conductors, Order Sleeping Car—M. D. Hauser, 23 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Forrest M. Krepps, 11 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and, C. L. Rosemund, 7 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—James P. Noonan, Martin T. Joyce, Julia O'Connor Parker, Charles M. Paulsen, R. L. O'Hara, Edw. J. Evans, H. C. Lenehan, 1,420 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, James J. McAndrews, Walter Snow, 95 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Arthur M. Huddell, Dave Evans, Chas. E. Haury, Jos. Fay, 270 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Matthew Woll, Fred R. Ballbach, 77 votes.

Federal Employees, National Federation of—Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, John Fitzgerald, Lee R. Whitney, 179 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, D. J. Sullivan, 160 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, 80 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Frank Doyle, A. Adamski, Daisy A. Houck, 475 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Morris Sigman, Louis Pinkofsky, Basilio Desti, Abraham Snyder, Philip Oretsky, Isidore Nagler, 801 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, Frank Lambalzer, 60 votes.

Glass Cutters and Flatteners' Association of America, Window—Edgar H. Gillot, 3 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Wm. P. Clarke, C. A. C. Crosson, 52 votes.

Glass Workers, Window, National—J. M. Siemer, 20 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Sam Squibb, James Duncan, James Garvey, 85 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Michael F. Greene, William Harding, Jr., Herman S. Finkelstein, 115 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—J. V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, J. B. Etchison, Frank E. Garity, Samuel P. Luzzo, Herbert Rivers, 665 votes.

Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, 15 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, John J. McDevitt, Emanuel Koveleski, 386 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—M. F. Tighe, 100 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—John H. Bell, William J. McSorley, Charles J. Case, George T. Moore, 160 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Joseph Regnier, 55 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association

of—Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Chas. D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin 400 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Philip Bock, Robert Bruck, 54 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—A. J. Chlopek, W. B. Jones, Joseph P. Ryan, 301 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, Daniel Haggarty, Robert Fechner, Fred Hewitt, Chas. E. Wills, 714 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood of—Fred H. Fljozdal, Elmer E. Milliman, Leo E. Keller, George H. Davis, 291 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, International Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, Louis Rode, 42 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Dennis Lane, M. J. Kelly, C. B. Ackerman, 122 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—John J. Hynes, Thomas Redding, Richard Pattison, James T. Moriarty, 250 votes.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—Charles H. Moyer, Edward Crough, John McMullen, 81 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, William Green, Frank Hughes, Walter Nesbit, Lee Hall, Thomas Kennedy, C. J. Golden, 4,000 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—M. J. Keough, John P. Frey, Pierce F. Hayden, J. W. Mara, 284 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, Edward Canavan, Chauncey A. Weaver, David A. Carey, Adolph Hirschberg, John W. Parks, 800 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—Geo. F. Hedrick, Joseph Balhorn, John J.

Doyle, John J. Riley, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, 1,114 votes.

Capermakers, International Brotherhood of—W. R. Smith, F. P. Barry, 46 votes.

Patternmakers, League of North America—James Wilson, A. J. Berres, 70 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 20 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, 24 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Edward J. McGivern, John Donlin, Peter G. Cook, J. Aldridge, Wm. A. O'Keefe, 322 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Thos. E. Burke, John C. Imloff, Charles Anderson, William H. Fallon, 450 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, Ray Kelsay, 60 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—George H. Cartlidge, 78 votes.

Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate—Thomas McQuade, 12 votes.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, P. J. O'Donnell, Walter Wisdom, Harry Bell, Richard Johnston, 400 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, Herbert W. Sullivan, 50 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Sutor, 30 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—Wm. B. Fitzgerald, P. J. Shea, William Quinlan, P. J. McGrath, John J. Bruce, 1,010 votes.

Railway Mail Association—W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, 195 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—William W. Clark, 30 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Thomas Conway, 150 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—D. W. Helt, T. A. Austin, D. C. Cone, 80 votes.

Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—William F. Canavan, Thomas Maloy, Harry C. Griffin, Patrick J. Ryan, 220 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Winfield T. Keegan, Chas. A. Sumner, 69 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, James A. Short, 57 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—W. L. Funder Burk, 16 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—T. C. Cashen, James B. Connors, Thomas Clohessy, 87 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Thomas Sweeney, Gust Soderberg, C. N. Bolander, 83 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Henry R. Linville, 35 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffers, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thos. L. Hughes, Michael Casey, Edward McCaffrey, William A. Neer, John M. Gillespie, 820 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, D. G. Ramsay, H. B. Perham, G. R. Smith, E. R. Derrickson, 350 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial—Roscoe H. Johnson, Percy Thomas, 42 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, George Creech, Arthur McDonnell, 300 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 14 votes.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—John J. Collins, 37 votes.

Typographical Union, International—James M. Lynch, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, John C. Harding, T. W. McCullough, William Young, 733 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—William Kohn, 86 votes.

Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United—Chas. A. Alexander, 6 votes.

Building Trades Department—William J. Tracy, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—James O'Connell, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes' Department—B. M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—John J. Manning, 1 vote.

Alabama State Federation of Labor—R. J. Bailey, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Don Witt, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—Earl R. Hoage, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—J. M. Atkins, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—T. L. McBrayer, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—John H. Walker, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—T. N. Taylor, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. C. Lewis, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—Charles Gorman, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—Robert J. Perigoni, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Michael J. O'Donnell, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—Frank Wade, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Geo. W. Lawson, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—John J. Pfeiffer, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—Edwin H. Manson, 1 vote.

New Hampshire State Federation of Labor—John L. Barry, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—John H. McLean, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—John M. O'Hanlon, 1 vote.

North Carolina State Federation of Labor—C. P. Barringer, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Mrs. Kitty Donnelly, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—E. D. Barry, 1 vote.

Porto Rico, Free Federation of Workmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—Francis J. Gorman, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Albert E. Hill, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Wm. J. Moran, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—James R. Stewart, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Henry Ohl, Jr., 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Fox, 1 vote.

Altoona, Pa., Blair County Central Labor Union—Charles Kutz, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—L. P. Marquardt, 1 vote.

Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union—Philip Rohr, 1 vote.

Belleville, Illinois, Trades and Labor Assembly—H. H. Barnes, 1 vote.

Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Jeremiah Ryan, 1 vote.

Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—J. C. Barrett, 1 vote.

Brownsville, Pa., United Trades Council—Steve Douglas, 1 vote.

Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—Pierce Quinlan, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—

John Mangan, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Milton J. Doll, 1 vote.

Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—James F. Malley, 1 vote.

Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—Frank Hammer, 1 vote.

Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—John H. Riley, 1 vote.

Detroit, Michigan, Federation of Labor—Frank X. Martel, 1 vote.

Erie, Pa., Central Labor Union—Wm. P. McAndrew, 1 vote.

Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor—G. Mueller, 1 vote.

Grand Rapids, Michigan, Trades and Labor Council—Wm. H. Wenger, 1 vote.

Hammond, Ind., Central Labor Union—Carl Mullen, 1 vote.

Hamilton Ont., Canada, District Trades and Labor Council—E. W. A. O'Dell, 1 vote.

Houston, Tex., Labor and Trades Council—George A. Wilson, 1 vote.

Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union—Edward S. Alden, 1 vote.

Jackson, Mich., Federation of Labor—James G. Henley, 1 vote.

Joliet, Illinois, Central Trades and Labor Council—Toney Augustino, 1 vote.

Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—John H. Murphy, 1 vote.

LaCrosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Herman Burghardt, 1 vote.

Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Union—William Campbell, 1 vote.

Lansing, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—H. E. Chamberlain, 1 vote.

Logansport, Ind., Trades and Labor Assembly—Richard Woodling, 1 vote.

London, Ont., Canada, Trades and Labor Council—John Colbert, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council—J. W. Buzzell, 1 vote.

Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union—

John H. Murphy, 1 vote.

Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor—Fred McClain, 1 vote.

Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union—R. L. Harris, 1 vote.

Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—Frank J. Weber, 1 vote.

Minneapolis, Minn., Central Labor Union—Arthur E. Evans, 1 vote.

Moberly, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—D. A. Frampton, 1 vote.

Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—William Umstadter, 1 vote.

New Kensington, Pa., Allegheny Valley Central Labor Union—P. T. Fagan, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, Edward McCaffrey, 1 vote.

Olympia, Wash., Trades Council — T. P. Holleraft, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union of Philadelphia—Joseph M. Richie, 1 vote.

Pittsburg, Kans., United Trades and Labor Council, R. M. Coffelt, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union—William J. Kelly, 1 vote.

Portsmouth, O., Central Labor Council—Louis C. Herder, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.

Reno, Nev., Central Trades and Labor Council—Lee Tarbett, 1 vote.

Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union—Art C. Johnson, 1 vote.

Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council, J. L. R. Marsh, 1 vote.

Saginaw, Mich., Federation of Labor—John Murray, 1 vote.

Saint Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—William Brandt, 1 vote.

Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union—
Marcus Shea, 1 vote.

Salem, Ore., Trades and Labor Council—
L. A. Elwell, 1 vote.

Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., Central Labor Union—
R. L. Eckhardt, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—
T. A. Reardon, 1 vote.

Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—
Walter Walker, 1 vote.

Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—
Lawrence F. Hart, 1 vote.

Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—
C. O. Carvell, 1 vote.

South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union—
Mary Garner, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—
Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—
R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—
R. T. Wood, 1 vote.

Tiffin, Ohio, Central Labor Union—
C. H. Trimmer, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—
William P. Covert, 1 vote.

Topeka, Kans., Industrial Council—
C. V. Hope, 1 vote.

Uniontown, Pa., Trades and Labor Council—
Samuel Seehaffer, 1 vote.

Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—
James W. Fitzpatrick, 1 vote.

Wichita, Kansas, Trades and Labor Assembly—
W. F. Keeny, 1 vote.
City—Ernest Bohm, 4 votes.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union—
Robert M. Williams, 1 vote.

Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—
John C. Saylor, 1 vote.

Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor of Westchester County, N. Y.—
William J. McGeary, 1 vote.

Zanesville, O., Trades and Labor Council—
Frank Bender, 4 votes.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City—
Ernest Bohm, 1 vote.

City and County Public Service Employees' Union No. 17848, Detroit, Mich.—
Joseph Basso, 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17742, Chicago, Ill.—
Ben A. Albert, 1 vote.

Cleaners and Dyers' Union No. 17792 (Retail), Chicago, Ill.—
Samuel Ruben, 5 votes.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17834, Detroit, Mich.—
Jack Ellstein, 3 votes.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17837 (Retail), Detroit, Mich.—
Sam Polakoff, 5 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 17873, New York City—
A. I. Shiplacoff, 9 votes.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio—
Willie Shaw, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kansas—
Ben F. Oglesby, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17775, Kansas City, Mo.—
Albert C. Campbell, 1 vote.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.—
Michael J. Flynn, 1 vote.

Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872, Chicago, Ill.—
Melville C. Purves, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Local No. 16812, Detroit, Mich.—
John J. Scannell, 1 vote.

Theatrical Employees' Union No. 15330, Schenectady, N. Y.—
W. L. Darrington, 1 vote.

Tuck Pointers and Front Cleaners' Union No. 13046, Chicago, Ill.—
Thomas Portway, 2 votes.

United Neckwear Makers' Union No. 11016, New York City—
Louis Fuchs, 6 votes.

British Trades Union Congress—
J. Bromley, G. Hicks, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—
Richard Lynch, 1 vote.

Mexican Federation of Labor—
Ricardo Trevino, Jose F. Gutierrez, Salustio Hernandez, 3 votes.

National Women's Trade Union League of America—
Rose Schneiderman.

Respectfully submitted,
WALTER SNOW, Chairman
FRANK HUGHES
JOHN T. MUGAVIN, Sec'y.

The report was adopted and the committee continued.

President Green announced the following appointments:

Assistant Secretary of Convention, John F. Simmons, member of Typographical Union No. 18 of Detroit.

Sergeant-at-Arms, James Daar, member Metal Polishers' Union No. 41 of Detroit.

Messenger, Joseph Basso, member Electrical Workers' Union No. 58, of Detroit.

Rules and Order of Business — John Sullivan, Joseph P. Ryan, Daisy A. Houck, William Harding, Edward Crough, John O'Brien, William Kohn, John Collins, Edward McCaffrey, E. Lewis Evans, H. C. Wenzel, William Lyons, Bassilio Desti, Robert Fechner, W. R. Smith.

President Green introduced to the convention the following fraternal delegates: Messrs. J. Bromley and G. Hicks, representing the British Trade Union Congress; Mr. Richard Lynch, representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and Messrs. Ricardo Trevino, Jose F. Guterrez and Salustio Hernandez, representing the Mexican Federation of Labor.

Fraternal Delegate Bromley was introduced as the bearer of a special message from the railroad organizations of Great Britain and Ireland. In delivering the message he said in part:

If you will permit me, I will briefly describe why I am troubling you in this way at so early a stage in the proceedings. The railway men's organizations of our country are three, the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, of which I have the honor to be secretary; the Railway Clerks and the General Railway Workers in the National Union of Railwaymen.

Last year being the centenary of the running of the first railway locomotive in Great Britain we had a centenary celebration in Belleview Gardens, which was run entirely by the railway men themselves, the rank and file of the three organizations, although the officials of the organizations were there and the function was officially recognized by the companies.

On the twenty-fifth day of last month, in the same Garden, they held a carnival to celebrate the commencement of the 101st year. Again the companies were represented and the officials of the three organizations were invited. I was unable to be present because of setting sail for this country.

Now, the railwaymen of our country

who, if I may say it without being egotistical, are jolly fine trade unionists, good fighters and have the real international spirit, have sent a token of their brotherly greetings to your President. They have had especially made, entirely by union labor, a silver ink stand, which is engraved in this way: "Railway Year 101. Presented to the President and the American Federation of Labor Convention, Detroit, October, 1926, with Fraternal Greetings from the Employees of the Railway Industry of Great Britain and Ireland."

It has also engraved thereon a locomotive, and I presume to honor myself as its bearer, an engraving of a locomotive of the company which I served for twenty years. It also has a silver pen with a gold nib, and on it is engraved: "The Pen Is Mightier than the Sword."

I want you to understand that the railway men are not presuming to have any special representation in this convention nor to impinge on your proceedings, other than with the greatest desire of showing the solidarity of the workers of these two great nations which you and my friend, Hicks, and I have the honor of representing.

We know there are certain of the railway unions of America not yet affiliated with your federation, and it was the desire of those who sent this to our friend Green that to show that everyone of us in Great Britain and Ireland are proud to be a federated union of our Congress, and we express to the railwaymen's organizations in this country a brotherly wish that they, too, may become a part of the great labor army of America and help to bear its banner aloft from victory to victory.

I thank you very much for so patiently listening to me, and, Brother Green, I ask you to accept, not for its value, but for the fraternal greetings and good wishes that go with it, this little token from our rank and file, the men themselves, organized railway workers of Great Britain and Ireland, and I sincerely hope, sir, you will live to wear it out.

President Green: The gift which you have so eloquently presented to me and the charming words of fraternal greeting which you have spoken touches me deeply. It seems that language is totally inadequate to express the very deep appreciation I feel towards you and towards those who delegates you to present this beautiful gift to the

President of the American Federation of Labor.

The engraving upon this beautiful gift states that it is presented to the President of the American Federation of Labor, he who in his humble capacity was chosen by the workers of America to serve as the instrumentality through which they might voice the hopes and aspirations to the world, so that it is presented to the delegates attending the convention, and I know they share with me the deep feeling of appreciation of the receipt of this beautiful gift.

I know you are thinking about what I am thinking about, that this gift speaks in a most eloquent manner of the fraternal feeling of these thousands of railway workers who have had their part in delegating Brother Bromley to bring this beautiful gift to this convention. I assure you that it will, in a wonderful way, cement the solidarity that I feel prevails between the British workers and our great constituency in the American Federation of Labor. We want to cultivate that fraternal spirit,

that friendly relation, we want to cultivate understanding, so that we can reciprocate by giving each other the support that each deserves in their efforts to promote the common welfare.

Will you take back to those you represent, Brother Bromley, my thanks and the thanks of this convention, and our assurance that we want to promote and will do everything we can to promote fraternity and brotherhood between the working people of the world.

The chairman announced that the local committee had arranged an automobile trip for the delegates and visitors, to commence at 2:30 p. m. at the convention hall.

In order to allow an outline of the report of the Executive Council to be submitted during the afternoon, following the custom of past conventions, a motion was offered by Delegate McCullough, International Typographical Union, to recess until 2:00 o'clock p. m.

The motion was adopted, and at 12:45 o'clock p. m. the convention recessed until 2:00 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

First Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m. by President Green:

Absentees:

Dullzell, Mullaney, Scott, Belair, Neary, Blume, McFarland, Kugler, Sullivan (John), Kasten, Boyer, Quesse, David, Hutcheson, Cosgrove, Lippold, Schulte, Coulter, Hauser, Feeney, McAndrews, Schachtman, Sorkin, Lambalzer, Gillot, Siemer, Bock, Chlopek, Jones (W. B.), Ryan (J. P.), Wharton, Fry, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Murray (P), Mara, Canavan (E.), Weaver, Carey, Hirschberg, Parks, Smith (W. R.), Barry (E. P.), Cartledge, Wisdom, Bell (H.), Johnston, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (W. H.), Quinlan, Bruce, Collins (W. M.), Strickland, O'Brien (P), Conway, Helt, Austin, Cone, Mitchell, Funder Burk, Cashen, Linville, Johnson (R. H.), Thomas, Evans (E. L.), Taylor, Kohn, O'Donnell (M. J.), Wade, Barry (J. L.), Stewart, Kutz, Ryan (J.), Barrett, (J. C.), Quinlan (P), Doll, Malley, Hammer, Riley (J. H.), McAndrew, Mueller, Wenger, O'Dell, Wilson (G. A.), Alden, Augustino, Burghardt, Woodling, Colbert, Frampton, Fagan, Hollcraft, Cofelt, Bower, Tarbett, Johnson (A. C.), Marsh, Shea (M.), Elwell, Eckhardt, Hart (L. F.), Doyle (F. E.), Fitzpatrick,

Saylor, Bender, Bohm, Albert, Ruben, Ellstein, Polakoff, Shiplacoff, Shaw, Ogelsby, Campbell (A. C.), Flynn (M. J.), Purves, Scannell, Portway, Fuchs.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate John W. Collins, secretary of the committee, presented the following report:

Your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Detroit, Michigan, October 4, 1926, submit the following report:

Rule 1: The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30 p. m., reconvene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., except on Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9:30 a. m. to 12:30 p. m.

Rule 2: If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall at the request of the chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3: Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4: No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to raise a point of order.

Rule 5: A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6: A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7: Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention. The committee recommends that this rule be strictly observed.

Rule 8: A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 9: At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10: When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question to postpone indefinitely postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motion shall have precedences in the order named.

Rule 11: Motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12: A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13: That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14: Any delegate failing to present his card within thirty minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15: It shall require at least thirty delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16: All resolutions shall bear signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17: No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18: When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had the opportunity to record their votes the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19: When a roll call ballot has been ordered no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20: Roberts' Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Order of Business.

1. Reading of Minutes of previous session which shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Reports of committee on credentials.
3. Reports of officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committee.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted:

JOHN SULLIVAN,
Chairman.
JOHN J. COLLINS,
Secretary.

JOSEPH P. RYAN,
DAISY A. HOUCK,
WILLIAM HARDING,
EDWARD CROUGH,
JOHN O'BRIEN,
WILLIAM KOHN,
EDWARD McCAFFREY,
E. LEWIS EVANS,
H. C. WENZEL,
WILLIAM LYONS,
BASSILIO DESTI,
W. R. SMITH.

The report of the committee was adopted as read, by unanimous vote.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committees appointed by the President:

Committee on Executive Council's Report—James Wilson, George L. Berry, Thomas Kennedy, Wm. L. Hutcheson, T. W. McCullough, Jere L. Sullivan, William P. Clarke, J. J. Hynes, Andrew Furuseth, James C. Shanessy, Anthony J. Chlopek, Collis Lovely, John P. Frey, Wm. A. Campbell, James T. Cavanaugh.

Committee on Resolutions — James Duncan, Matthew Woll, G. W. Perkins, B. A. Larger, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, John L. Lewis, Thomas L. Hughes, Dave Evans, P. J. Morrin, C. J. Lamert, John Coefield, J. M. Lynch, Joe Weber, P. J. Shea, Hubert S. Marshall.

Committee on Laws—Daniel J. Tobin, Dennis Lane, William Quinlan, A. J. Kugler, Thomas McMahon, Charles Anderson, James O'Connell, Frank Doyle, George Jones, William Tracy, Charles W. Fry, John M. O'Hanlon, Patrick O'Brien, Harry Bell, J. Rex Anderson.

Committee on Organization — Frank Duffy, Sara A. Conboy, Thomas S. Farrell, Charles H. Moyer, E. J. Manion, John P. Burke, Martin Joyce, I. M. Ornburn, Gertrude McNally, D. W. Helt, Philip Bock, E. E. Milliman, Roe H. Baker, C. J. Golden, Anna Neary, M. J. Kelly.

Committee on Labels—John Manning, Thomas Sweeney, Max Hayes, M. Zuckerman, H. Lindeman, Joseph Obergfell, R. S. Sexton, Abraham Snyder, Jacob Goldstone, John J. Riley, Felix Belair, Israel Blume, Herman S. Finkelstein, C. A. Weaver, P. J. Ryan.

Committee on Adjustment — T. A. Rickert, Edward Flore, C. L. Shamp, J. B. Etchison, D. A. Carey, Roy Horn, H. B. Berham, Phillip Murray, B. M. Jewell, F. H. Fljoldal, M. F. Tighe, William F. Canavan, Frank Kasten, James Maloney, M. F. Greene, Michael E. McFarland.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—Jacob Fischer, John T. Briscoe, L. E. Swartz, F. J. Cullum, Louis Pinkofsky, Jos. M. Marshall, Pierce J. Hayden, Adolph Hirschberg, Richard Johnston, E. R. Derrickson, W. G. Powlesland, R. L. O'Hara, James B. Connors, J. W. Buzzel, Geo. H. Cartlidge.

Committee on Education — James P. Noonan, John H. Walker, Paul Dulzell, John T. Cosgrove, H. C. Griffin, Henry F. Schmal, William A. Neer, Thomas E. Burke, Walter Wisdom, William Young, Morris Sigman, Henry R. Linville, James F. Moriarty, A. O. Wharton, A. J. Berres, William Glocking.

Committee on State Organizations—Martin Ryan, Wm. A. O'Keefe, S. C. Hogan, C. M. Paulsen, J. M. Gillespie, Carl Bergstrom, D. P. Haggerty, Walter Nesbit, Peter Cook, Fred W. Baer, Charles E. Haury, John Fitzgerald, George W. Lawson, T. N. Taylor, Michael J. Flynn.

Committee on Boycotts — John H. Reardon, John Dohney, Wm. J. Tracy, Charles D. Duffy, W. F. Funderburk, Timothy Healy, S. P. Luzzo, Charles J. Case, Leo, E. Keller, G. R. Smith, Edward Canavan, John J. Doyle, Thomas Malloy, Oizer Shachtman, Isidore Nagler.

Committee on Building Trades — George Hedrick, Edward J. Evans, Frank E. Garity, Frank Feeney, Arthur M. Huddell, Joseph A. Mullaney, W. J. McSorley, John Donlin, Edward Ryan, Richard Pattison, John J. Corcoran, William Crissman, W. H. Fallon, M. W. Mitchell, Sam Squibbs.

Committee on Shorter Workday—M. J. Keough, J. Aldridge, E. J. Gainer, Thomas P. Hyland, John B. Schulte, Philip Oretsky, Peter Beisel, Charles F. Scott, John C. Harding, Lee Hall, E. P. Barry, Theodore Lippold, Clara Katzor, Roscoe H. Johnson, James P. Meehan.

Committee on Legislation — C. L. Baine, Thomas P. Flaherty, Luther Steward, W. B. Fitzgerald, W. W. Britton, Thomas C. Cashen, Emanuel Kovel'eski, A. Adamsky, Julia O'Connor Parker, W. R. Bennett, D. C. Cone, G. Marshall, Thomas McQuade, Winfield Keegan, C. L. Rosemund.

Committee on International Labor Relations—George W. Perkins, James Duncan, Max Hayes, James Wilson, Andrew Furuseth, James O'Connell, John P. Frey, B. A. Larger, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, John H. Walker, C. L. Baine, Matthew Woll, J. A. Franklin, J. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Sara Conboy, Timothy Healy, E. J. McGivern, Anthony J. Chlopek, Edward J. Gainer, Albert Adamski, Edward J. Evans.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen, moved that the name of William Green be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

The committee appointments as announced were approved by the convention.

Following is a list of subjects in the report of the Executive Council assigned by President Green to the appropriate committees:

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Jurisdictional Problems:

Electrical Workers—Steam Engineers.

Bricklayers—Plasterers.
 Machinists—Street and Electric
 Railway Employees.
 State Compensation Legislation.
 Referred to Committee on Resolutions
 Introduction.
 Voluntary Principle and Organization of
 Industry:
 Right to Organize.
 Proposals for Compulsory Regula-
 tion.
 Organization Progress:
 Communist Activities in Passaic,
 N. J.
 Company Unions.
 Anti-Union Shop.
 Wages.
 Employee Stock Ownership.
 Banking and Insurance:
 Labor Banks.
 Insurance.
 Observance of Contracts.
 Co-operation Between Unions and Man-
 agement.
 Citizens' Military Training Camps.
 Radio Broadcasting.
 Relations to Other Groups:
 Personnel Research Federation.
 American Bar Association.
 Samuel Gompers Memorial.
 A. F. of L. Room at Geneva.
 Legal Information Bureau.
 A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Cam-
 paign.
 National Legislative Activities.
 Conscription.
 Military Training.
 Legislative Draft Proposals.
 Referred to Committee on Organization
 Organization Progress:
 Organizers.
 Organization and Education Cam-
 paign.
 Special Organization Campaign for
 Women Workers.
 Referred to Committee on Local and
 Federated Bodies
 Recreation.
 Referred to Committee on Education
 Economic Measuring Rods.
 Information and Education:
 American Federationist.
 Legal Information Bulletin.

News Service.
 Pamphlets.
 Organizing Literature.
 History and Encyclopedia.
 Sesqui-Centennial.
 Committee on Education:
 Local Committees.
 Compulsory School Attendance.
 Text Books.
 Teaching Science in Public Schools.
 Industrial Health.
 Workers' Education Bureau:
 Affiliations.
 Significance of Workers' Education.
 Workers' Education Enterprises.
 Child Labor:
 Present Child Labor Conditions.
 Remedies.
 Relations to Other Groups:
 American Library Association.
 American Legion.
 Religious and Educational Groups.
 Labor's Specific Days.
 National Legislative Activities:
 Teachers' Retirement Law.
 Curtis-Reed Bill.
 Copyrighted Legislation — Vestal
 Bill.
 Referred to Committee on State
 Organizations
 State Federations.
 Referred to Committee on Legislation
 National Legislative Activities:
 Railroad Labor Legislation.
 Federal Retirement Law.
 Mothers' Pension Plan.
 Restrictive Rules.
 Registration of Aliens.
 Immigration.
 Labor and the Farmers.
 Referred to Committee on International
 Labor Relations
 British Miners' Appeal for Assistance.
 Pan-American Federation of Labor.
 Mexican Federation of Labor.
 International Federation of Trade Union.
 British Miners.

President Green presented to the con-
 vention Vice President Frank Duffy,
 who read a digest of the report of the
 Executive Council. Printed copies of the
 report were distributed to the delegates.

REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN, October 4, 1926.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greetings:

It is in keeping with the trust which has been committed to us as the elected executives of the American Federation of Labor, we make our annual report of our stewardship. As our movement is a public institution our report also constitutes a public accounting so that all who wish information of our work and achievements during the past year may have the facts in readily available form. The American Federation of Labor finds itself in full accord with the rapidly growing forces that seek to establish as a business practice binding upon all who expect public confidence, the custom of regular, adequate and informing statements on work done.

In our report on the past year, we have definitely limited our statements to records of facts. Our movement must rely for sustained progress upon a basis of fact and achievement; we have extended our membership and increased the number and scope of our collective agreements as we have convinced both workers and managements that the trade is a practical constructive agency that promotes the interdependent interests of all concerned; and we shall make increasing progress as understanding of our methods and ideals become increasingly definite and general. It is important that we take advantage of every possible opportunity and agency to interpret our movement and to tell what we have accomplished.

The record of the past year indicates problems that must be frankly faced and studied in order to develop the best procedure for the coming year. It reflects with gratifying definiteness that our movement is maintaining successfully those ideals and practices that have made it distinctively American and successful in meeting the demands of American industry.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1925, and ending August 31, 1926.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$212,391.96. Of this total, \$193,095.78 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used only to pay benefits in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions.

The balance, \$19,296.18, is in the general fund and available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor.

The total receipts from all sources, \$518,451.49; the total expenses, \$519,113.33; amount of expenses over receipts, \$661.84.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1926:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1925.....		\$213,053 80
Per Capita Tax.....	\$360,207 74	
American Federationist.....	86,641 77	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:		
Per capita tax from locals.....	32,980 07	
Initiation fees.....	15,233 05	
Reinstatement fees.....	316 75	
Supplies.....	6,328 99	
Interest:		
Bank deposits.....	\$4,918 71	
U. S. Liberty Bonds.....	1,600 00	
Canadian Victory Loans.....	825 00	
	7,343 71	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L.	7,896 98	
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....	1,502 43	
		518,451 49
Total receipts.....		\$731,505 29

EXPENSES

General.....	\$383,458 42	
American Federationist.....	86,959 73	
Defense Fund:		
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	41,913 66	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	6,781 52	
Total expenses.....		\$519,113 33

Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1926..... \$212,391 96

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund.....	\$19,296 18
In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	193,095 78
Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1926.....	\$212,391 96

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed montly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1926:

Rent.....	\$14,164 00
Refund on charter and outfit and supplies returned.....	15 50
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	6,656 52
Secretary's bond.....	10 00
Treasurer's bond.....	125 00
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	330 68
Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of three legislative committeemen: W. C. Roberts, Edward F. McGrady and Edgar Wallace.....	12,906 13
Newspapers, magazines and books.....	1,790 58
Postage stamps.....	9,029 10
Printing Proceedings of Atlantic City Convention.....	2,377 80
Supplies and printing.....	41,936 69
Miscellaneous expenses.....	6,673 44
Paper supply for addressograph and envelopes (Mailing Dept.).....	2,008 68
Mailing Equipment.....	414 88
Official stenographer, Atlantic City convention.....	1,566 30
Telegrams and Telephones.....	4,055 84
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	663 11
Expenses, entertaining fraternal delegate from Mexico.....	71 73
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades and Union Congress and to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1,738 20
Atlantic City Convention:	
Messengers, sergeant-at-arms and assistant secretary and roll-call clerks.....	560 00
Printing roll-call.....	115 96
Printing Daily Proceedings.....	3,325 48
Printing, envelopes and supplies.....	98 28
Stenographers.....	1,539 55
Rental of office furniture.....	10 00
Committee and office rooms.....	139 63
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, reading proof, sending out Daily Proceedings, rent of typewriters and desks, typewriting, photographs, supplies, stationery and hauling.....	288 50
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	532 93
Salaries:	
President.....	12,000 00
Secretary.....	10,000 00
Treasurer.....	500 00
Office employes.....	100,302 56
Expenses:	
Executive Council meetings.....	13,918 87
Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter rental, etc., E. C. meetings.....	57 26
Stenographers' expenses attending E. C. meetings.....	760 81
President, traveling.....	7,605 51
Secretary, traveling.....	1,117 63
Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits.....	41,913 66
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department.....	17 38
Union Label Trades Department.....	60 99

Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of

Canada.....	\$83 14
Organizers' salaries and expenses.....	105,151 92
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	86,959 73
Printing, publishing and editing A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter.....	8,425 50
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	5,000 00
Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, Atlantic City Convention.....	497 61
Expenses, special committees and conferences.....	5,166 86
Legal expenses.....	1,022 67
Encyclopedia & History of A. F. of L. (2nd edition).....	3,585 38
Expenses Sam'l Gompers Memorial Room.....	380 70
Expenses, Sesqui-Centennial Exposition.....	1,440 64
Total.....	\$519,113 33

EDUCATIONAL FUND

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing cooperation upon the plan of the Rochdale Cooperative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including August 31, 1926, \$4,430.52, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to and including August 31, 1926, \$3,331.92, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1926, amounting to \$1,098.60. The name of Fund for Promoting and Advancing Cooperation was changed by order of the Executive Council to Education Fund.

RECAPITULATION

Total donations, April 1, 1918, to August 31, 1926.....	\$4,430 52
Total expenses, February 6, 1919, to August 31, 1926.....	3,331 92
Balance on hand, August 31, 1926.....	\$1,098 60

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to April 30, 1920, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Since 1920 no contributions have been received, except interest which amounts to \$206.94, and the only expenses paid amount to \$1,243.30. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1926, INCLUSIVE

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds of affiliated organizations:

Year	Receipts	Expenses	Year	Receipts	Expenses
1902-3.....	\$529 00	\$309 60	1915-16.....	5,092 79	4,428 19
1903-4.....	398 75	402 60	1916-17.....	5,906 61	4,970 68
1904-5.....	406 75	285 65	1917-18.....	3,544 91	3,055 26
1905-6.....	736 35	591 16	1918-19.....	9,626 78	8,067 33
1906-7.....	1,128 79	817 76	1919-20.....	13,285 93	11,121 06
1907-8.....	1,261 51	1,021 96	1920-21.....	9,490 68	7,816 14
1908-9.....	1,692 35	1,226 03	1921-22.....	5,979 90	4,963 00
1909-10.....	2,874 76	2,392 75	1922-23.....	6,368 76	5,310 10
1910-11.....	2,988 55	1,448 38	1923-24.....	6,593 44	5,523 52
1911-12.....	2,710 07	2,089 15	1924-25.....	7,101 75	6,021 58
1912-13.....	3,225 55	3,863 18	1925-26.....	7,896 98	6,781 52
1913-14.....	3,221 75	1,898 55			
1914-15.....	5,190 74	5,052 66	Total.....	\$107,253 44	\$89,457 81

RECAPITULATION

Total receipts from 1902 to August 31, 1926.....	\$107,253 44
Total expenses from 1902 to August 31, 1926.....	89,457 81
Excess from 1902 to August 31, 1926.....	\$17,795 63

ANTHRACITE MINERS' APPEAL

Contributions in response to the appeals issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, under date of December 22, 1925, and January 18, 1926, to the affiliated organizations, for contributions to meet the urgent needs of the Anthracite Coal Miners, showed receipts from December 22, 1925, to and including June 19, 1926, \$200,710.67, and total forwarded to Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, \$200,710.67.

Total contributions from December 22, 1925, to June 19, 1926.....	\$200,710 67
Total amount forwarded to Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Kennedy.....	<u>200,710 67</u>

Itemized reports of the receipts and expenses of this fund have been printed in pamphlet form and copies mailed to each contributor. Additional copies may be obtained by application to headquarters.

BRITISH MINERS' APPEAL

Contributions in response to the appeal issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor under date of July 6th, to the affiliated organizations, to aid the families of the striking miners of Great Britain in their fight in resisting a substantial reduction in their living standards, showed receipts from July 6th, 1926, to and including August 31, 1926—\$31,438.32 and total forwarded to A. J. Cook, Secretary, Miners Federation of Great Britain—\$31,438.32. This fund is not closed on the ending of our fiscal year, August, 31, 1926, and these figures are as of August 31, 1926:

Total contributions from July 6th to and including August 31, 1926.....	\$31,438 32
Total amount forwarded to Secretary, A. J. Cook.....	<u>31,438 32</u>

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1926, there have been issued 72 charters to International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions. Of this number, one was granted to the following international: Window Glass Cutters and Flatteners Association of America.

Nineteen Central Bodies as follows:

California:	Maine:	Oregon:
Modesto and vicinity	Waterville	Medford
Ventura	Michigan:	Texas:
Oroville	Pontiac	Abilene
Florida:	New Jersey:	Texarkana
Daytona Beach	Camden	Virginia:
Lakeland	North Carolina:	Danville
De Land	Durham	Washington:
Winter Haven	Ohio:	Wenatchee and vicinity
Indiana:	Piqua	
Crawfordsville	Meigs County	

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year:

	1925-1926
Internationals.....	1
Central Bodies.....	19
Local Trade Unions.....	41
Federal Labor Unions.....	11
Total.....	<u>72</u>

UNION LABELS

There are now 51 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

American Federation of Labor.	Garment Workers, United.	Photo-Engravers.
Bakers and Confectioners.	Garment Workers, Ladies.	Piano and Organ Work
Bill Posters and Billers.	Glove Workers.	Plate Printers.
Boilermakers.	Hatters.	Powder Workers.
Blacksmiths.	Horsehoers.	Pressmen, Printing.
Bookbinders.	Iron and Steel Workers.	Print Cutters.
Boot and Shoe Workers.	Jewelry Workers.	Slate Workers.
Brewery Workmen.	Lathers.	Stove Mounters.
Brickmakers.	Laundry Workers.	Tailors.
Broommakers.	Leather Workers.	Textile Workers.
Cap Makers.	Lithographers.	Timber Workers.
Carpenters and Joiners	Machinists.	Tobacco Workers.
Brotherhood.	Marble Workers.	Typographical.
Carvers, Wood.	Metal Polishers.	Upholsterers.
Cigar-makers.	Metal Workers, Sheet.	United Wall paper Crafts.
Coopers.	Molders.	Weavers, Wire.
Draftsmen's Unions.	Painters.	
Electrical Workers.	Papermakers.	

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS

Actors.	Firemen, Stationary.	Musicians.
Barbers.	Hotel and Restaurant	Stage Employees, Theatrical.
Clerks, Retail.	Employees.	Teamsters.
Engineers, Steam.	Meat Cutters and Butcher	
	Workmen.	

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge and Lodge Paraphernalia Makers; Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horsehoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Suspender Makers; and Rubber Workers.

BENEFIT PAYMENTS REPORTED BY 23 NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

ORGANIZATIONS	Death benefits.	Death benefits, members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployment benefits.
Barbers.....	\$80,100 00		\$192,139 00			a
Bricklayers.....	318,450 00					
Broom & Whisk.....	1,100 00					
Carvers, Wood.....	2,900 00				\$140 00	
Cigar Makers.....	242,845 00		159,942 30	\$8,265 70		\$6,789 95
Cloth Hat & Cap.....			12,203 00			101,383 00
Conductors, Sleeping Car.....	526,000 00					
Diamond Workers.....	5,250 00	\$50 00	3,734 00			14,490 00
Foundry Employees.....	12 00					
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	35,500 00					
Hod Carriers.....	35,950 00					
Hotel & Restaurant Employees.....	35,615 80		48,663 51			
Laundry Workers.....	3,400 00					
Paving Cutters.....	4,600 00			1,603 55		
Piano Workers.....	600 00		347 00			50 00
Polishers, Metal.....	7,650 00					3,300 00
Railway Mail Ass'n.....	31,937 00					
Stereotypers, etc.....	18,800 00					
Telegraphers, Com.....	3,425 00					
Tailors.....	9,857 20		15,375 00			
Typographical.....	395,909 22					c
Wall Paper Crafts.....	3,050 00					
Weavers, Wire.....	500 00					
Total.....	\$1,263,451 22	\$50 00	\$432,403 81	\$9,869 25	\$140 00	\$126,012 95

a. Old age pensions and disability benefits, \$995,008.; b. death and total disability; c. old age pensions \$1,007,650 00.

Many of the local unions provide death, sick and out-of-work benefits for their members in addition to the benefits paid by the international unions that made reports. The amounts above reported are in the majority of cases, those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small portion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits.

WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL BUILDING FUND

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions of the El Paso convention, to all affiliated organizations for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College to be used for such education developments as may be determined upon by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

Contributions received from August 12, 1925, to August 31, 1926, and interest amount to \$1,574.61.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 2,803,966. National and International organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore, the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts, or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

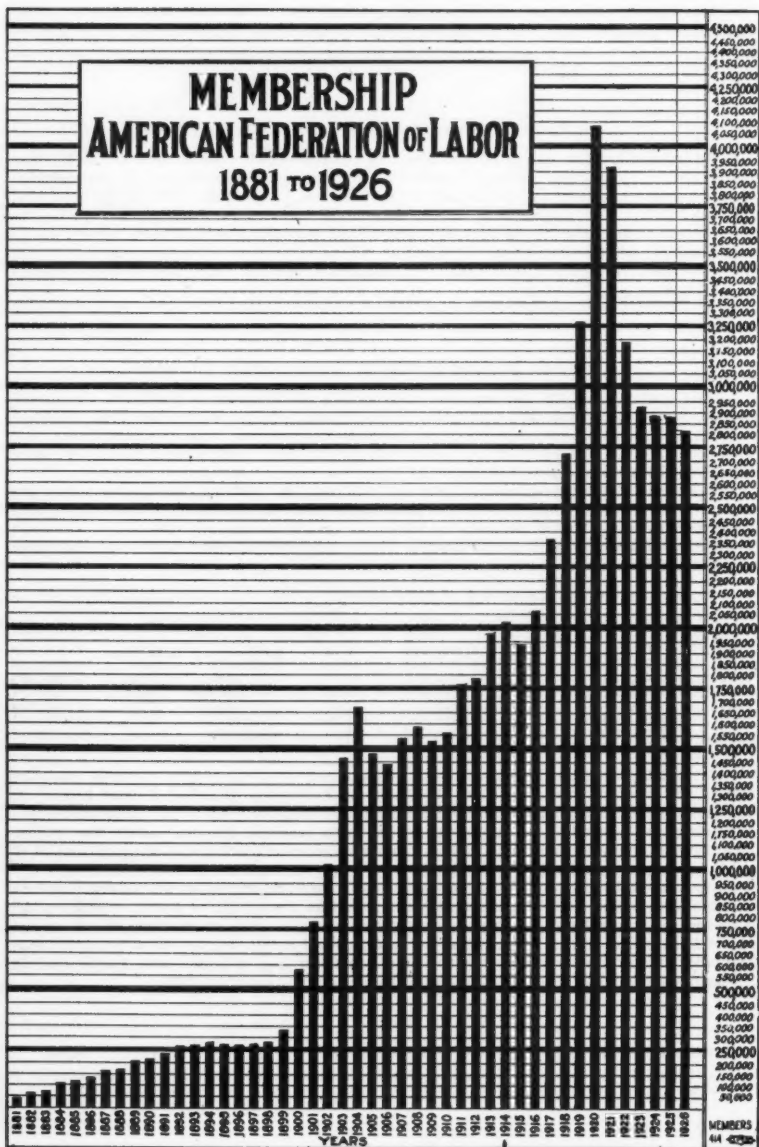
A survey of the membership of the national and international organizations and the unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. indicates that because of strikes or unemployment there were at least 500,000 members for whom per capita tax was not paid to the American Federation of Labor. Adding this number to the 2,803,966 paid-up membership will give a grand total of 3,303,966 members.

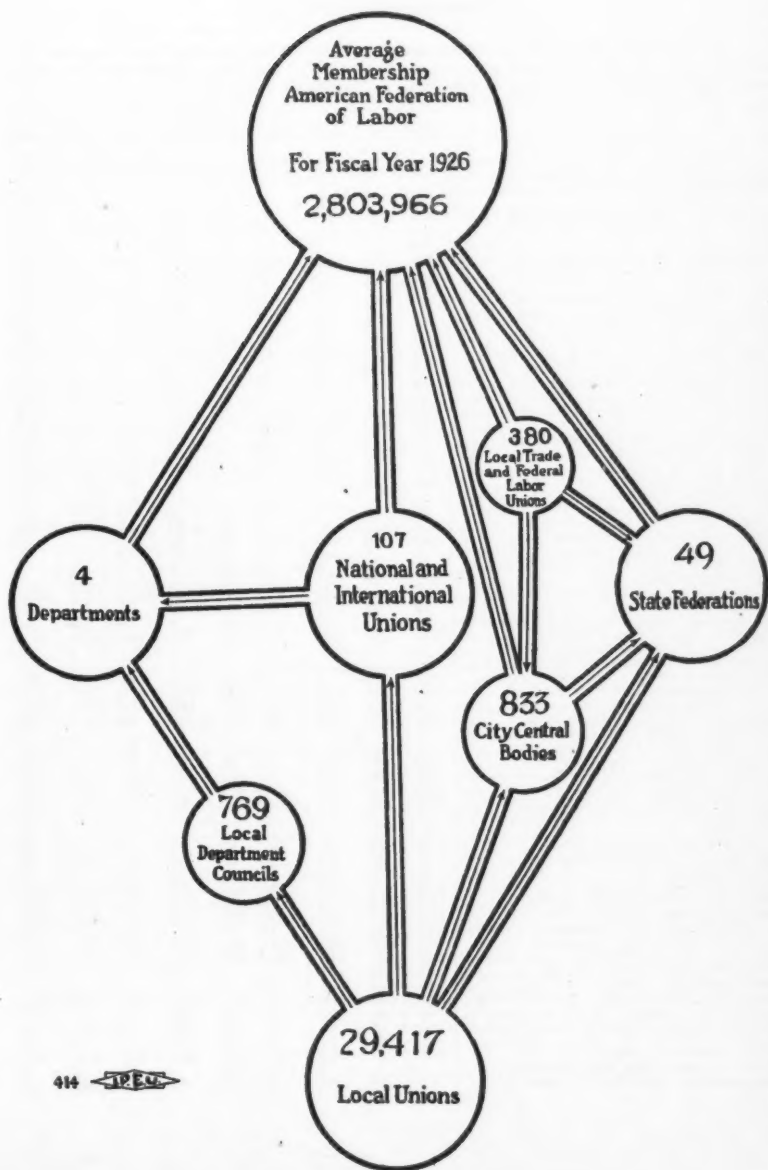
The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past thirty years:

Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membersnsp.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership
1897.....	264,825	1905.....	1,494,300	1913.....	1,996,004	1920.....	4,078,740
1898.....	278,016	1906.....	1,454,200	1914.....	2,020,671	1921.....	3,906,528
1899.....	349,422	1907.....	1,538,970	1915.....	1,946,347	1922.....	3,195,635
1900.....	548,321	1908.....	1,586,885	1916.....	2,072,702	1923.....	2,926,468
1901.....	787,537	1909.....	1,482,872	1917.....	2,371,434	1924.....	2,865,799
1902.....	1,024,399	1910.....	1,562,112	1918.....	2,726,478	1925.....	2,877,297
1903.....	1,465,800	1911.....	1,761,835	1919.....	3,260,068	1926.....	2,803,966
1904.....	1,676,200	1912.....	1,770,145				

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1926—forty-six years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 29,417 local unions in the 107 national and international unions and 380 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a total paid-up average membership of 2,803,966 for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1926.

MEMBERSHIP AMERICAN FEDERATION of LABOR 1881 TO 1926





VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1918 up to and including 1926. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.....	30	30	69	118	94	77	74	101	104
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assn. of Heat and Frost Insulators.....	16	18	22	26	20	20	22	24	25
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.....	204	210	275	280	248	229	222	218	216
Barbers' International Union, Jour.....	384	359	442	470	452	432	453	480	512
Bill Posters.....	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.....	183	253	483	500	367	50	50	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.....	555	849	1030	845	417	194	175	171	145
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	358	368	467	410	402	399	372	362	369
Bookbinders Intl. Brotherhood of.....	145	164	207	247	163	129	134	136	129
Brewery Workmen, International Union.....	450	400	341	273	190	166	160	160	160
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.....	25	27	52	54	41	48	48	50	50
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.....	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700
Bridge & Struct. Iron Wkrs., Intl. Assn.....	160	170	242	199	140	146	177	163	191
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.....	7	10	14	12	8	7	7	7	6
Brushmakers' International Union.....	2	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union.....				8	94	78	62	62	62
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.....	2673	3079	3315	3521	3138	3150	3155	3170	3197
Carmen of A., Bro. Railway.....	534	1004	1821	2090	1717	1600	1375	1250	887
Carvers' Union, International Wood.....	12	10	12	12	11	9	10	10	11
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	395	363	388	342	320	309	277	235	200
Clerks, Bro. of Railway.....	172	714	1860	1696	1378	941	884	912	92
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail.....	150	150	208	212	167	103	100	100	100
*Cloth Hat & Millinery Workers International Union.....	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	78	87
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....			12	25	26	23	23	23	23
Coopers' International Union.....	40	40	43	44	28	17	15	13	11
Cutting Die & Cuttermakers, Intl Union.....	2	2	2	3	3	++	++	++	++
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.....	4	5	6	6	5	5	5	4	4
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.....		18	35	22	10	6	6	6	7
Electrical Workers, International Bro.....	544	1312	1392	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420
Elevator Constructors.....	29	30	31	38	38	52	81	81	95
Engineers, B'n. Ass. of U. S. & C., Nat. Mar.....	79	128	170	211	190	u	u	u	u
Engineers, Intl. Union of Steam.....	230	250	320	320	320	271	250	253	270
Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate.....		1	2	4	3	2	1	1	1
Engravers Intl. Union, Metal.....				1	1	1	1	1	1
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo....	51	50	59	65	65	65	68	72	77
Federal Employees, National Fed. of.....	109	204	385	330	250	212	208	202	179
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.....	23	154	221	180	161	160	150	160	160
Firemen, Intl. Bro. of Stationary.....	171	205	296	350	250	125	90	100	80
Fruit & Vegetable Workers of N. A., Intl. Union of.....					19	++	++	++	++
Foundry Employes, Intl. Bro. of.....	33	54	91	52	40	40	36	35	35
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.....	100	108	121	45	47	92	89	114	78
Garment Workers of America, United.....	459	460	459	472	475	476	475	475	475
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.....	100	100	100	100	97	70	60	60	60
Glass Cutters and Flatteners Assn. of A. Window.....									3
Glass Workers, American Flint.....	99	95	99	97	87	81	61	53	53
Glass Workers, National Window.....	7	50	48	50	50	50	40	20	20
Glove Workers.....	7	7	10	7	4	2	2	3	5
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A., The.....	119	107	105	105	100	95	86	85	85
Hatters of North America, United.....	91	100	105	115	115	115	115	115	115
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.....	367	400	420	460	460	475	490	615	665
Horsehoofers of United States and Canada.....	54	54	54	54	25	20	20	20	15
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, etc.....	652	608	604	572	465	384	385	385	386
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.....	161	197	315	254	159	117	111	114	100
Jewelry Workers' International.....	48	51	81	s	s	22	12	8	7
Lace Operatives, Amal.....	12	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.....	895	908	1054	941	939	912	910	900	801
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. & Metal.....	60	60	59	80	80	80	80	80	160
Laundry Workers, International Union.....	55	60	67	70	65	55	55	55	55
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.....	41	67	117	80	34	20	20	20	17
Letter Carriers, National Assn. of.....	305	307	325	325	325	325	325	325	400
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.....			3	16	10	6	3	3	5
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Assn.....	49	56	61	72	76	63	55	53	54

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	260	313	740	641	463	343	305	318	301
Machinists, International Association of.	1436	2546	3308	2736	1809	973	779	714	714
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of	56	542	q	q	q	377	383	374	291
Marble, etc., International Assn. of.	10	10	12	12	17	23	30	32	42
Masters, Mates and Pilots	48	62	71	91	55	41	41	39	34
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	291	663	653	439	196	104	115	122	122
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet.	183	202	218	242	250	250	250	250	250
Mine Workers of America, United.	4134	3938	3936	4267	3729	4049	4027	4000	4000
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs. I. U. of.	167	178	211	162	46	81	91	85	81
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.	500	516	573	585	265	321	336	275	284
Musicians, American Federation of.	650	654	700	746	750	750	771	800	800
Oil Field, etc., Workers		45	209	248	61	25	22	12	7
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.	845	827	1031	1133	978	928	1033	1076	1114
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.	60	57	74	107	83	70	62	50	46
Patrolmen, Brotherhood of Railroad			26	16	9	†	†	†	†
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	88	90	90	90	80	80	70	70	70
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of.	17	18	19	20	20	20	20	20	20
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.	32	26	26	24	24	24	24	24	24
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.	20	20	32	27	9	7	6	6	6
Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & C. Oper.	190	190	194	239	246	252	300	300	322
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.	320	320	320	319	350	350	350	392	450
Polishers, Intl. Union Metal	100	100	100	100	82	67	60	60	60
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of	101	145	162	170	178	180	200	237	279
Potters, National Bro. of Operative	78	74	80	91	92	91	83	81	78
Powder and High Explosive Workers	4	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2
Printing Pressmen, International	340	340	350	370	370	370	387	400	400
Printers' Union of N. A., I. S. & C. Plate.	12	13	14	15	15	12	12	12	12
Printers and Color Mixers, Machine	5	5	5	5	5	t	t	t	t
Print Cutters' Assn. of A., Natl.	4	4	4	4	3	t	t	t	t
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.	80	84	95	113	68	46	50	50	50
Quarry Workers, International	31	30	30	30	30	24	20	30	30
Railway Employees' Amal. Assn., S. & E.	786	897	947	1000	1000	1000	1000	1010	1010
Railway Mail Association.	94	134	144	156	166	167	179	191	195
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn.									
United State, Tile and Composition	12	10	18	28	30	30	30	30	30
Sawsmiths' National Union	1	1	1	1	1	†	†	†	†
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.	371	427	659	1033	492	179	180	160	150
Sideographers, Intl. Assn. of	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.	9	62	123	113	105	89	80	80	80
Slate and Tile Roofers.	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Spinnners' Intl. Union	22	22	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical	186	185	196	194	195	196	200	200	220
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.	37	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.	53	54	59	61	60	62	65	68	69
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen	42	39	40	44	46	49	50	51	57
Stove Mounters' International Union	19	19	19	20	20	18	16	16	16
Switchmen's Union of North America	107	113	140	101	88	87	93	89	87
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	120	120	120	120	120	119	100	93	83
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.	10	28	93	93	70	46	37	35	35
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of	729	756	1108	1057	764	727	750	789	820
Telegraphers, Commercial	10	20	22	32	34	26	37	41	42
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	377	446	487	500	500	500	433	392	350
Textile Workers of America, United	459	558	1049	829	300	300	300	300	300
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union	25	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Timber Workers, Intl. Union of.	23	39	101	58	8	††	††	††	††
Tip Printers	3	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America	33	42	152	123	34	19	15	14	14
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.	24	20	30	30	30	30	30	30	37
Typographical Union, International	633	647	705	748	689	681	688	710	733
Upholsterers, International Union of	48	55	56	60	67	73	75	76	86
United Wall Paper Craft of N. A.						7	6	6	6
Weavers, Elastic Goring	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wire Weavers' Protective, American	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Centrals.	781	816	926	973	905	901	855	850	833
State Branches	45	46	46	49	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local unions	1076	1091	1498	1027	747	581	514	504	455
Total vote of Unions.	28375	33849	41307	40410	33336	30486	29847	29,958	28,790

†Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ††Disbanded. dNot recognized.
mSuspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. pMerged with Book
binders. qSuspended for failure to comply with decision of the Atlantic City Con-
vention. rMerged with Composition Roofers, etc. sSuspended for failure to comply with
decision of the Montreal Convention. tAmalgamation of National Association of Machine
Printers and Color Mixers of the U. S., with National Print Cutters Association of America,
and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A. uWithdrawn from Affiliation.
vMerged with International Plate Printers and Die Stamps. wReinstated, Oct. 14, 1924.
xSuspended for failure to comply with decision of Atlantic City Convention.

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On August 31, 1926, we had 380 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 22,317, and a defense fund of \$193,095.78, to protect the members of the 380 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout.

The Federation has 1,790 general and district organizers, as well as 19 paid organizers and the officers of the 833 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$32,980.07; initiation fees, \$15,233.05, and reinstatement fees, \$316.75.

DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks' benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months beginning September 1, 1925, and ending August 31, 1926:

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund..... \$32,980 07

EXPENSES

Union and Location	Average Membership	Weeks	Amount
Slate Workers Union, No. 15159, Granville, N. Y.....	78	35	\$19,159 00
Tin, Steel, Iron & Granite Ware Workers Union, No. 10943, Granite, Ill.....	144	12	12,166 00
Slate Workers Union, No. 15178, Poultney, Vt.....	23	37	6,125 00
Hair Spinners Union, No. 10399, Chicago, Ill.....	79	6	3,318 00
Tobacco Strippers Union, No. 12046, New Haven Conn.....	88	1+	823 66
Feather & Flower Workers Union, No. 15853, New York, N. Y.....	23	2	322 00
Total expenses.....			\$41,913 66

RECAPITULATION

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor union, August 31, 1925....	\$202,029 37
Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1926.....	32,980 07
Total.....	\$235,009 44
Paid out of Defense Fund.....	41,913 66
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1926....	\$193,095.78

CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, MERGED, WITHDREW, AMALGAMATED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND REINSTATED

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 24; suspended, 9; reinstated, 13.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 13; suspended, 67; joined national and international organizations, 4; reinstated, 11.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 7; suspended, 33; reinstated, 2; joined national and international unions, 1.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS: Suspended 1. Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months \$105,151.92. Of this amount \$659.87 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$10 to \$100 for organizing central bodies and local trade and federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor.

NAME	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE	AMOUNT RECEIVED
*1. Hugh Frayne.....	New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Mass.....	\$11,932 79
2. Wm. Collins.....	Michigan, New York.....	7,459 25
3. P. J. Smith.....	Minnesota, Washington, D. C., Iowa, Montana.....	6,772 50
4. T. J. Conboy.....	Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Illinois, Colorado, Utah.....	6,422 12
5. C. O. Young.....	Oregon, Washington.....	6,116 25
6. P. F. Duffy.....	Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania.....	5,997 73
7. J. B. Dale.....	California, Washington, Oregon.....	5,887 23
8. O. E. Woodbury.....	Pennsylvania, New Jersey.....	5,742 07
9. H. F. Hilfers.....	New Jersey, New York, Washington, D. C.....	5,158 39
10. A. Neary.....	New Jersey, Maryland, Washington, D. C., New York, Ohio, Illinois.....	5,035 54
11. A. Bastien.....	Canada.....	4,892 25
12. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts, New York, Vermont.....	4,852 22
13. J. M. Richie.....	New York, Michigan, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey.....	4,515 17
14. C. N. Idar.....	Texas, Arizona.....	4,324 50
15. A. Marks.....	New York, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland.....	3,884 81
16. C. J. Jennings.....	New Jersey, New York.....	3,657 12
17. J. E. Roach.....	New York.....	3,138 54
18. Edw. F. McGrady.....	Washington, D. C., New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia.....	2,760 88
19. H. T. Geiger.....	California, Oklahoma.....	2,123 38
20. Edgar Wallace.....	Washington, D. C., Connecticut.....	2,001 88
21. F. L. Phillips.....	California, Arkansas.....	1,434 38
22. T. J. Quinnan.....	Arizona.....	222 39
23. W. E. Bryan.....	Missouri.....	160 66
	Paid to district organizers in amounts less than \$100.....	659 87
	Total.....	\$105,151 92

*Includes \$6,016.79 paid for rent of office and office expenses and salary of stenographer.

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, LABOR OFFICE ROOM FUND

On June 15, 1925, an appeal was issued for contributions to furnish a room in the newly erected International Labor Office Building, Geneva, Switzerland. This appeal was authorized by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at its February, 1925, meeting, and President Green directed to proceed to collect the necessary funds, the amount to be not less than \$1,000. Contributions and interest received from June 18, 1925, to August 31, 1926, amounted to \$1,660.68. A check for the total of this fund, \$1,660.68, was drawn payable to A. F. of L. Fraternal Delegate to Great Britain, Frank Farrington, who in turn, while in Europe, presented this check for \$1,660.68 to the International Labor Office at Geneva, securing a receipt for same.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid has been mailed to each contributor and additional copies may be obtained by application to headquarters.

FLAG FUND

Receipts up to August 31, 1926..... \$526 64

GOMPERTS' MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts up to August 31, 1926..... \$98 50

CONCLUSION

I congratulate the officers of the national and international organizations and all our affiliated bodies as well as the general membership, without whose loyal support and cooperation all effort would have been in vain, upon the splendid struggle that has been made to maintain the resistance of their respective organizations and the solidarity of our movement against the campaign of opposition of our enemies. I also desire to express my sincere appreciation of the assistance and cooperation extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and our affiliated bodies and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted.

Frank Morrison

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER TOBIN'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months from August 31, 1925, to August 31, 1926. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME		EXPENSES	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants paid:	
1925		1925	
September 30.....	\$23,891 17	September 30.....	\$34,770 41
October 31.....	40,474 20	October 31.....	46,262 43
November 30.....	39,976 54	November 30.....	40,162 02
December 31.....	56,919 93	December 31.....	55,534 02
1926		1926	
January 31.....	37,247 05	January 31.....	38,654 22
February 28.....	36,755 78	February 28.....	34,489 84
March 31.....	49,333 36	March 31.....	50,431 15
April 30.....	41,790 63	April 30.....	40,292 17
May 31.....	46,218 31	May 31.....	41,234 10
June 30.....	34,079 46	June 30.....	41,172 15
July 31.....	42,166 44	July 31.....	38,770 63
August 31.....	69,598 62	August 31.....	57,340 19
Total income for 12 months.....	\$518,451 49	Total expenses for 12 months.....	\$519,113 33
Balance in hands of Treasurer, August 31, 1925.....	211,053 80		
Total funds.....	<u>\$729,505 29</u>		

RECAPITULATION

Total funds (balance and income).....	\$729,505 29
Total expenses.....	519,113 33
August 31, 1926—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$210,391 96
August 31, 1926—Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000 00
Total balance on hand, August 31, 1926.....	<u>\$212,391 96</u>
Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates.....	\$100,000 00
Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check.....	55,391 96
Federation Bank and Trust Co., New York, N. Y., int. bearing certificates.....	40,000 00
Canadian Victory Bonds.....	15,000 00
Treasurer's balance, August 31, 1926.....	<u>\$210,391 96</u>

Deposits guaranteed by bond.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,

Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., September 1, 1926.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1926:

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand, August 31, 1925.....	\$12,841 42
Receipts from rents, September 1, 1925, to and including August 31, 1926	27,934 00
Receipts from 4% Savings Certificates.....	300 00
Receipts from United States Federal Farm Loan Certificates.....	225 00
Receipts from waste paper.....	128 12
Receipts from interest on funds on deposit.....	71 50
Receipts from amount received from insurance company for damages to awnings (by fire).....	12 00
Total	\$41,512 04
EXPENSES	
Pay roll (building employees).....	\$12,727 00
Taxes.....	2,865 60
Electricity.....	1,342 15
Fuel (coal).....	1,076 81
Supplies.....	905 36
Purchase of Frigidaire and compressor.....	855 00
Upkeep and repairs.....	726 36
Plastering and painting.....	632 75
Cleaning windows.....	520 00
Insurance (liability).....	324 31
Insurance (fire).....	362 50
Ice.....	296 10
Water rent.....	186 06
Hauling ashes and trash.....	142 50
Upkeep of rest room (laundry).....	13 19
Inspection of elevators.....	2 50
Rent of safe deposit box.....	2 50
Total expenses	\$22,980 69
RECAPITULATION	
Receipts.....	\$41,512 04
Expenses.....	22,980 69
Balance on hand August 31, 1926	\$18,531 35
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Bank, subject to check.....	\$1,031 35
Mt. Vernon Bank, interest bearing certificates.....	12,500 00
Federal Farm Loan Certificates.....	5,000 00
Balance on hand, August 31, 1926	\$18,531 35

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,

Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE AND ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

American trade unions are founded fundamentally upon principles of voluntary action. They seek to negotiate agreements with employers which provide specific, definite terms and conditions under which work shall be done. Trade agreements rest upon the principle of voluntary action. It is upon this same fundamental principle of consent of the governed that our nation is built. Thus the principles and practices of American trade unionism are in full accord with the principles and practices of our great republic.

With the growth and development of American industry and the organization of ever larger units of industrial enterprise in corporate form there is the imperative need for a parallel form of organization of the workers in those industries so that the employment contract may retain the value and virtue of equality of opportunity and assure all a fair measure of mutuality and exercise of free will in the making of employment agreements.

When these principles of mutuality of participation and exercise of free will are denied in the making of employment contracts there develops a feeling of resentment or an indifference because of the lack of initiative which arbitrary management fosters. Protest against lack of mutuality expresses itself in many forms; in the desire of complete domination either by employers, by workers, or through the instrumentality of the State. Any one of these extremes is undesirable and harmful to the general community as well as industry. The trade unions of America are a helpful and constructive force in maintaining and perpetuating Americanism and its free and democratic institutions.

Because American trade unionism is founded upon these great principles the American wage earners have progressed and prospered more than the workers of any other nation.

Trade contracts or collective agreements between organized wage earners and employers have therefore embraced in the main, standards for compensating workmen for services rendered and setting forth conditions under which that service is to be rendered. Therefore agreements have embraced in the main wages or returns that shall come to workers. Collective bargaining establishes a relationship between management and employees that affords an opportunity for organized wage earners to interest themselves in the problems of the industry and to give the benefit of their experience for the development of better methods of work and in the solving of production problems. A decided forward step has been taken in this direction by some of our national and international unions. This development and tendency should meet with favor and support from all organized labor. The Executive Council is of the opinion that trade union agreements should include provisions providing plans for the establishment of permanent machinery for interpretation of agreements and for dealing with new incidental problems as they arise. We urge also careful consideration of additional provisions whereby the union may cooperate with management. There is a vital basis for cooperation between workers and management in their interdependent interests in the success of the industrial undertaking in which they are employed. Progress and efficiency in either group bring reciprocal benefits to the other.

In this regard the Executive Council is in full accord with the expression of the last as well as previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that existing anti-combination or anti-trust laws have been so construed judicially as to create great uncertainty regarding the legal status of trade unions and to restrict, hamper and hinder the expansion and activities of organized labor. These legislative and judicial restrictions and limitations are an attempt to prohibit necessary and normal development and a curtailment upon the principle of freedom of contract advanced under guise of promoting the public welfare and preventing public exploitation. While stated in terms of purposes of human welfare the actual operation of these restrictive laws so far as wage earners are concerned has been to deny and limit their opportunities for organization and in constantly narrowing their field of operation.

This subject is one that is highly complex and requires considerable research and

study. It may also prove essential that affirmative legislation may be required in addition to legislation intended to remove existing legislative restrictions and limitations.

As directed by the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council has given study to this subject. It is the hope that during the coming year substantial progress may be made in securing the cooperation of other interested groups to remove unjustified restrictions upon industry and organized wage earners and thereby enable organized workers and employers to enlarge upon the functions of trade union agreements which will lead to a more constructive form of relationship to and participation in industry.

Under an existing legal economic system those investing their capital in industrial or commercial enterprise are accorded advantages and opportunities not accorded to labor. The investors of capital are free to organize into corporate associations and in turn these industrial units unite in various forms of associations, federations and combinations. They exercise rights and principles which they seek to deny to their employees and other wage earners. Hence, such unlimited power and opportunity of organization tends to make labor subservient to organized capital. We hold that the test of validity of organized power is not in the grant of power but in the manner in which such power is exercised. The right of employers to organization should be made dependent upon equal opportunity for organized powers and rights on the part of labor. It is therefore recommended that efforts be directed toward making the grant of corporate power of capital dependent upon freedom of like power of organization upon the part both of the workers as well as the consuming public, thus re-establishing a fair degree of freedom of play to all economic, industrial and social factors and elements in industry.

Right to Organize—Supplemental to this general proposal the Executive Council has caused the subject of declaring the provision in employment contracts against joining a trade union as being contrary to public policy and therefore unenforceable at law, to be investigated, and as was directed by the Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L., considerable information has been obtained on this subject. There appears to be considerable doubt as to the validity or constitutionality of such proposed legislation. Then, too, there is embraced in this proposal the possible danger of such proposed legislation being used against organized labor.

While attention is directed to the elements of danger contained in this proposed anti-"yellow dog contract" legislation, nevertheless the Executive Council is not yet fully prepared to submit a final recommendation on this subject. Instead, it proposes that the subject be further inquired into and that it be authorized to take such further action as its continued study and consideration may warrant.

Proposals for Compulsory Regulation—The attempt to delay unnecessarily or to deny the workers organized and unorganized their right to cease work and to compel them to submit their grievances or adjustment of terms of employment and of compensation to arbitration or for decision to an industrial court, has practically ceased. It is recognized everywhere that an attempt made to fix terms of employment and to regulate remedial relations between employers and workers is a clear denial of freedom of contract and creates instead a condition of status. It is further recognized that for the state to fix the terms of the employment contract either through force of compulsory arbitration or industrial courts, will eventually lead to a complete domination of the state over industry itself.

What at first appeared as Labor's contest aroused the interest and support of all fair-minded citizens and even employing interests hostile to organized labor. Perhaps the only elements in our society favorable to such a state proposal were those solely engaged in trading and not manufacturing and those hoping to profit politically.

Because of the foregoing the Colorado law, which seeks to hold in check cessation of work with the thought in mind of developing compulsory arbitration, the Kansas Industrial Law which is now merely a shadow and without substance, have ceased to merit any further public support and remain merely as exhibits of an abortive attempt to enslave industry to the state.

In addition to the foregoing, the former Canadian Industrial Disputes Investi-

gation Law has been amended as a result of a decision by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council declaring this law *ultra vires*. This amended law is in substance a compulsory investigation law and intended to restrain cessation of work either at the instigation of employers or workers until the dispute in question has been inquired into and an effort made to secure an agreement. Therefore the parties to the dispute are free to do as they will unless both parties have agreed beforehand to abide by the decision of the Industrial Board. This amended law is largely modelled after the Colorado law and it is firmly believed will prove as ineffectual as the Colorado law.

Perhaps the most pronounced progress made this year in eradicating the most subtle form of denial of the right of freedom to collective agreements is evidenced in the enactment of the Watson-Parker Law. This law has abolished the Railroad Labor Board and instead has set out in clear and unmistakable language the right of the railroad and transportation workers to voluntary collective bargaining.

Thus to all practical intents and purposes the long, trying, as well as bitter campaign of the trade union organizations and the American Federation of Labor for the right to collective bargaining and freedom from domination of the state in the form of compulsory arbitration or through industrial courts, has come to a successful ending. Again, organized labor in America has vindicated its course and demonstrated the wisdom of its judgment. In addition, it has rendered a great public service and has blazoned the way for more constructive policies and helpful procedures both to industry as well as the general public good.

ORGANIZATION PROGRESS

Though we are gratified that many organizations report progress we are fully conscious of the industries yet unorganized. While it is true that the unions everywhere set standards which regulate the non-union fields also and thus afford a measure of protection to unorganized workers, organization has an equally important function in connection with the doing of the day's work. Power has to be controlled and directed or it is dissipated through inaction. Each wage earner possesses skill and creative ability which must be turned into the production process. This is possible most effectively only through an agency to mobilize and direct the energy. The union is the agency through which this can be done. It can enable all workers both to have part in fixing work standards and thereby augment the power of the union to secure advantageous terms of employment for workers and to have a real participation in production.

The Federation is anxious to extend organization lines. During the past year the Federation has suggested and urged the inauguration of special organizing movements. A number of central bodies have made promising beginnings.

We have given considerable thought to the problem of helping the organizers to make their work more efficient. The organizer has to convince wage-earners that they need to join a union and act upon that conviction. He has to be able to tell all about the union and its services to its membership and to know how to make the information appeal to different individuals. In a very large degree the progress of the labor movement depends upon the quality of work done by its organizers.

The Federation, during the past year has employed 16 salaried organizers. Each international has its corps of organizers. The work of these salaried men has been supplemented during the past year by 1774 volunteer organizers whose only pay is a small fee for unions chartered and the genuine satisfaction of contributing to a great humanitarian cause. These organizers need a special information service so that they may have the facts on current problems, the status of the movement, and probable economic developments. If organizers have the necessary information they are better able to take advantage of developing opportunities.

A special educational and organizing campaign was conducted during the past year by the Union Label Trades Department. This campaign laid special emphasis on trade union history and union labels. Moving pictures were used to good effect. The campaign lasted seven months; the labor film was sent into 36 states and provinces, and shown in 529 meetings in 396 cities.

This campaign was planned to serve as a revival agency. No interest remains constant unless it is nourished. Reminders of the struggles and achievements of organized labor, and the inspiration of its ideals together with the suggestion of new possibilities, has served to rouse the membership of our unions to renewed vigor and action. This has served to strengthen the cohesive forces that bind our movement together.

The necessary and potential central factors in all such organizing campaigns are the central labor unions and the state federations of labor. These bodies can not make their full contribution to the labor movement unless all local unions that should be affiliated to them, join hands for mutual support, progress and reciprocal benefits.

Many local unions are following the selfish policy of remaining aloof from local central labor unions and state federations. This is ill-advised saving for the help and moral support of the organized groups are of much greater value than the small costs of affiliation. When trouble comes to the local union it must turn to the local organized group for cooperation. Each local union should bear a share of the expense of these organization which if active and progressive, serve as protection against attacks and wrongs that are visited upon more helpless groups. We urge therefore, that national and international unions direct their local unions to establish and maintain the custom of affiliation to central labor unions and state federations of labor. One hundred per cent affiliation where affiliation is possible will mean one hundred per cent efficiency for the organized labor movement.

Not only do we need to strengthen our organization from within but we need to extend our lines by organizing those still unorganized. We hope each central labor body will plan and carry through a labor forward movement during the coming year.

A special campaign to increase the percentage of organization among women wage earners was begun in New Jersey in March. Some national and international unions have participated in this undertaking through organizers and contributions. Results thus far have not been what they should, due to indifference among those directly appealed to and due to the fact that we lacked an adequate organizing force through which we could carry forward an aggressive campaign.

The problem of organizing women wage earners involves difficult elements growing out of the newness of the employment of women in large numbers in industries. That these problems must be met is evident from records showing that women are more and more seeking employment in industrial establishments. There is need for continuation of this special campaign and for increasing emphasis in all organizing work for organizing women as well as men.

Special organizing literature for women was prepared for the New Jersey campaign which is available for all national and internationals and central bodies.

Both organizing activities and the solidarity of the trade union movement have been handicapped by groups which advocate communist principles and theories. Communists who have a fundamental philosophy directly opposed to that of the trade union movement reject orderly progress and collective agreements under which sustained betterment may be developed. There can be no compromise between orderly progress and disruptive tactics. Communists are trying to do the work necessary to establish anti-union policies and to facilitate exploitation of wage earners. An example of this is the Passaic strike where communists took advantage of real grievances to lead workers on strike and to exploit their necessities for the purpose of raising money which is expended under communist control. In the case of Passaic we felt it necessary to issue a warning to trade unionists to contribute to the relief of these striking workers only through trade union agencies. We urge trade unions at all times to take care that their activities be conducted through channels and agencies of which they are fully advised and in which they have confidence.

Special appeals have been issued during the year for workers on strike: First on behalf of the anthracite miners (a full report of this will be found elsewhere), and the British miners, their wives and other dependents. There is a striking similarity in the problems which confront miners of all countries as well as the mining industry. As mining is a basic industry it is of no little concern to all other workers that the industry in all countries find better methods of management and organization. We pledge the miners our full support to that end.

JURISDICTIONAL PROBLEMS

Success in the adjustment of a number of differences between nationals and internationals affiliated to the A. F. of L. is an outstanding feature of this year's work. Jurisdictional disputes weaken not only the organizations directly concerned but the whole movement whose effectiveness depends upon cooperation. Whenever the chain is broken and workers direct their energies against each other, progress in constructive development is retarded. There is an interdependence between the interests of all workers in an industry which makes differences and conflict a menace to all. A spirit of conciliation which tries to find a solution for a dispute is a big asset for organization progress. Problems are not things to be fought over—they are things to be solved. Those who contributed to securing agreements in these jurisdictional disputes are to be highly commended.

It is a genuine satisfaction to report progress in the adjustment of differences that caused division in our ranks for some time. Such progress heightens the prestige and increases the effectiveness of our movement. The following we submit with most hearty appreciation and we recommend an expression of appreciation and commendation to those who assumed responsibility for sponsoring agreements within our jurisdictions.

Plumbers vs. Machinists.—It is with gratification that we record here the agreement reached between these two organizations adjusting to their mutual satisfaction the conflict which had existed for so many years. The agreement in full reads:

AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS THE I. A. OF M., AND THE UNITED ASSOCIATION OF JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS & STEAMFITTERS OF THE UNITED STATES & CANADA, HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS THE U. A.

The intention of the following agreement is to bring about harmonious understandings between the members of these organizations, to the end, that by cooperating and assisting each other, better conditions as well as control of our respective jurisdictions may be enjoyed by both organizations.

1. It is understood by both parties that the members of the U. A. have jurisdiction over pipe fitting of all description and sizes, without regard to the mode or means in the making of joints or connections, or dismantling thereof. (This not to include ground joints on locomotives.)

2. It is further understood by both parties that members of the I. A. of M. have jurisdiction over the manufacturing, erection, dismantling, and repairs of machinery of all description used in any kind of service.

3. In the installation of power and heating plants where small self-contained units, such as house or boiler feed pumps are furnished by their contractors, and require no assembling on the job, members of the U. A. may do this work.

4. That the installation of tubes in condensers shall be the work of the members of the I. A. of M.

5. The assembling and fastening to units of mechanical oiling devices is the work of members of the I. A. of M. All oil piping leading up to the devices is the work of the members of the U. A.

6. The members of the I. A. of M. shall install throttle valves on units; also strainers and separators, where such come inside of throttle valves.

7. Both parties to this agreement shall endeavor to assist each other to draw up and enter into with all plants, buildings, and such other places that have controlled units, an agreement to employ members of both organization on their respective work in the maintenance of the above-mentioned plants or buildings.

8. It is understood that both parties to this agreement will use their very best efforts to assist each other in maintaining their respective jurisdiction and to assist in organizing the product they handle.

9. If at any time a dispute arises between the parties to this agreement that can not be adjusted by the business representatives of the organizations in their respective localities, the matter in dispute shall be referred to the international presidents of the organizations, who shall either personally or by authorized representatives meet and adjust the matter at their earliest opportunity.

The above agreement shall be in full force and effect as of November 16, 1926.

(Signed)

JOHN CORFIELD, *Gen. Pres.*

MARTIN DURKIN,

RICHARD P. WALSH,

*Representing United Asso. of
Plumbers & Steamfitters of
the United States & Canada.*

P. J. CONLON, *Act. Int'l. Pres.*

ROBERT FECHNER,

CHARLES W. FRY,

*Representing the International
Association of Machinists.*

Blacksmiths vs. Tunnel & Subway Constructors.—That an agreement has likewise been entered into between the parties to this controversy is an additional source of gratification. For the record we quote the agreement in full as follows:

NEW YORK, March 19, 1926.

After three conferences held in the New York office of the American Federation of Labor on the following dates—February 1st, March 10th, and March 19th, 1926, between Vice-President John Tobin, representing the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; Secretary-Treasurer John J. Collins, representing the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union; John Dalton, representing the Building Trades Council of New York City, Long Island and Vicinity, with which the local unions of these organizations are affiliated; Lewis E. Lozier, Business Agent of Constructors Local Union 127 of New York City, the following agreement was reached:

FIRST. Secretary-Treasurer Collins stated that he had full authority to speak for the Executive Board of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union and was empowered to say that that organization would accept the decision of the American Federation of Labor rendered in this jurisdiction dispute between the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union and would do everything possible to live up to same in letter and spirit.

SECOND. The Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union will turn over all members of that organization coming within the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, and will not accept applications for membership from any more of this class of workers, after the signing of this agreement, those in their membership to be turned over within thirty (30) days from the date of signing.

THIRD. The International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers agree to accept all of these members who are in good standing at the time of the transfer for an initiation fee of three dollars and sixty-five cents (\$3.65). Members in arrears to the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union, after the signing of this agreement, shall not be accepted by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers until they pay up all arrearages and obligations to that organization.

FOURTH. The officials of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers agree to use every honorable means to have all those who were former members of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union, who owe that organization money for dues or assessments and who were accepted into the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers prior to the signing of this agreement, to pay same to the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.

FIFTH. It is agreed that a check-up on all members involved in both organizations shall be made in order to determine just what men come under the terms and conditions of this agreement.

SIXTH. It is further agreed by all parties at interest that every possible help and cooperation will be given to each other in obtaining and maintaining the highest possible standards and conditions for the respective members; that special effort will be made to unionize subways now under construction and all work in that line in preparation.

(Signed)

JOHN J. COLLINS, <i>Secretary-Treasurer,</i> <i>Representing Tunnel and Subway</i> <i>Constructors International Union</i>	JOHN M. TOBIN, <i>Vice-President,</i> <i>Representing International Bro-</i> <i>therhood of Blacksmiths, Drop</i> <i>Forgers and Helpers</i>
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JOHN F. DALTON, <i>Representing Building Trades</i> <i>Council of New York City, Long</i> <i>Island and Vicinity.</i>	LEWIS E. LOZIER, <i>Business Agent,</i> <i>Constructors Local Union 127.</i>
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HUGH FRAYNE,
Representing the American Fed-
eration of Labor.

Electrical Workers vs. Steam Engineers.—Reference to the proceedings of the Cincinnati convention of the A. F. of L. shows the decision rendered in this case. Since that time several points of conflict of jurisdiction have arisen. Upon the request of President Noonan for the Electrical Workers and President Huddell for the Engineers the Executive Council rendered a decision interpreting the Cincinnati convention decision as follows:

"Owing to the fact that misunderstandings have arisen between the Hoisting Engineers and the Electrical Workers the Executive Council has been asked for an interpretation of decision rendered by the 1922 Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor, as it relates to the jurisdiction of overhead or traveling cranes, installed as a permanent fixture in building while building is under construction and cranes are being used to handle building material for the construction of building and also for the setting of motors, generators and other electrical equipment.

"The decision provides that the Engineers have jurisdiction over the hoists for building material on building under construction, and that the Electrical Workers have jurisdiction over overhead or traveling cranes for shop or factory purposes. Therefore, if the overhead or traveling cranes are used exclusively to handle building material for the building, cranes shall be operated during such construction by members of the Steam and Operating Engineers.

"If motors and other electrical equipment are being set in place while building is under construction and a crane or cranes are used for such setting, the Engineers shall operate the crane, handling both building material and electrical equipment until 50% of motors or electrical equipment are set, and then the Engineers shall cease to operate crane and shall turn same over to be operated by Electricians, who will operate the crane for all purposes thereafter.

"In the event of two overhead cranes being used to handle building material and electrical equipment, then one crane shall be operated by Engineer and one be operated by Electrician for all the work required of that crane, in which case each operator shall be employed until the plant is completed when Engineer shall turn crane over to Electricians to operate."

Bricklayers vs. Plasterers.—Conforming to the agreement reached during the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, between the representatives of the contending organizations and as recorded in the official printed proceedings of that convention, President Green repeatedly conferred with the officers of both organizations for the purpose of carrying out the terms of this agreement. Finally each side agreed to the following:

"It is agreed that the tribunal provided for in the Atlantic City agreement of October 2nd, 1925, shall be composed of three men; one to be selected by the Executive Officers of the B. M. and P. I. U., and one to be selected by the Executive Officers of the O. P. and C. F. I. A.; the third man, or umpire, to be agreed upon jointly by the Executive Officers of the two organizations at interest.

"In case the Executive Officers of the two organizations fail to agree upon the third man, the two representatives appointed by the officers of the two organizations interested shall proceed to select the third man. In case these two representatives find it impossible to reach an agreement, the final selection of the third man shall be referred to the Executive Officers of the two organizations for determination."

Later the following agreement was made:

NEW YORK, NEW YORK,
July 15, 1926.

IT IS AGREED, That the tribunal provided for in the Atlantic City Agreement of October 2, 1925, shall be composed of the following named persons: Hon. Elihu Root,....., and

This understanding and this agreement is arrived at under the terms and requirements set forth in Section 5 of an Agreement entered into by the duly accredited representatives of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America and the duly accredited representatives of the Operative Plasterers & Cement Finishers International Association, at Atlantic City, New Jersey, on October 2, 1925. The duties and functions of this tribunal are set forth in Section 3 of the Atlantic City Agreement.

(Signed) W. J. BOWEN,
HARRY C. BATES,

Representing the B. M. & P. I. U.
ED. J. MCGIVERN,
PETER G. COOK,
T. A. SCULLY,

Representing the O. P. & C. F. I. A.

Approved: WM. GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

It is not possible at the time this report is prepared for us to make any statement as to the work of the tribunal thus appointed. The tribunal is proceeding to a consideration of the questions referred to it and it is expected that a decision will be rendered at the earliest possible date.

Machinists vs. Street & Electric Railway Employees.—The Conference and Adjustment Committee authorized by our Atlantic City convention was duly appointed. This committee held several meetings. Finally the committee and the officers of the two organizations met with your Executive Council when the whole subject was fully considered. We thereupon decided:

"After giving all the facts submitted careful consideration and after weighing all the arguments offered, it is the opinion of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees does not claim jurisdiction over machinists and machinists' helpers employed in machine shops devoted to

machine and machine-repair work. The Executive Council suggests that in car barns or terminal points not regarded as machine shops devoted to machine work and machine-repair work, if there arises a dispute over the classification of machinists or machinists' helpers, such dispute to be taken up for adjustment by the representatives of all parties at interest."

Teamsters vs. Railway Clerks.—Conforming to the decision of the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks was, on January 25, 1926, suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor. Before said suspension became effective representatives of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor conferred with the officers of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and earnestly requested them to comply with the decision of the Atlantic City convention. This they refused to do. Following the suspension additional conferences were held but without avail. Therefore, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks remains suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

We express the hope that ultimately a settlement of this unfortunate jurisdictional controversy will be brought about so that the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks may again take its place among the national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

COMPANY UNIONS

A subtle and therefore a dangerous method of restraining wage earners from the full exercise of their right to organization and voluntary collective bargaining is that which is predicated not on denial of the right to organization but upon the insistence of corporate capital that workers join the union formed by the employer, or at his instigation and arranged in his behalf.

As directed by the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council is investigating the company union development. Considerable information has been obtained regarding their extent and form of organization, method of procedure, character of their control and results accomplished.

Our examination, however, warrants the assertion that these company unions are an absolute and definite denial of the claims of employers that they want to free their employes from union domination—hence the freedom of the so-called open shop. Indeed, firms fostering company unions demand as a prerequisite to employment that the wage earner shall join such company unions and in the event he refuses to do so that he shall be bound by the actions, decisions and agreements reached by or through such company unions. There is not accorded in this company union scheme any element of freedom of action other than freedom prescribed by the management.

Many industrial undertakings describe their company unions as employee representation plans or experiments in cooperation. Either name is made inaccurate by the absence of mutuality in the inauguration and the conduct of the plan. Company unions were conceived by employers to safeguard their special interests.

Even when operated under most beneficent, paternalist conditions, company unions can not supply the initiative and the thought necessary to creative production and cooperation which come only through voluntary agencies.

In many instances company unions make use of the forms and technique developed by standard trade unions but so inverted as to eliminate the principle of voluntarism and to provide "safe control" for management.

An important fact in these company union schemes, which requires consideration by the affiliated trade unions, is the method of organization followed. Almost invariably in all these company unions the workers are organized regardless of trade or occupational consideration and skilled and unskilled workers are massed into one general group, though different branches may be maintained for the purpose of pitting one group against another and thus making it more easy to manipulate the attitude of the group as a whole.

After all, these company union schemes are more or less patterned after the

company stores which prevailed in American industry to some extent a number of years past. The evils resulting from company union schemes may not be as pronounced as this older method of control of workers by employers, nevertheless the results are more deadly. It may prove advisable or desirable that these company unions be dealt with in a like manner as the company stores. The Executive Council at this time wishes to call attention to these conditions arising out of company unions which constitute denial to the workers of freedom of organization and of functioning in matters which concern their sale of labor power and service. It is proposed that the Executive Council continue to study and gather information on company unions with authority to take such action as may be deemed advisable.

The problem of company unions is both of fundamental concern to trade unions and industry, and of very real significance as a social policy. The quality of initiative that is bred under company union regime must necessarily be reflected in the various other relationships which make up workers' lives. We can not escape the interpenetration of paternalism in any important portion of workers' lives. The effect upon industry itself would be to retard progress. Not even those unfriendly to unions deny the lifting impetus to progress of industry, of the high standards of work and pay which American trade unions have established. Our demands have brought technical progress and improvements in organization in many industries.

The American Federation of Labor will oppose to the full extent of its power the efforts of employers to compel their employees to join company unions.

ANTI-UNION SHOP

The campaign in opposition to trade unionism expressed in the form of the open shop or American plan has spent its force. Though we have defeated and discredited the endeavor, we realize that the purpose that it expressed still persists. There are certain types of minds who seek benefits for themselves by taking advantage of others. Employers of this class will continue to oppose trade unions.

This is an age of collective or group activity. Our undertakings are on a much larger scale and cooperation has largely replaced individual responsibility. From this at once is apparent the deceit of the cry for the protection of the individual to contract for his services with an organized unit of capital.

In addition organization is continuously necessary in meeting production problems which management must take up with the workers. It is the only way through which decision can be reached and the workers assured definite responsibilities. It is essential to industrial justice and stability.

Time and experience have demonstrated the broad vision displayed by the workers in their insistence upon their unrestricted right to organization into trade unions, and the helpful and constructive policies and results that are to be furthered and secured through voluntary collective bargaining.

It is not to be assumed that the agitation for the purpose sought through the so-called open shop or American plan has disappeared from our industrial life. Our intention is only to record the fact that the promotion of this particular phase of doctrine and practice has been largely abated. Neither do we attempt to lessen the importance of the workers being alert in meeting this form of opposition. We are calling attention in other sections of this report to new forms which opposition to trade unionism has assumed and we urge that renewed efforts be made by all workers in the furtherance of trade union organization and the advancement of voluntary trade union agreements based upon the principles of equality, justice, fair play and full participation in the rewards that come from the joint enterprise of labor and capital engaged in industrial and commercial undertakings.

WAGES

American wage earners are the highest paid workers in the world. A number of factors have contributed to wage increases for our workers: our wealth of natural resources, our use of power and machinery, our high productivity per worker, a trade union movement that has steadfastly insisted that economic benefits were its immediate concern. The standards set by trade unions have lifted wages for all workers. Through

the activity of the trade union movement, wage earners have participated in the benefits of our most remarkable industrial progress.

American methods of production and efficiency are the subject of study by employers, technicians and wage earners of many countries. The American labor movement has been foremost in recognizing the interdependence of the interests of all concerned with production and in declaring that increased productivity is essential to permanent increases in the standards of living. On the other hand American labor has pointed out that workers must have wage increases if there is to be sale for the increased output of industries and agriculture.

Though many wage earners who share in the benefits secured by trade union activity have not contributed to the support of the movement, let them not imagine that present high wage rates could have been secured without well-directed organized activity, or that present progress would continue without a trade union movement. We know that fundamental to sustained participation in industrial progress through wage increases is skill in taking advantage of the ability of business to pay more.

Our understanding of wages has advanced from the various stages when we thought that supply and demand, the iron law of wages, labor-costs theory, or cost of living basis, contained the whole story of wage determination. Knowledge of economic principles enables us to use them for better results. Our progress is reflected by the larger ideal expressed in the successive epithets applied to our objectives—the living wage gave way to a saving wage and that to a cultural wage.

The technique of collective bargaining has steadily increased in complexities as industry has increased in its scheme of production and its financial requirements. Representatives of the workers must know the finances of the particular establishment, every detail of production, the comparative efficiency of its management, wage standards and work conditions in competitive areas and a wealth of other detail.

The results of organized labor's activities benefit the whole of the general public. High wages and shorter working hours are recognized as national assets. The public generally is coming to understand that with the great tendency of mass production continuing in the future to the same degree as has been experienced in the past there must of necessity be created an ever enlarging buying power or else our productive processes will spell their own ruination and prove a public calamity. The wage earners and their dependents constitute such a large proportion of that consuming power, it is therefore essential that the income of the wage earners must of necessity increase.

It is pleasing to note that economists, employers, men of professional occupations as well as those in all other walks of life are fast coming to realize the validity of the economic wisdom and necessity that have heretofore prompted American organized labor in its wage policies and in its efforts to reduce the working hours. Labor's endeavors find approval and endorsement not alone upon a purely economic basis but also upon sound and ethical consideration.

American organized labor has held steadfastly throughout its history for voluntary group action expressed through collective bargaining and trade agreements. It has rejected efforts to promote a state control of labor and industry presented under any guise. It adheres only to principles of freedom from domination of the state and believes the only true course of a free people is to solve their problems of life and work through voluntary group action.

The record shows that the American workers are fully vindicated in this understanding by the progress made and the success which has attended their efforts.

EMPLOYEE STOCK OWNERSHIP

A supplementary method of retarding the legitimate development of the trade union movement and to hold in check its normal influence in the determining of industrial policies and terms of employment is that which would have the worker financially interested in the concern by which he or she may be employed. It is intended by this method to create the impression among the workers that there is no necessity for trade union organization for the employee as a stockholder is primarily concerned for the prosperity of the company, and participates in the profits of the employer.

The idea was to persuade the worker that by stock ownership he becomes a "partner" and a "capitalist." Firms with company unions favor this plan.

When this method of controlling the wage earners was first proposed it was heralded by many favorable to the cause of labor as a distinctive contribution to the solving of labor's problems and as a development that would lead ultimately to the democratizing of industry. The fact that only non-voting stock is usually sold to employees shows the fallacy of this hope. As non-voting issues of stock are a comparatively recent development, the significance of this factor was not at first realized. Non-voting stock permits the employee to participate in the dividends allowed by those in control of the corporate enterprise, but leaves them wholly without power or right to the selection of those who are to dominate and control the corporate undertaking. Indeed, in most of these "employee ownership" schemes the voting power of the workers is so small as to be practically nil.

It should be understood that there are instances where employers or corporations are sincerely interested in having employees participate in the profits of their joint enterprise and where no attempt is made to use this relationship as a means of opposing trade unionism or trade union collective bargaining. This very fact demands that the utmost discriminating care be exercised in forming either a favorable or unfavorable judgment in each particular instance.

The problem of investments for workers is one upon which wage earners should have dependable advice. The habit of thrift and investment would be encouraged by such advice. Labor banks might help supply this service, and wage earners by pooling their investments, might spread the possibility of risk until it becomes negligible. It is a bad policy for the wage earner to put all his eggs in one basket—to invest his savings in the same company from which he draws his wages falls under this admonition.

The Executive Council will continue its investigation of this development. We believe that this subject is one which should receive the attention of all workers.

BANKING AND INSURANCE

Labor banks have proven a remarkable development in the American labor movement. There are now more than thirty banks in operation throughout the larger cities in the United States. The resources of these labor banks are constantly increasing and from information available these resources totaled \$109,618,010.00 on or about June 30, 1926.

The trade union movement has observed with great interest this rise to power and influence of labor banking institutions. There is recognized in these institutions of labor an ever growing interest of labor in all of the factors concerned in production and in the use and control of credit power. Then, too, these institutions tend toward the promoting of thrift and development of habits of investment. In addition the relationships developing through such labor institutions give opportunities for better understanding of the problems and ideals that confront and actuate both employers and workers.

While labor banks have in the main had sound and constructive management and their business record thus far is most gratifying, there is inherent in the development of labor banks the potential and real danger that interests not concerned either in the welfare of employers or employees, but prompted wholly for speculative gains will seek entrance into this field and by methods not beyond criticism attempt to mislead well-intentioned workers and unions into banking ventures and security or investment enterprises that will spell ruin to themselves and cast discredit and disaster upon the organized labor movement. The failure of a labor bank means a loss of funds that constitutes the sinews of the labor movement.

While the American Federation of Labor does not assume responsibility for any of these labor ventures it is deeply concerned in preventing hostile, indifferent or malevolent influences coming into this field and of doing immeasurable harm to legitimate labor banking institutions. Wage earners should bear clearly in mind that not every bank claiming to be a labor institution is a labor venture. Merely the presence or association of a labor man does not convert proprietorship of a bank owned by others

than trade unions and trade union groups into a labor bank. The utmost care, caution and discretion must therefore be exercised by all wage earners and trade unions.

We suggest that labor banks avail themselves fully of all governmental inspection services and to this end that they make application for affiliation to the Federal Reserve System. It is most important that advice of the best technical experts be sought in the formulation of policies.

The Federation has compiled and distributed summaries of the statements of labor banks and expects to continue this service which enables individual banks to gauge their progress.

We can not do better than to emphasize the words of warning and of caution expressed on all previous occasions on this subject.

The development of labor banks has given rise to other labor ventures in the investment, building and security field. We are prompted also to sound a note of warning against this increasing tendency to divert the attention of the trade unionist from the more primary need of trade union organization and trade union functioning. We decline to give our approval to such tendencies and developments and caution our trade unions and workers to use the utmost care and vigilance in investing or participating in such venture. It should not be understood that these words of admonition or disapproval are directed against anyone particular venture or undertaking. We are dealing with principles involved. Forms and methods of such enterprises deserve even closer examination and care.

Labor insurance ventures stand quite apart from labor banking, investment or security enterprises. Labor insurance is not a new thought or undertaking. Many of our national and international unions and many local unions have engaged in death, sick or accident benefits in one form or another from the early inception of their organizations. In order to continue benefits safely and economically over a long period of years it is necessary to follow actuarial principles. This involves placing benefits on an insurance basis. We note the progress made in the organization of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company and the early promise of actual operation. We likewise note the progress made by the insurance enterprise of the Electrical Workers' International Union—the Union Cooperative Life Insurance Company.

OBSERVANCE OF CONTRACTS

With the development for a more extensive functioning of labor in industry made possible by an extension of voluntary trade union agreements, there follows of necessity a corresponding enlargement of the duties and responsibilities on the part of both employer and workers in the maintenance of trade union agreements. We regret that employers fail at times to live up to contractual obligations entered into with trade unions merely because such collective trade agreements are unenforceable at law. Neither do we approve the violating of collective agreements on the part of organized wage earners. There is at least the element of honor involved in all such obligations even though they may not be at present legally enforceable. What is more, a disregard for trade union agreements can only lead to a disregard for all other forms of contract. Your Executive Council holds that collective agreements entered into by trade unions and employers are equally binding upon both and should be observed by both.

Employers may at times find the terms of agreements entered into onerous or burdensome or disagreeable for one cause or another or for no cause at all. It is equally true that workers at times find the terms of agreement contrary to their conception of fairness and justice. However, such conditions in no way justify the disregard or violation of contractual obligations entered into. We are pleased to note that increasing activity is displayed by national and international unions in the strict and full enforcement and observance of contractual obligations entered into by their respective local unions. We regret that a like attitude is not being assumed by the general employing interests and that altogether the violation of a trade union agreement by an employer receives the passive commendation, if not active support of employing interests. We deplore the manifest tendency of some courts to extend protection to employers in the observance of employment contracts when to the advantage

of employers without extending the same protection to employes where contracts favor the workers.

An important policy and practice embraced in many of the trade union agreements entered into is that provision intended to safeguard the fulfillment of contractual obligations involved. Thus many trade union agreements contain provisions for conciliation and arbitration of differences that may arise during the life of an agreement as to the interpretation, construction or application of its terms or in the event of a new situation arising not provided for in the agreement. Indeed, this method of arbitration has been a distinctive feature of trade union agreements. Then, too, there are some trade union agreements running for a period of years which contain provisions for arbitrating wages in addition to all other terms, either at stated periods during the life of the agreement or whenever either the employer or trade union may feel a change is justified.

It is evident, therefore, that the trade unions have long recognized the advisability and desirability of full, complete observance of collective trade agreements and that voluntary arbitration provisions as herein inferred have been devised and designed to that particular end.

ECONOMIC MEASURING RODS

The trade union movement is an industrial institution that represents an investment of funds, power and energy. In order to plan policies for this institution, it is necessary to have records showing developments and trends such as records of membership, funds, services rendered membership, investments, agreements, collective agreements, machinery for dealing with production and personnel problems developing from day to day, educational activities. The local union is the primary source of information from which these records must be built. The local unions report to their international trade union which compiles the information into a record for the whole trade. The Federation's office is the clearing center for information of the whole industrial field. Without cooperation all along the line, no one office can have information necessary to estimate progress. We wish, therefore, to urge upon every union office increasing attention to union records. Make sure that facts are gathered carefully and consistently, and that records on all the activities of the union are available.

The kinds of records to keep and how to keep them is no minor problem. A number of our unions have stood for uniform cost accounting in their industry and for informing records. The same principles are equally important to the unions and for analogous reasons. In order to maintain sustained progress, unions must know which methods are effective. Records should contain the facts upon which such judgments can be based.

During the past year the Federation has begun gathering and compiling information to show the membership of trade union organizations, benefits paid by the various unions, resources and investments of national and international organizations, which unions own headquarters, property held by central labor unions, financial standing of labor banks, trade union agreements and hours of work by the day and the week, and the educational work and apprentice training carried on by unions. And finally, the Federation has attempted to gather data to show the total investment represented in the American labor movement.

Federation records must be largely based upon data gathered by affiliated organizations and if there are gaps anywhere along the line summaries will be incomplete. Executives of unions now have to meet many problems where they find other groups are keeping complete records of progress and achievements. We must have available our records of achievements for trade unions, for if we trust to chance or individual information or observation we shall find we are doing injustice to trade union progress.

In addition to the service such records may have in showing the work and the value of trade union to others, records systematically kept are invaluable to executives enabling them to detect the beginning of trends and to shape policies accordingly.

We urge the cooperation of affiliated organizations by response to all requests from headquarters for information.

COOPERATION BETWEEN UNIONS AND MANAGEMENT

Products of modern industry are not the work of any one individual but of scores of workers, each contributing something essential to the finished whole. If the entire work process is done most efficiently and most economically, the whole group operates like a perfectly synchronized machine. This comes through the will to cooperate working in accord with a predetermined plan.

The basis for cooperation is laid in the collective agreement negotiated by unions and management. Such an agreement establishes standards of equitable work relations and begets confidence that makes possible continuous cooperation in dealing with other problems arising out of the day's work. The union is essentially an agency for cooperation for service to the union members and to the industry in which its members are employed.

The union first of all injects order and stability in work relationships—achievements of value to industry and to the workers. It establishes more equitable standards of work and pay. It becomes responsible for group discipline. It maintains standards of craftsmanship. It makes possible opportunities for individual development. It is concerned to maintain and increase production standards, for increased productivity is recognized as a basis for wage increases.

The union establishes the practice of reaching agreements on joint relations by conferences in which both groups concerned present their views on problems and contribute to mutually acceptable conclusions. As soon as management agrees to adjust relations through conferences with representatives of voluntary organizations of workers, the way is open to intelligent, constructive solution of constantly developing problems in production and industrial relations. Such relationships make it possible for all engaged in industry to continue to develop and grow through the problems of the work they are doing.

The union with its traditions and accumulated group experience is the custodian of the craft skill of the industry. The management that seeks the cooperation of the union is taking a course that assures most intelligent production results.

Conflict and arbitrary management are poor production policies. Conference and cooperation lead to united work efforts.

Throughout all of industry where collective bargaining obtains, are more or less definitely developed undertakings in cooperation between management and unions for more efficient production. Major responsibility rests upon management for developing the machinery for getting the most benefit from this cooperation.

After all, industry embraces the investment of money included in a corporate unit of capital called company or employer and the investment of wage earners in the form of wages which in most instances total annually more than any other form of investment in a particular industry. This being true all have invested interest in industry. To safeguard and promote best that invested interest demands a greater degree of understanding and cooperation between employers and trade unions.

The trade union movement is ready and anxious to do its full share and looks to management to assume its prior responsibility. Cooperation can proceed no faster than the necessary technical provisions are provided.

Management has its distinctive functions. Management secures the finances, makes ready the plant, keeps abreast technical progress, purchases, plans and directs. To use the materials which management supplies, man the machines, and carry out plans, workers are employed. They bring to the factories creative ability and labor power necessary to supplement the preparations of management. Workers and management are reciprocally dependent. This is obviously a relationship that calls for cooperation, a cooperation that is to all intents and purposes a real partnership in a work undertaking.

Partnership implies joint responsibility and decision of matters involved—in the case of industry, for problems of production. The workers' group to function in such a partnership must have organized channels for developing decisions and carrying out undertakings. The organization must be a voluntary one.

As soon as an agreement is reached between workers and management, the workers

must assume definite responsibility not only for the terms of the contract, but for maintaining the spirit of partnership or cooperation. It is fundamental for efficiency in production that the spirit and method of team work be followed. In this as well as in developing agreements there should be joint participation through representative groups. The committee that is responsible for working out production problems should be a different agency from that concerned with grievances.

The fundamental principles that should underlie all industrial policies are:

Regularity of employment with a stable work-group.

A low turnover which is advantageous to industry has an equal if not greater value to workers—to them it means continuous employment, a stable income.

Every worker has a right to be freed from all avoidable uncertainties of employment—both from those arising through poor labor administration and from mismanagement in production and the effects of speculation in raw materials or finished products.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently stood for justice to all workers, skilled or so-called unskilled. We have maintained that there are no workers wholly unskilled and the distinction between wage earners is one of degree only. The so-called unskilled or common laborers are the backbone of industry. Low economic standards can not prevail among these workers without injury to all. We maintain, therefore, increased efforts must be made to organize these and all workers in order that there may be established machinery for self-betterment and that the workers may take their rightful place in determining questions of life and work.

Every worker has a full right to a just portion of the wealth which he helps to create, a full right to earn out of his toil an opportunity for his children equal with that of any citizen, a full right that every just safeguard shall be afforded him for his physical safety, for his health and comfort while at work.

Every worker has the right to compensation for physical injury or disease occasioned in the course of production. Every worker who has been injured or disabled in industry has the additional right to opportunities for rehabilitation in order that he may receive the necessary assistance or training to enable him to be self-sustaining.

INFORMATION AND EDUCATION

American Federationist.—This monthly magazine has developed during the past year a more pleasing format and its physical appearance is now in accord with the ideals of workmanship for which our unions stand. That there are beauty, dignity and self-justification in good craftsmanship has been demonstrated by these changes in the *Federationist*.

The editorial policy has been to furnish the readers of the *Federationist* with information and interpretations of developments in all fields in which labor is interested. The magazine presents the labor movement as a definitive factor in human affairs, and wage earners as citizens with individual interests which are inter-related with the interests of other social groups.

Because of the increasing value it has been possible to get authoritative writers concerned for general welfare and educational progress, to write for the magazine. An even greater effort has been made to get wage earners to write of experiences in which they have participated.

The immediate problem of the magazine is to increase its circulation. To this end all affiliated unions and all trade unionists are urged to cooperate. The official magazine of the Federation should be widely read both within the labor movement and in outside circles.

Legal Information Bulletin.—This bulletin which has been published monthly has furnished union executives and others interested with the texts of legal decisions which concern labor. The bulletin thus builds up the record of the legal principles which have been applied in labor cases. Such a record is invaluable for various educational purposes. The bulletin has received many commendations.

News Service.—The A. F. of L. Weekly News Service, the official service for the labor papers; prepares a weekly clip sheet which is sent free and which is largely used.

The A. F. of L. Publicity Service prepares news releases for the daily press and

such other publications as may desire same. This service has been the medium for a wider distribution of official addresses and declarations.

Pamphlets.—The pamphlets of the Federation have proven very useful as shown by the demand for them. They have been supplemented by reprints from the *American Federationist* as this method makes available articles on current problems at a much lower cost than pamphlets.

The following have been published this year:

Trade Unions Superior to Company Unions
Wage Theories
Sixteen Rules of Health
The World Court

Useful reprints from the *Federationist* that have had wide circulation are:

The Wage Earner and the Community—William Green
Wage Earning Women—William Green
The Divinity of Toil—Thornton Oakley
Proper Play Provision—Joseph Lee
The Southern Workers Position—Roscoe W. Henninger
Workers Participation in Job Study—Geoffrey C. Brown
Health Standards for Automobile Workers—A. J. Berres

The following charts have been prepared during the past year:

State Compulsory Education Laws
Vacations Provided by Trade Union Agreements
Trade Union Benefits
Assets of Trade Unions
Statements on Labor Banks

Organizing Literature.—Seven pieces of literature were prepared for those concerned with the organization of women.

Several folders and leaflets adapted to more general purposes have found very wide popularity.

History and Encyclopedia.—These two volumes are invaluable as a guide to official actions of the conventions of the A. F. of A. They have found wide usefulness as reference volumes.

Sesqui-Centennial.—Through the courtesy of the Director of the Educational Exhibit at the Sesqui-Centennial at Philadelphia, we were able with considerable economy to take part in this commemoration of our Declaration of Independence. Our exhibit is a modest one but it so emphasizes the constructive substantial nature of our movement and the educational value of our work, as to contribute to a better understanding that will bring good will to our cause.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Those who served on this committee during the past year are: Matthew Woll, chairman, George W. Perkins, John P. Frey, Thomas Kennedy, Charles L. Baine, and Henry R. Linville.

The committee has continued its efforts to secure the formation of local cooperating committees by central labor unions. There are at present 243 such committees responsible for carrying out locally the educational policies of the Federation. This work is done through correspondence.

The Federation's committee has sent local committees a work program showing how labor could participate in directing the development of local public school systems and has supplied additional information upon request. The main primary objectives recommended were: Labor representatives on boards of education and directors of public libraries; adequate appropriations for school buildings, teachers' salaries, library upkeep and administration; promotion of workers' education undertakings.

The committee is preparing a draft of model provisions for compulsory school

attendance legislation. The provisions of existing laws have been charted. These provisions will be analyzed and the advice of experts will be sought in selecting the best ways to enforce school attendance and to secure the maximum educational opportunities for all. The need for better school attendance laws and better enforcement of school attendance is evident from these figures: Between 1895 and 1924 the number of children attending the public elementary schools increased, in round numbers from fourteen million to twenty-one million, and the number attending secondary schools of all kinds increased from 539,000 to 3,700,000. In the same period the attendance at our colleges, universities, and professional schools increased from 144,000 to 664,000. But even now many of our children are not getting the minimum schooling needed to fit them for life. According to the 1920 census, practically a million and a half children over seven and under fourteen years of age—nearly one in every ten—were not attending school, and of the children fourteen and fifteen years of age one in every five was recorded as not attending school.

The committee has continued the survey of social text-books begun some years ago. Two hundred and four books have been reviewed. The committee was gratified to find that the previous survey had produced very constructive results in new books and in revisions of old texts. As an illustration of the various ways in which this review service has been used, the reports were made the basis of study and discussion by one student group preparing for the teaching profession. Publishers and authors with few exceptions welcomed the committee's constructive suggestions. In many instances failure to include the labor movement as a factor in shaping national progress was merely an oversight. Information about labor has not been readily available to all students and authors. The Committee on Education is availing itself of all opportunities that present themselves. The importance of this fact may be judged by significance of getting liberal interpretations of social development and recognition of Labor's definitive influence in national progress, incorporated in the text-books studied by boys and girls who will be our future citizens.

The committee had the cooperation of the Research Department of the American Federation of Teachers in a study of the selection of text-books in the public schools of the United States and of the selection of current magazines for public school libraries. This information is necessary for planning for the recommendation of better text-books and magazine literature.

The committee is making an investigation of various educational developments which tend to promote better methods for developing the power and ability of boys and girls so they may learn better how to live and to make their fullest contribution to civilization.

The committee has supplied local committees with information on adequate municipal provision for recreation. It has encouraged efforts to secure the necessary legislative authorizations.

The committee has advised state federations of labor of pending legislation that would restrict freedom in teaching science in the public schools. Such laws are in conflict with real freedom, for if the mind is shackled the individual can not be free.

The Atlantic City Convention directed the Committee on Education to undertake the work of promoting work for industrial health through the unions. The committee conducted an inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining which work various unions are doing to promote better health for their membership. It found a number of organizations had adopted most constructive plans. Conferences with authorities on industrial hygiene disclosed that there are no vital statistics showing sickness or causes of death among industrial workers. This information is necessary before preventive policies can be inaugurated. Conferences with representatives of the U. S. Public Health Service developed the following suggestion: The Public Health Service would draft a simple form of keeping records of absence and illness; unions wishing to cooperate, to fill blanks regularly and return to the Committee on Education which will transmit to the Public Health Service where records will be compiled.

The committee prepared a pamphlet containing sixteen rules of health pointing out simple fundamentals to be observed by all.

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

In April of this year the Workers Education Bureau of America concluded its first five-year cycle of educational service to American wage earners. During this period the services of this Bureau have not only been enlarged greatly, but they have also been extended to a very much larger number of wage earners. These services have been maintained at a uniformly high level which has won for them and the Bureau the generous endorsement of both representatives of education and labor. As Dean James Russell of Teachers' College, Columbia University, expressed himself recently in a letter to the secretary of the Bureau: "You may be sure that I shall do all in my power to assist your Bureau in the splendid work in which it is engaged. There is no possibility of maintaining our ideals of American democracy without giving every man a fair chance—a fair chance in earning a living and a fair chance toward making that living decent and enjoyable. It follows, therefore, that such training as is necessary to the successful participation in the world's work should be offered in abundance and that through education everyone who will exert himself should be enabled to enjoy himself the best things that life affords. These principles apply to all workers alike in whatever field. In fact, only those who work for it ever get any education that is worth having. In my opinion, therefore, all education is workers' education."

The recognition and endorsement by the A. F. of L. of the services of this Bureau and of the value of the Workers' Education Movement have been repeatedly set forth. The plan of the Federation for its financial support and for extending its services throughout the country is the true indication of labor's interest.

Affiliations—Many national and international unions, state federations, central bodies and local unions are in active affiliation. There are more than 500 of these different organized units affiliated with the Workers Education Bureau. They represent upwards of seventy per cent of the total membership of the Federation. It is hoped that every national and international union chartered by the American Federation of Labor may find it possible to undertake affiliation with the Bureau so that this "new arm of the Federation" receiving the support of all national and international unions may serve all groups in an efficient and satisfactory way.

State Federations—One of the most important developments in the field of Workers' Education in the past twelve months has been the way in which state federations of labor have given to this whole subject the attention and interest which it thoroughly deserves. The state federation represents the labor movement in each state and is an important administrative unit of the Federation. Any project or policy which is to have state-wide extension must depend upon the state federation for direction and stimulation. The states of California, Colorado, Pennsylvania and Wyoming have made provisions for State Educational Directors upon the basis of the El Paso proposal, and, in Massachusetts, Oregon, Illinois and Pennsylvania, provisions have been made for local educational directors. Special provisions have been made in Arkansas, Illinois, Ohio, and Oklahoma for either acting directors or for the discharge of these duties by one of the regular officials of the state federation.

The importance of making more adequate provision for educational departments and educational directors in all the state federations prompted President Green to send out a letter to state federation officials urging the appointment of such directors by convention or executive action. The replies indicate a conviction that such a step is important.

Furthermore, the state conventions have not only given this matter an increasing attention, but one after the other have made provisions for permanent educational departments and for educational directors subject to their own financial ability to defray expenses. It is our opinion that the appointment of a state Educational Director is an investment which will make a very large return.

The Significance of Workers' Education—The Workers Education Bureau has emphasized the important contribution that education can make to labor and the service of labor in the development of educational policy in America. It has pointed out the serious results of the divorcement of labor and education in the past and the necessity of their union for the future of our industrial civilization. It has asserted the aim of Workers' Education is not to teach a man what to think but rather to

develop in man a capacity to see himself in relationship to all those institutions and habits which determine the nature of his life and quicken a desire to pursue truth in the spirit of the true scientist. It has insisted that an education appropriate to our industrial civilization is in the words of L. P. Jacks "the process of training the industry of man, in its manifold varieties, in its organized totality, to the highest pitch of excellence it is capable of attaining." In a word, it has affirmed that the alliance of labor and education means a new approach to education—an approach not so much to the subject-matter as to the problems involved or the specific situation.

WORKERS' EDUCATION ENTERPRISES

Workers' Colleges and Study Classes—One of the tangible evidences of the growth of this movement is to be found in the number of workers' colleges and study classes that are functioning throughout this country. During the past year there has been a noticeable increase in the number of workers' new educational enterprises started, in the size of the enrollment in these centers, and in the distribution of these classes among new communities. It is estimated that upwards of 35,000 adult wage earners were engaged in systematic study in these workers' education enterprises which were located in well over 300 centers.

Summer Schools and Labor Institutes—Another phase of educational work has been the development of Summer Schools and Labor Institutes. They have become important supplements to winter classes. The auspices of these schools have varied in different parts of the country as have their aims, methods, membership and place of meeting. Labor institutes have become valuable additions to those workers' education experiments which seek to deal with the particular problems of a single industry for the benefit of the workers in that industry.

World Conference—A preliminary conference to prepare for the World Conference on Adult Education was held in Denmark, August 14-17th. Mr. Thomas E. Burke and Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., were officially delegated to represent the Bureau; the former alone was able to be present.

CITIZENS' MILITARY TRAINING CAMPS

The El Paso convention referred to the Executive Council the subject of Citizens' Military Training Camps that were established by the government. Conferences were held with the Secretary of War with reference to working out the spirit and intent of Resolution No. 75 introduced at the El Paso convention.

Members of the Executive Council had an opportunity to visit the Citizens' Military Training Camp at Plattsburgh, New York. They were accorded every opportunity by the officers in charge of this camp to come into contact and to understand every feature of the training of the boys. Our investigation disclosed the fact that the boys who were taking advantage of this military training were all interested in the work of the camp and were enthusiastic in their praise of the benefit they derived from this training. We found that the military part of the training occupied the smallest part of the day. Most of the waking hours of the boys were spent in athletic sports of all kinds and were thoroughly enjoyed and participated in by all of the boys. This kind of training is building up the mind and body of the American youth. It stimulates the patriotic spirit of the youth. He is taught citizenship.

The Citizens' Military Training Camp has no compulsory features. It is voluntary, as the boys themselves elect to participate in this training. They benefit by the discipline of the camp. It is remarkable the benefits that accrue to a boy after spending one month in this camp.

In the judgment of the Executive Council we believe it would be advantageous to all of the boys of our country to take advantage of the opportunity afforded to them in these camps.

CHILD LABOR

For over a century the United States has been passing child labor laws, and yet the 1920 census showed that over one million children between ten and fifteen, or one child in every twelve, are now at work in this country. The laws have undoubtedly done much good, for this is a smaller number than was reported by any other census. But the fact that the problem is still so far from solved shows that our methods have not been equal to the situation. This is partly because the laws have not covered the whole country equally, partly because people generally have not understood the problem or studied it in a scientific way.

To prohibit child labor does not mean to prevent children from doing any work. It means only to prevent them from doing the wrong kind of work. A century and a half ago, before the beginning of machine production, no one thought of child labor as harmful. By working with their parents at farm work or at home industries like spinning or weaving, children learned the trades that were to fit them for life. But now our system of manufacturing and industry has taken much of the educational value out of children's work. The sort of work they do makes heavy demands upon their energy when they need it most to build strength for the future, cuts short their playtime, keeps them out of school and exposes them to conditions which often injure their health for the rest of their lives, or lead to moral degeneration.

Child labor therefore should be thought of as a problem in child welfare. It is a problem of keeping children from the wrong kind of work, and also of giving them the right work to do, work in schools and in trade training, and when they are old enough, work that will develop their abilities and give a chance for advancement.

PRESENT CHILD LABOR CONDITIONS

Facts about child labor are to be had from the census, and from investigations in various industries. The census shows that, of all our working children between ten and fifteen years of age, six per cent are farm laborers; fifty-three per cent are workers on home farms (a problem in education only); seventeen per cent are in manufacturing; textiles, 54,600; iron and steel, 12,900; clothing, 11,700; furniture, 10,500; shoes, 7,500; building, 7,400.

Other occupations: Stores, commercial and clerical work, street trades, domestic service.

In agriculture, the largest number are in the southeast.

In manufacture, in northeast and north-central sections, and the southeast.

Largest numbers by states: Georgia, 89,000; Alabama, 84,000; Texas, 81,000; Mississippi, 70,000; South Carolina, 64,000; North Carolina, 62,000; Pennsylvania, 56,000; New York, 50,000.

Agriculture

Beet and Vegetable Growing in Colorado, 1924—The children do exhausting work in hot sun, hoeing, weeding, pulling vegetables; six hundred and fifty children were found working in three counties; twenty-four per cent were nine years old, or under.

Hours—Average nine and one-half a day, ten in beets.

Migratory Workers—Seventeen per cent of children were of families brought to the fields by commercial enterprises and working under contract. These children worked longer hours. Families lived in crowded and unsanitary shacks provided by companies. Received average of \$554 per family for seven or eight months' work of parents and four or five children.

Schools—Three-fifths of all children and nine-tenths of migratory children missed school for work; nearly fifty per cent of all children and eighty per cent of migratory children retarded.

Chief Needs—Better school enforcement for home farm workers; special control of industrialized agriculture.

Manufacturing

Textile Mills in Georgia, 1922—Thirty-nine mills investigated. All but seven violated state law.

Four hundred and seventy-eight children working, twelve per cent under fourteen years old.

Hours—Ninety-two per cent worked over ten hours a day.

Pay—Thirty-six per cent earned less than \$6 a week.

Only one-third of the children had employment certificates and half of these were illegally issued.

Chief Problems—State laws allow long hours, school systems are inadequate, enforcement systems poor. The new Georgia law does not solve any of these problems.

Industrial Home Work

Three Rhode Island Cities, 1918—The children card snaps, string tags, link beads, finish lace, underwear, etc. Often work in bad sanitary conditions, poor light, and where there is disease.

Two thousand three hundred thirty-eight children worked; three and one-half per cent of all children; eighty-six per cent under fourteen, nearly one-half under eleven; four per cent under six.

Pay—Children about five cents an hour. Average family, eleven cents per hour.

School—Twenty-eight per cent retarded.

Only seventeen per cent worked because of family need. Many because it kept children out of mischief.

Chief Needs—Special legislation, better school enforcement, education of parents.

Street Trades

Newsboys in Yonkers, 1920, and Troy, N. Y., 1923—*Hours*—4 to 8 p. m.

Pay—Boys under twelve earned \$2 a week; over twelve, \$6.50.

School—Yonkers, thirty-nine per cent retarded; only ten per cent entirely satisfactory. Troy, fifty per cent retarded.

Health—Twenty-six per cent under normal.

Independence and bad moral influence of street life lead to truancy and delinquency. Newsboys of Dallas, Texas, had two and one-half times as many delinquents as other children.

Only one-seventh worked because of family need, many because they had nothing better to do in spare time.

Chief Needs—Special legislation; control by permit and badge system; sports and other interests at school to occupy spare time.

REMEDIES

A. Education of Public Opinion.

Especially parents, teachers, employers, legislators.

B. Ratification of Child Labor Amendment.

To enable Congress to pass federal legislation.

C. State Laws.

Standards

a. Child labor laws—minimum standards.

1. Minimum age of sixteen in all gainful occupations.
2. Eight-hour day, forty-four-hour week minimum.
3. No night work between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.
4. Eighth grade school requirement.
5. Work in dangerous or unhealthy occupations prohibited to all minors.
6. Examination by public health physician to prove physical fitness.

b. Compulsory school laws

The Education Committee is working out a program for this.

*Enforcement**a. Employment Certificates.*

1. Requirement of: Proof of age, complete school record, certificate of physical fitness, promise of job.
2. Certificates to be issued by properly qualified officials.
3. State supervision of issuing officers.
4. Standard forms for employment certificates.

b. Factory inspection.

1. Number of inspectors sufficient for semi-annual inspections and special inspections when necessary.
2. Inspections to require: Employment certificate for each child under eighteen, no children in dangerous work, satisfactory health conditions in all work.

c. Compulsory school enforcement.

The Education Committee is working on this.

*D. Other Measures**a. Vocational Education, Guidance and Placement.*

1. Courses in trade training in the schools.
2. State junior employment bureaus to secure work giving training and chance for advancement.
3. Supervision of children after they are at work.

b. Adapting the schools to the children's needs.

1. Sports and other interests to occupy spare time.
2. Revision of school program so that every child may be given training best suited to his tastes and abilities.
3. School councillors for all children.

c. Other helpful legislation.

1. State aid for dependent children in their own homes.
2. Double or treble compensation laws for illegally employed minors when injured.

RADIO BROADCASTING

The Atlantic City convention recommended that the Executive Council investigate the feasibility of broadcasting labor's message by radio under the direction of organized labor.

Letters were directed to unions in all cities in the United States and Canada where broadcasting stations are located.

While the replies to these communications were not numerous, the responses that were received indicated live interest.

In Chicago, Labor has established a radio broadcasting station. This radio station is administered and operated by a corporation composed and controlled by labor representatives.

Talks by representative labor men over the radio were reported from all parts of the country.

Under the law enacted in 1912 the consent of the Department of Commerce and the assignment of a wave length were the necessary steps before the operation of a radio broadcasting station, but decisions by two courts as well as by an opinion of the Attorney General have nullified this.

On February 5, 1923, the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia held that the duty imposed by the law of 1912 to issue radio broadcasting licenses gave the Secretary of Commerce no discretionary power over such issuance and further held that the duty of naming some wave length only, was mandatory upon him. This wave length was to be one which would result in the least possible interference with

other stations and the fixing by the Secretary of Commerce of a wave length was but merely a restriction upon the license.

Since this decision the Secretary of Commerce had refused to assign wave lengths for various applicants for licenses, but in April of this year the Federal District Court for the Northern Division of Illinois has held that the 1912 law conveyed no grant of power to the Secretary of Commerce to establish regulations regarding the licensing of broadcasting stations, since such regulations were contained in the 1912 law itself and that Congress had accordingly withheld from the Secretary of Commerce the power to prescribe additional regulations.

Shortly after this decision the Department of Commerce asked the Attorney General for a definition of its powers and duties. The opinion rendered held that the Department was without power to enforce or deny the use of particular wave lengths or to fix the power of individual broadcasting stations.

Use of such wave lengths is a matter to be determined by the individual stations, pending subsequent legislation by Congress. While an applicant for license must select a wave length, he is not obliged to use it solely, but may use any other wave lengths, except between 600 and 1600 meters, reserved for government stations.

Anyone may now obtain a radio broadcasting license, and the license will show the wave length selected.

There is already an intimation abroad that stations using a heretofore exclusive wave length, have secured a proprietary interest therein, and that an action at law for damages, and an injunction with damages at equity, will lie. This is also claimed as regards any station, which is interfered with by another station appropriating a higher and interfering wave length.

Congress will consider legislation changing this condition in the next session. Meanwhile the industry is controlled by voluntary agreements between stations.

Such will be our endeavors when this subject comes again before Congress.

The enactment of legislation providing for the regulation of broadcasting raises very fundamental issues as to the bases upon which franchises should be granted.

Radio service is a new medium of communication. Freedom of speech is involved in a new relationship. The radio is already an important force in formulating public opinion and it is of the utmost importance that there be equality of opportunity for all. It is evident there must be administrative control over broadcasting and that the control must be in the federal government. It is equally obvious that this administration should be safeguarded against arbitrary decisions and policies not in accord with public interests. The time limitations on franchises is another important issue. The possibility of vested rights in licenses or wave lengths involves definition of property rights in ether.

RELATIONS TO OTHER GROUPS

Because the interests of Labor are interrelated with the activities of many other groups, there is need to keep in touch with many and for sustained cooperation in the case of those working in fields impinging directly upon labor interests. In a number of ways contacts have been maintained with many organized undertakings, and close relationships with others.

Since the organization of the Personnel Research Federation our Federation has been a member. This organization serves as a clearing house for information on research in the field of personnel relations. This field embraces much that is of vital interest to Labor and the Research Federation provides a useful medium for keeping in touch. During the past year the Director of the Research Federation rendered most valuable service in advising our office of studies in progress on company unions and employe stock ownership and upon industrial hygiene. The Personnel Research Federation has made sustained progress during the past year.

As a committee of the American Bar Association was engaged in a study of industrial courts with a view to make recommendations, the President of the A. F. of L. requested the opportunity of having Labor's views upon this subject presented. The request was cordially granted and Vice-President Matthew Woll delegated to this work. So well did he present the subject that the Committee on Commerce, Trade

and Commercial Law recommended to the Bar Association against the principle of the Kansas Industrial Court and in favor of voluntary principles as exemplified in the Watson-Parker Railway Act.

We have maintained cordial relationships with the American Library Association. Librarians as a rule have cordially responded to our local educational undertakings. The A. L. A. has a standing committee on adult education which has been practically helpful to our Workers Education Bureau.

Relations with the American Legion have been of a very friendly character.

A number of contacts with religious organizations have been mutually helpful. Universities and colleges have shown a willingness to help in some problems that is most gratifying. In fact, on all sides we have found that a constructive presentation of Labor's problems and purposes finds a spirit of sympathetic cooperation.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Pan-American Federation of Labor has concentrated on what seemed of primary importance—strengthening its organization and rendering all possible assistance to workers of other countries in understanding the principles and procedure of trade unionism. In many Latin-American groups the labor movement is yet in formative stage. Much can be done by correspondence and this has been given faithful and resourceful attention. Plans are now in progress for the next convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Our affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor has been inspired by our desire to be helpful to the Latin-American organizations in such efforts as they may put forth to promote and advance their economic and industrial welfare. The formation of an effective labor movement in the Western Hemisphere is essential for proper consideration to human welfare in the formation of international policies and practices.

Our interest has been concerned purely with the welfare of wage earners of other countries. We have refrained from interference in the domestic and internal affairs of either Mexico or other Latin-American republics.

We have attempted to help other workers to understand the principles of trade unionism. Fundamental in trade unionism is the principle of trade or functional autonomy. Because we so firmly believe that those primarily concerned must have the right to decide their own affairs, the A. F. of L. has scrupulously refrained from interference in the domestic and internal affairs of any organization affiliated to the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The principle of tolerance is so firmly embedded in our trade union practices, regardless of creed, nationality or race wage earners can unite for the promotion of mutual economic interests. But if matters which should be determined personally are injected into a movement based upon mutuality, cooperation for any purpose becomes impossible. Without tolerance the individual is denied his right to decide his religious affiliations. For these various reasons the A. F. of L. has not interfered in the difficult situation that developed in Mexico over religious policies. The Federation has not tried in any way whatsoever to intervene in this matter and has made absolutely no effort to influence the decisions of the Mexican Federation of Labor. We believe that the Mexican labor movement should exercise unrestricted authority to make decisions for Mexican labor and to adopt policies to be pursued in their labor problems. We believe that the principle of tolerance is the key to personal liberties and that the right of decision must lie with those immediately concerned. Obviously this principle must obtain in the policies of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. They have been scrupulously observed in our relations with Mexico.

There are many convincing evidences of the success which has attended the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to influence the working people of Mexico and of the Latin-American republics in favor of A. F. of L. principles and trade union philosophy and trade union doctrines.

We fortunately were able to take advantage of the presence of Brother W. D. Mahon in Mexico City at the time of the convention of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana and authorized him to represent the A. F. of L.

Though correspondence has been continued with the International Federation of Trade Unions as yet there has been no agreement upon the differences that prevent the affiliation of the A. F. of L. to the Amsterdam International. The Amsterdam International has been standing splendidly in defense of trade union principles against all appeals to compromise with communist groups. The good will and support of American Labor are with the organization in this position. We trust that eventually a mutually satisfactory basis for reaffiliation will be developed.

The reports of the fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will be submitted to the convention.

We feel deeply the interdependence of the welfare and interests of labor internationally. On our own continent we have found boundary lines no termination of industrial and labor organization. World organization of markets and industries must be paralleled by world-wide cooperation between labor organizations.

During the recent months we have had appeals for aid from the British miners on strike. There was an extraordinary need that went straight to the hearts of those who knew the poverty and problems of the miners. We accordingly issued an appeal on their behalf.

We gave every possible aid to the labor commission sent to the United States jointly by the Trades Union Congress and the British miners' unions, giving members of the commission credentials and helping them to plan and organize their work.

LABOR'S SPECIFIC DAYS

From the early days when the foundations of the American Federation of Labor were so carefully planned and laid, Labor insisted upon certain days as its own specific days. That insistence persisted until by legislative enactment or accepted observance, Labor Day, the first Monday in September; Labor Sunday, the Sunday preceding Labor Day; and Labor's Memorial Sunday, the fourth Sunday in May, are now universally and suitably observed through Labor's memorial services for its honored dead, Labor's ceremonial of its religious belief, and Labor's turning from the world of trade and business occupations for a day of declaration and attestation of its loyalty to and support of the great principles of unity, cooperation, brotherhood and fraternity, which have made the American Federation of Labor the power it is today in our national life.

It behooves those of us who have been chosen to represent and speak for the men and women of Labor to exert every effort to keep always fresh in the hearts and minds of those for whom we speak the thrilling story of Labor's battles and struggles before it gained the honorable position it holds today in our body politic; its loyalty and patriotism to our government; that which has been gained for the laborer in the way of better wages, fewer hours of work, better sanitary conditions of employment, opportunity for cultural development, leisure for spiritual undersanding and growth—all that makes for better citizenship—physically, mentally, spiritually, ethically.

These three days are more than Labor's holidays; they are Labor's holy day, Labor's ceremonial day, Labor's day of commemoration and of rededication to its high ideals; of renewing its pledge of loyalty to, its faith in and support of the fundamental principles upon which the structure of Labor is builded.

With all the earnestness with which we can speak we urge that Labor's Specific Days be observed in spirit and in fact, as will most fittingly commemorate Labor's hopes, aims, aspirations and accomplishments.

SAMUEL GOMPERS MEMORIAL

The Executive Council has not been unmindful of the obligation on the part of organized labor to the great service rendered to the citizens of our country in general and to the wage earners in particular by the late Samuel Gompers, who for so many years was President of the American Federation of Labor. In carrying out the decisions reached at the Gompers Memorial Conference and the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council caused an investigation to be made regarding the securing of a proper and fitting site in Washington, D. C.,

and in having prepared and submitted for selection and approval appropriate designs for the erection of a memorial representative of the spirit of the American labor movement and of the work and worth of the late and long-time President Samuel Gompers.

Substantial progress has been made in this undertaking. Designs have been and are being prepared. A number of sites in Washington, D. C., have been considered and arrangements are completed to secure the necessary Congressional authority and approval for the erection of a permanent and artistic memorial in the capital city of the nation.

We have now reached the time when it becomes necessary and essential to prepare for methods and means of securing the required financial contributions essential to bring this dream to full realization.

In this connection the Executive Council has given careful thought to a number of proposals submitted. It is our judgment, after mature deliberation, that the finances necessary to carry out the desired and expressed wish of America's organized wage earners should be obtained by voluntary methods and that each and every wage earner should be afforded the opportunity of making his and her contribution to this great memorial. To that end it is suggested and recommended that the Executive Council be authorized to set aside a particular time for the receiving of contributions to a Gompers Memorial Fund and that all national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central labor unions and all affiliated unions be called upon to organize and to prepare to take an active and aggressive part in arousing organized labor and in affording every wage earner throughout North America an opportunity to contribute to this Gompers Memorial Fund.

You Executive Council feels confident that if such authority is vested in it and if the wage earners of North America will respond as we feel certain they will, then will the American wage earners have demonstrated their keen appreciation of the great service rendered by the late Samuel Gompers and they will have succeeded in an enterprise that will do justice to the American organized labor movement.

A. F. OF L. ROOM AT GENEVA

Conforming to authority given by the Atlantic City Convention, we have furnished a room in the International Labor Office at Geneva. Inasmuch as President Green found it impossible to undertake the trip to Geneva as authorized by our last convention, we empowered the fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress, William L. Hutcheson and Frank Farrington, to make the formal presentation of the gift of the American Federation of Labor.

LEGAL INFORMATION BUREAU

During the past year the Legal Information Bureau has attempted to carry on its work so as to merit the continued approval and cooperation heretofore extended to it by our affiliated organizations and attorneys sympathetic with the aims and ideals of the labor movement. In the Legal Information Bulletins which have been periodically published and circulated attention has been directed to judicial decisions affecting our movement. These decisions have contained much of interest and informational value to our membership at large.

Every effort has been made to enlarge this service and to render it of increasing value.

The Bureau has devoted considerable attention to the study of the injunction evil and has done the preliminary research work, as well as drafted bills to prevent misuse of injunctions. It has also studied the proposed bill to declare so-called "yellow dog contracts" void and has given close attention to conspiracy laws. A great amount of material upon all these subjects has been secured. A report of the work of the Bureau in connection with these matters is contained elsewhere.

There are a great number of decisions rendered in which the rights of labor are affected which do not appear in the various reporting systems received by the Bureau. This is caused by the fact that the decisions are those of an inferior court, but they are

of great importance to labor; consequently the Bureau should be notified and if possible a copy of all the decisions forwarded so that proper publicity may be given them.

Although the Bureau is in possession of numerous briefs and injunctions issued against trade unions, it is true that there are numerous other injunctions issued from time to time of which this Bureau received no authentic information other than through the daily press.

It is therefore again urged that all organizations continue to supply as promptly as possible the Bureau with information regarding decisions affecting the trade union movement as well as to supply it with copies of injunctions or temporary restraining orders issued against their members. It is only through this continued cooperation that the Legal Information Bureau can fulfill the duties entrusted to it in the fullest measure.

NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

During the first session of the 69th congress, 17,812 bills were introduced. Of these 759, mostly private bills, were enacted. Four measures in which labor was particularly interested became laws. A number of other bills which labor supported are either on the calendars of both houses or still in committee.

As the next session of congress will resume business where it ended on adjournment, July 3, we do not desire to burden the record with details of the many legislative proposals that are still under consideration. We present, therefore, a condensed review of our activities relating to the more important legislative proposals.

The following legislative proposals in which labor was interested have been enacted into law:

Law to abolish the Railroad Labor Board and providing for the maintenance of industrial peace on the railroads through collective bargaining, mediation, conciliation and arbitration. Public No. 257.

To liberalize the retirement law. Public No. 522.

Teachers' retirement law. Public No. 373.

Mothers' pensions for the District of Columbia. Public No. 410.

Railroad Labor Legislation.—Since the report of last year, the efforts of the Railroad Labor organizations, supported by the American Federation of Labor, to abolish the Railroad Labor Board and to secure legislation providing for the settlement of railroad labor disputes through conference, adjustment, mediation and voluntary arbitration, have been successful. The present Railway Labor Act accomplishes these purposes.

This measure received the support before the congressional committees of a large majority of the railroads, but a minority of the carriers opposed it with increasing vigor as the prospect of its passage increased. The principal opposition to the bill came from the National Association of Manufacturers and allied or sympathetic business interests. Regardless of the form which their opposition took, which was in the nature of destructive amendments, it was clear that the real basis for opposition lay in the antagonism of these groups to the encouragement of collective bargaining and the self-organization of the workers. All the standard railway labor organizations supported the bill, being assisted effectively and actively by the American Federation of Labor.

The "Railway Labor Act" is the official title of the law, which was known as the Watson-Parker Bill because of the names of its official sponsors. The following summary of the bill was issued as a joint statement of counsel representing the railway executives and the railway labor organizations and therefore may be regarded as an impartial brief explanation of its provisions.

First: That it shall be the duty of the parties to exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements.

Second: Any and all disputes shall be first considered in conference between the parties directly interested.

Third: Adjustment boards shall be established by agreement, which shall be

either between an individual carrier and its employees, or regional, or national. These adjustment boards will have jurisdiction over any disputes relating to grievances or to the interpretation or application of existing agreements, but will have no jurisdiction over changes in rates of pay, rules or working conditions. It is, however, provided that nothing in the Act shall be construed to prohibit an individual carrier and its employees from agreeing upon settlement of disputes through such machinery of contract and adjustment as they may mutually establish.

Fourth: A Board of Mediation is created, to consist of five members appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, with the duty to intervene, at the request of either party, or on its own motion, in any unsettled labor dispute—whether it be a grievance or a difference as to the interpretation or application of agreements not decided in conference or by the appropriate adjustment board, or a dispute over changes in rates of pay, rules or working conditions not adjusted in conference between the parties. If it is unable to bring about an amicable adjustment between the parties it is required to make an effort to induce them to consent to arbitration.

Fifth: Boards of Arbitration are provided for, when both parties consent to arbitrate, also the method of selecting members of the boards and the arbitration procedure. Any award made by the arbitrators shall be filed in the appropriate district court of the United States and shall become a judgment of the court, binding upon the parties.

Sixth: In the possible event that a dispute between a carrier and its employees is not settled by any of the foregoing methods, provision is made that the Board of Mediation, if in its judgment the dispute threatens to substantially interrupt interstate commerce, shall notify the President, who is thereupon authorized, in his discretion, to create a board to investigate and report to the President within thirty days from the date of the creation of the board. It is also provided that after the creation of such a board and for thirty days after it has made its report to the President, no change, except by agreement, shall be made by the parties to the controversy in the conditions out of which the dispute arose.

The Railway Labor Act may not fulfill all the hopes of its sponsors, but undoubtedly its passage marks a great step forward in legislation regarding industrial relations. The Act is based on the theory of contract—on the belief that human relations are best regulated by free contract and that the force of government should be exerted primarily not to compel men to do what they do not wish to do, but to compel them to fulfill the obligations which they have accepted voluntarily. The second section of the Act makes it the duty of employers and employees "to exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements." It makes it their duty to confer in cases of disagreement. It provides that representatives of the parties shall be chosen "without interference, influence or coercion exercised by either party over the self-organization or designation of representative by the other." If, in accordance with the terms and the spirit of this Act, a fair and full opportunity is provided for the making and maintaining of agreements, a great improvement in industrial relations in the transportation industry should result with inevitable benefit to all parties concerned, employers, employees and the public.

Federal Retirement Law.—A legislative enactment which establishes the principle but is not altogether satisfactory in detail, and which affects many workers employed in the national government service is the amendment to the Federal Retirement Law.

Early in the session of Congress just closed Representative Lehlbach of New Jersey introduced a bill to increase the annuities for retired government workers from \$720, the present maximum, to a maximum of \$1,200 per year. The contributions to be paid by the active government workers were to be increased from 2½ per cent, the present rate, to 4 per cent. Pressure was placed upon the leaders of the House and of the Senate to substitute a bill proposed by the Bureau of the Budget. This bill provided for \$1,000 per year maximum annuity and raised the premiums paid by the active government employees from 2½ per cent to 3½ per cent. It was announced that the Bureau of the Budget bill if accepted would cost the government nothing. It was asserted that the active employees would not only pay all of the increase in annuities but there would be a distinct saving of \$29,000 per year to the government. The bill providing for \$1,000 annuity was brought up in the House under the suspension

of the rules. No discussion of the merits of the bill was allowed, no amendments were permitted and it passed by an almost unanimous vote.

In the Senate the merits of both bills were discussed and a motion to accept the measure that had been passed by the House was defeated and the original Stanfield Bill was passed. The difference between the two bills threw the entire retirement legislation into the hands of conferees. The leaders of the House refused to name conferees until they had received assurances that the House conferees would not recede. The Senate conferees insisted upon the measure passed by the Senate. It became apparent that all retirement legislation would fail. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the government employees directly affected prevailed upon the Senate conferees to accept the House measure which was enacted into law forty minutes before Congress adjourned.

The principle for retirement provisions for government employes has been established. The legislation marks a substantial step forward. It indicates much progress. Those affected by this legislation may continue to build this legislation so that we may be able to register further progress.

Teachers' Retirement Law.—This law creates an annuity fund to which teachers and the District of Columbia make joint contributions. Teachers reaching the age of 62 may be retired on application; teachers reaching the age of 70 shall be retired unless otherwise ordered.

Mothers' Pension Plan.—This act appropriates a sum of \$100,000 to be used to provide home care for dependent children in the District of Columbia. The Commissioners of the District are authorized to appoint a supervisor to administer the act.

Restrictive Rules.—There is urgent need for arousing all liberal minded citizens to the need of maintaining a deliberative and responsive Congress under conditions that permit of effective discussion and decision.

Rules of procedure have been adopted by the House of Representatives which can and do prevent full and free opportunity for the discussion and disposition of legislation coming before it for consideration. All these restrictive rules have been promoted under the guise of efficient and business-like administration of government and the limitation of needless discussion. The actual result of these rules has been to deny to members of the House of Representatives full freedom to consider and discuss whatever legislative proposal they might champion for the general welfare of the people.

When the 68th Congress met December 3, 1923, a small number of progressive Republicans and Democrats in the House demanded that the rules be changed so that no committee could "pigeon-hole" a bill submitted to it for consideration. After weeks of bitter verbal clashing the House adopted a rule that when 150 members signed a petition to withdraw a bill from committee the question would come before the House and a majority of those present would be sufficient to order its consideration. In previous Congresses a few men were able under the rules to prevent consideration of any bill.

When the 69th Congress met, the first Monday in December, 1925, this rule of the 68th Congress was changed. The new rule requires a majority of the members of the House—that is, 218—to withdraw a bill from committee. This change made it possible to order a bill back from committee. This rule has given control of Congress to three men—the Speaker, the leader of the House and the chairman of the rules committee.

Although bills are reported favorably and placed on the calendar it is impossible to have them considered by the House as long as these three men refuse consent.

To manifest our disapproval of the House rules now in effect and in order again to re-establish freedom of opportunity for discussion, consideration and action on all legislative proposals submitted to Congress, we recommend approval of the following rule for reference to and adoption by the next Congress:

"After a bill has been in the hands of a committee for 30 days a motion will be in order on the petition of 125 members to withdraw the bill from

committee. If a majority of those present in the House vote in favor of calling the bill back from committee it shall become unfinished business and will not require a rule from the rules committee for permission to act upon it. It shall be debated and acted upon before any other business is transacted."

Registration of Aliens.—Bills providing for the registration of aliens were introduced in the 69th Congress but failed of passage. In the 68th Congress the Aswell Bill provided for not only registration but fingerprinting of every alien now in this country and those to come hereafter. The fingerprinting feature was eliminated from the bill when introduced in the 69th Congress. Nevertheless, under the proposed legislation the Secretary of Labor would be permitted to make regulations for carrying out the registration law and empowered to include fingerprinting.

The provisions of the bill follow so closely the pre-war laws of Germany that the American Federation of Labor used every effort for its defeat. It is not believed that sufficient influence can be brought upon Congress to secure the enactment of this character of legislation.

Conscription.—Various influences conducted a campaign for the passage of the Johnson-Capper conscription bill.

Testimony before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House sought to show that there was no intention of commandeering material resources. The real motive of the bill is contained in subdivision (B) of section 2. This was admitted to mean that in the event of war or when the President in his opinion believes such an "emergency" requires it, he shall draft not only into the military service but into industry all persons between the ages of 21 and 30 or such other limits as he may fix. The deeper the subject was gone into before the committee the more difficult it was to explain how such a law could be carried out. So far as material resources were concerned, the idea seemed to persist that it was not the intent to commandeer them but to direct these resources into "proper" channels.

Military Training.—H. R. 8538, introduced by Representative Welsh of Pennsylvania, prohibits compulsory military training in the public schools. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor supported the bill contending that such training should not be forced upon any pupil who did not desire to accept it. No action was taken.

Curtis-Reed Bill.—This is a bill to create a federal department of education with a secretary who shall be a member of the President's cabinet. As the Federation has endorsed the principle of a federal department of education we were interested in promoting legislation to accomplish that purpose, though we took exception to specific provisions in this bill.

Copyright Legislation—Vestal Bill.—During the past year the several interests concerned with copyright legislation have been having conferences relating to that subject. The printing trades are primarily interested in such legislation and the printing trades unions have been actively at work attending these conferences. As a result an agreement has been secured to which all interests with the exception of one or two concurred.

This agreement is expressed in the Vestal Bill to which our support was given. We are pleased to report that this bill has been amended to include trade union labels and other forms of trade union insignias. Unfortunately the recess of Congress prevented enactment of this bill. It is hoped that in the re-convened session of Congress this bill may receive favorable consideration and be enacted into law.

Immigration.—Nearly 100 bills were introduced in Congress designed to weaken the immigration law.

There were those who alleged they represented and spoke for farmers and beet growers of the western states and particularly those along the Mexican border who urged a modification of the immigration law so that Mexicans could be brought into

this country for seasonal work without paying the head tax. This was vigorously opposed and defeated.

A bill by Representative Dyer of Missouri provided for the admission of Chinese women ineligible to citizenship who had arranged to marry Chinese born in the United States. This received small support.

A bill now under consideration by Congress provides for the admission of the "wife or husband of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence in the United States who declared his or her intention to become a citizen of the United States subsequent to July 1, 1921, and prior to July 1, 1924, and who is eligible for citizenship; also unmarried child under 18 years of age of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence in the United States who declared his or her intention to become a citizen between the dates mentioned, and who is eligible to citizenship. Applications for such non-quota immigration visas by reason of this relationship must be made within one year after the passage of the resolution."

Labor and the Farmers.—Failure of Congress to extend relief to the farmers should be a warning to them that they must defeat the efforts to enroll them on the side of the industrial and financial interests. When the farmers asked for legislation that would give them what they believed would be the necessary relief, the representatives in Congress friendly to the industrial and financial interests entered such strenuous objections that defeat followed. These interests spoke not a single encouraging word before the committees that would aid the farmers. They placed every obstacle in the way of such legislation. Labor alone urged Congress to help the farmers.

For many years those responsible for the defeat of farm legislation have sought to prejudice the farmers against labor, and yet labor has only good will and sympathy for the farmers.

The farmers should heed the advice labor has been giving them,—that they realize they are living in an age of cooperation, and like all other groups organize for their mutual advantage and for dealing with their common problems of production and marketing. Farmers cooperation would furnish an agency through which they could have group ownership of power-machinery and tools, the advice of experts and advantageous handling of crops.

Labor is willing at any and all times to aid the farmers in seeking legislation that will advance their economic interest.

LEGISLATIVE DRAFT PROPOSALS

One of the most flagrant wrongs indulged in by organized capital is the resort to the use of the injunction writ whenever and wherever a dispute arises relating to the entering or non-entering into a collective trade union agreement.

The courts have been all too ready to issue restricting orders very largely limiting the power of organizations of workers, or restricting their functioning as an organized group to the degree where they are powerless to defend their right to collective action or collective agreements. In some instances the exercise of right of organization has been interpreted as an illegal conspiracy against the property right of employers, though such injunctions are freely admitted to have violated the personal rights of the wage earners. This extension of equity jurisdiction and regulation of industrial disputes by judges in the exercises of chancery power has caused great distress and dissatisfaction with our present administration of law. While the courts of equity are ever ready to assist employers in industrial disputes by the issuance of restraining orders against workers, they generally refuse to issue restraining orders against employers where trade unions charge employers with the violation of trade union agreements and invasion of property as well as personal rights. Indeed, when a trade union appeals to the equity court for redress against an employer, instead of assisting it in the maintenance of such agreements the court finds some reason or other to declare the trade agreement as lacking mutuality and therefore without standing within a court of equity.

We are pleased to record that the activities of the American Federation of Labor

and its affiliated unions have resulted in some measure of redress. We point particularly to the laws enacted in the recent legislatures of New Jersey and Illinois where modified anti-injunction laws on labor disputes have been enacted. While those measures are far from a complete remedy they are advances in the right direction.

Your Executive Council after very careful research and examination has also had prepared two legislative proposals to be introduced to the next session of Congress; one of these proposals is intended to limit the equity powers of the federal courts, the other is intended to free organized labor from the wrongful and unwarrantable doctrine of conspiracy that has proven the most ready and deadly weapon by which courts have protected organized capital and have denied organized labor the legal right of existence or of function in a fitting and effective manner. It is proposed to do all within the power and influence of organized labor to secure the early enactment into law of these legislative proposals.

Our investigation into the several state constitutions for the purpose of defining the power of state legislatures over the judicial powers of the state, has led us to conclude that no general form of anti-injunction legislation is possible for each and every state, but that each state must be guided largely by the fundamental and organic law that separates and defines the authority of each of the three separate divisions of government.

There are thus presented difficulties in dealing with this injunction problem in one general or model form of legislation. However, it is generally conceded to be within the authority of every state legislature to declare that no *ex parte* injunctions shall be issued in any case and that no one shall be found guilty of contempt of court where the contempt charged is alleged to have been committed in an industrial dispute outside of the presence of the court except after trial by jury. The Executive Council is at present engaged in making a survey of *ex parte* injunctions issued in labor disputes and it believes that when the findings of this survey are made known that public opinion will become sufficiently aroused to condemn for all time this un-American practice of unwarrantable equity power by our courts.

STATE COMPENSATION LEGISLATION

Progress has also been made in furthering compensation legislation for those injured or killed in gainful occupations. It is pleasing to record the fact that organized labor is now fully united upon the principles that should govern compensation legislation and that differences having heretofore existed on this subject among the ranks of wage earners in Massachusetts and Missouri have been removed. As a result it is anticipated that compensation measures in those states will soon follow.

In Missouri a compensation law has been enacted. However, it is our opinion that at the instigation of those who profited by the old liability system, the enforcement of this law has been held in abeyance while it is being submitted to the voters of Missouri for approval or disapproval by the referendum method that prevails in that state. It is hoped and believed that the people of Missouri will overwhelmingly ratify this humane legislation and that Missouri will place itself among those states which have extended to working people the protection embodied within practical and scientific workmen's compensation legislation. Every encouragement and aid have been and are being given the organized workers of Missouri toward that accomplishment.

In Massachusetts labor was divided over the provisions of a bill but a complete understanding has been reached and there is every prospect for beneficial changes in the present law.

Within a period of eighteen years forty-two states, two territories, Porto Rico and the federal government have adopted laws to compensate persons injured or the heirs of those killed while employed in industry.

Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and the District of Columbia have so far neglected their wage earners.

Labor in Florida is preparing to present a bill in the next session of the legislature.

For several years Congress has had under consideration a compensation bill for wage earners in private employment in the District of Columbia. Due to opposition from the insurance companies it has failed of passage. What is known as the Fitz-

gerald bill and supported by labor provides for a federal fund. The bill supported by the insurance companies was introduced by Representative Underhill of Massachusetts. It provides that all employers must insure with private insurance companies. This feature proved the sole obstacle to the passage of compensation legislation.

The Fitzgerald bill was favorably reported to the House in the 68th Congress. The Underhill bill was substituted for it and approved by it. In the 69th Congress the Fitzgerald bill was also reported favorably by the District of Columbia committee but the rules committee refused to permit it to come to a vote.

One of the occupations that has suffered grievously from lack of compensation laws is that of longshoremen. In 1916 the American Federation of Labor convention urged Congress to enact laws that would protect this class of workers.

In 1917 the United States Supreme Court decided that persons employed as stevedores in loading and unloading vessels are engaged in work of maritime nature; that injuries received in the course of such work are maritime, and that the rights and liabilities of the parties in connection therewith are matters within admiralty jurisdiction. This excluded longshoremen from coming under state compensation laws.

Various bills have been introduced in Congress to protect the longshoremen. In the present Congress the longshoremen had a bill introduced that is believed will meet the requirements of the Supreme Court. The bill passed the Senate but failed in the House. The rules committee of the House refused to permit it to come before that body. If it had been submitted to a vote it would have been carried by a practically unanimous vote.

With the development of compensation to those injured during gainful employment there followed the recognition for the need of providing compensation for those who suffer by reason of occupational disease. Consequently there has followed the effort to include occupational diseases as being compensable.

In 1915 the American Federation of Labor convention declared in favor of "compensation to be paid for death or illness resulting from occupational diseases."

At the present time there are twelve states and the federal government that recognize occupational diseases as compensable. The federal statute includes under the term "injury" any "disease proximately caused by the employment." The Porto Rico law provides compensation for, "accidents or sickness occurring because of any act or function inherent in their work or employment and while engaged therein and as a consequence thereof." Several states designate what are occupational diseases.

Another development associated with compensation legislation is that of providing an opportunity of rehabilitation to those injured. The federal government has provided such a law for the rehabilitation of persons injured in industry, agriculture and commerce. This rehabilitation work is one of the functions of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. By the enactment of this law the great majority of persons injured while in federal service and believed to be totally disabled have been rehabilitated and returned to civil employment.

One of the significant facts connected with compensation legislation is that no state has passed a compensation law that at first was satisfactory. But there is not a legislature in any state where a compensation law has been in force that has not at every session passed one or more beneficial amendments.

In order to advance more quickly and to promote a greater degree of uniformity of compensation legislation the Executive Council has caused to be prepared a survey and report of information and guidance on this subject.

This report sets forth the reasons that prompt organized labor in its insistence and demand for improved compensation laws. It also contains a recital of progress made in the enactment of compensation laws and includes information, advice and guidance regarding all salient features embraced in compensation legislation. This report is available to all trade unionists and is of special importance to those charged with the duty of improving compensation legislation.

One of the outstanding features of compensation legislation is the fact that no backward steps are taken. This form of beneficial legislation has been accepted by the people generally as one of the great modern legislative achievements to protect the injured and disabled workmen.

A. F. OF L. NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

Immediately after the close of the Atlantic City convention the Executive Council began a survey of the political situation in the United States so far as it affected members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives. Letters were written to various states requesting information as to the political situation and the activities that could be expected to encourage the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor. The replies were most encouraging.

December 29, 1925, President Green sent the following circular to all organized labor:

"GREETING: The insidious campaign now being carried on to discredit forward-looking members of Congress makes it imperative that the organized wage earners and their sympathizers make every preparation to take an aggressive part in the primaries which will be held in the various states and the elections in November, 1926. Thirty-four members of the Senate are to be elected while 435 members of the House of Representatives must come before the people for election.

"A careful record of the votes made in the present session of Congress and previous Congresses will be compiled and sent to all organized labor for the information of the trade unions, the rank and file and the public generally.

"But Labor has a duty to perform. Members of Congress must be elected who will rise above party and who will talk and vote for measures that will be beneficial to the people generally.

"The usual vicious measures have been introduced and may be given hearings by the 69th Congress. A number of measures favorable to Labor and the people have been introduced but may never see the light of day.

"The great crime against the textile workers may be threshed out on the floor of the Senate and House but no action will be taken by the reactionaries for fear of arousing the opposition of the great woolen and cotton textile industries.

"It will be helpful to the American Federation of Labor Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee if the officials of the various state federations of labor and central bodies will send in a list of candidates for United States Senators and members of the House of Representatives. It also will be beneficial if the state record of candidates who have never been in Congress is sent to the President of the American Federation of Labor.

"A number of state legislatures will be in session this winter and the legislative committees of the various state federations and city central bodies will have an opportunity of obtaining information regarding candidates for the United States Congress as well as for the various state legislatures.

"Vigorous campaigns should be launched in order that the rank and file and the people generally will be made acquainted with the records of candidates, especially in the primaries. These campaigns should urge every voter to go to the polls primary day and vote only for those candidates for the United States Senate and House of Representatives, state legislature or any other public office who have shown a fairness to Labor and the people in order to defeat those who openly or secretly aim to hamper or obstruct the normal activities of the wage earners and the people generally.

"Every state federation of labor, every city central body and every local union should appoint non-partisan political campaign committees. Where these organizations have legislative committees they should automatically become non-partisan political campaign committees.

"City central bodies should arrange for meetings of the campaign committees of the local unions to advocate the election of friends of Labor and the people and the defeat of enemies of Labor and the people.

"State federations of labor should call meetings of these local campaign

committees for the purpose of uniting solidly against state officials and members of the United States Congress unfriendly to Labor and the people.

"Mass meetings should be held.

"The campaign should not be confined to the organized wage earners alone but should be extended to the farmers and others so that the truth will be clearly set forth in the election of officials who will be true to the interest of the people.

"Much depends upon the outcome of the primaries and elections. The reactionary element now in control of government affairs is not timid. It is riding rough shod over those who stand in the way of reactionary legislation.

"The people must be informed of this fact and there is no other organization that has such an opportunity as the labor movement. There are 35,000 local unions through which the campaign can be extended into every nook and corner of the United States.

"Personal prejudices should be swept aside in this great cause. No one should be voted for who shows by his record that he cares nothing for the people but is controlled by the reactionaries to the detriment of the whole people.

"It is our wish that every campaign committee will write the President of the American Federation of Labor for information that will be of value as to candidates.

"Should a Congress be elected that would be subservient to reactionaries it would require many years to recover from the legislation it would enact.

"Every organized wage earner and trade union official is urged to make it his duty to carry out the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor.

"The success of that policy depends upon the organized wage workers and their sympathizers.

"Yours fraternally,

WILLIAM GREEN,

*Chairman, American Federation of Labor
National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee."*

As a result of this circular inquiries were received from every state in the union as to the attitude of members of Congress on measures of interest to Labor. These inquiries numbered several hundred. They came from not only officials of trade unions but from individual members of trade unions. Many members of Congress also requested copies of their labor records. As the primaries approached in the several states the legislative records were sent to the central bodies and local unions of members of Congress in the various districts. Where members of Congress had been unduly antagonistic to legislation favorable to Labor and the people the organized labor movements in the respective districts were notified. The most encouraging reports have come from many states. In those states where primaries have been held members of the United States Senate who have been antagonistic to Labor and the people were defeated through the influence of the labor movement. Candidates for the House of Representatives who have been friendly to Labor were in all cases successful.

As an instance of the work done by the Executive Council the case of Representative Finis J. Garrett of Tennessee may be mentioned. He is the leader of the minority party in the House of Representatives and is being groomed for speaker. While he has been elected on the Democratic ticket no one has yet been able to tell to which party he belongs when he votes in Congress. He voted against the bill which prohibited the use of phosphorus in the making of matches which had given many workers phossy jaw. He voted against workmen's compensation bills and increasing the appropriation for the children's bureau. He was opposed to the Clayton anti-trust act. He did his best to defeat child labor bills and voted for the Borland amendment to increase the hours of service of government employees. He was especially

friendly to the vicious stop-watch and bonus systems and voted invariably against any measures intending to prohibit them. He raised his voice against the bonus for federal employes when the cost of living jumped during the World War and was especially vigorous in his opposition to Representative Nolan's \$3.00 minimum wage bill for underpaid government employes. When it came to vocational rehabilitation of cripples in industry, commerce and agriculture he was decidedly antagonistic. When the retirement bill was before the Congress in 1920 he voted for a motion excluding members of organized labor from its benefits, and on the official passage of that bill he continued his opposition and voted unfavorable. He voted in favor of water-tenders and firemen working twelve hours a day on lake vessels instead of eight. A year later he opposed the workmen's compensation bill for the District of Columbia, and in 1924 his vote was registered against the amendment providing for the protection of child life in our country. He not only was against the Howell-Barkley railroad bill but carried his antagonism in the present Congress to the railroad bill which abolished the railroad labor board and provided a means of collective bargaining that will maintain peace in the railroad industry.

On March 5, 1926, President Green wrote a letter to the Tennessee State Federation of Labor in which he referred to Representative Garrett's record in Congress. He told of the obnoxious amendment to the Constitution which he had fathered and which if adopted would make it impossible forever in the future to amend the constitution, and continued:

"Representative Garrett has not lost an opportunity during his long session in Congress to antagonize most bitterly every important measure that has been introduced in that body in the interest of Labor.

"When the railroad bill agreed upon by the railroad employes' organizations and the railroad officials was before the House he led the opposition to its passage and was one of the thirteen members of the House who voted against it.

"He has used his position as leader of the minority to hamper and discredit bills of great importance to not only the wage earners of the country but to the people generally.

"I hope your convention will take some action that will let the people of Tennessee as well as the people of his congressional district know the record against forward-looking legislation that Representative Garrett has made in Congress."

President Green sent a representative to the convention of the Tennessee State Federation of Labor who made still further representations of the necessity of defeating Representative Garrett. The secretary of the State Federation of Labor had previously sent President Green's letter to all labor papers in the state. When Representative Garrett first heard of the opposition he laughed at the idea that he could be defeated, for during the many years he has been in Congress he has had little if any opposition. He seemed to own the district absolutely and in many campaigns had no opposition whatever. In a letter to Tennessee Labor, dated May 14, 1926, President Green said:

"Even if Representative Garrett is re-elected by a small majority it will demonstrate to him that he is not a true representative of his district or the party he assumes to represent."

Finally Representative Garrett began to be alarmed at the reports coming from his district and in June, during the session of Congress he hastened home to patch up his fences. No man ever worked harder to hold his position. The result was a stupendous victory for Labor. Few wage earners live in Representative Garrett's district, it is mostly a farming district, but the appeal made by the labor movement was so successful that he was barely elected by only about 1,200 majority. This is an incident in the work of the Executive Council. We have no doubt that the small

majority received by Representative Garrett will be overturned in the next election and he will be relegated to private life.

The great issue now before the organized labor movement, as well as the unorganized and all those just-minded people who believe in justice is to get out the vote on election day. More than fifty per cent of those eligible to vote fail to register or cast a ballot on election days. A far less number vote in the primaries. The Executive Council has urged every organization of labor, their officers and every member of the rank and file to make it their duty on election day not only to go to the poll and vote but urge and encourage others to vote. Not only should they vote themselves but they should encourage the female members of their families to vote. The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly declared that if there is anything wrong in our government it can be changed by the ballot. This is true, but in order for such changes to be brought about it is necessary that those candidates who would be just in carrying out the duties of their offices shall be elected and those candidates who would cater to the interests that oppose Labor and the people shall be defeated.

Another important issue is the insidious campaign to destroy the direct primaries. It is charged that because in certain states millions of dollars were expended to corrupt the electorate a return should be made to the old "boss-controlled" convention system. This is the most monstrous fiction that can be imagined. Conventions are made up of delegates elected by the people. If the people are competent to elect delegates to a convention to nominate candidates for public office they certainly should be competent to elect these candidates direct. Of course it is admitted that the cost of controlling a few political "bosses" in a convention is much less than corrupting the entire electorate. Therefore, the people have to decide whether they will be controlled by political "bosses" or by themselves, even if they do make mistakes. This question should be discussed in every national and international convention of labor, in every state federation and city central body and in every local union. The people should be made acquainted with the despicable idea behind the destruction of the direct primaries. They must be made to understand that carrying this policy out to its logical conclusion would gradually bring about a return to the dictatorship of a few men in all political affairs. If it were necessary to abolish the old "boss-ruled" conventions and establish the direct primaries it is certainly just as necessary now to maintain the direct primaries. It must be remembered that what are known as political "bosses" never sleep, they are continually conniving to bring about a desired end. The people for one reason or another forget their political duties between elections and while they are asleep the political "bosses" through their propaganda agents manufacture sentiment in favor of objectionable candidates or principles that are a detriment to the people. The American labor movement will be untrue to itself unless it makes it one of its most important duties to keep alive the political spirit of the people. They must not be permitted to forget or forgive any unjust act of public men. If ballot boxes are "stuffed" or stolen, if election clerks miscount the ballots to the detriment of any candidate the laws provide a remedy. If there are not sufficient laws to prevent this corruption of the ballot new laws should be enacted. But under no circumstances should we return to the old system which permitted a few men to dictate who should be candidates for public office.

Before this convention adjourns the legislative records of members of Congress will have been sent to the labor organizations in their respective districts. This includes the candidates for Senators in those states where elections for the Senate are being held.

CONCLUSION

The suggestions that your Executive Council wishes to submit as final comment on our year's work are:

The necessity for cooperation between all organizations for organization purposes in real understanding that the individual units of the Federation are strengthened as the whole movement gains in stability and good reputation and that the federated movement gains as each unit grows in numbers and services rendered its membership and its industrial jurisdiction.

That we must increasingly rely upon educational methods and the use of facts in dealing with problems both within the union and the industry.

And, finally, that the principles upon which we have been proceeding are fundamentally sound but that we need to make increased efforts during the coming year.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,

President.

JAMES DUNCAN,

First Vice-President.

FRANK DUFFY,

Second Vice-President.

T. A. RICKERT,

Third Vice-President.

JACOB FISCHER,

Fourth Vice-President.

MATTHEW WOLL,

Fifth Vice-President.

MARTIN F. RYAN,

Sixth Vice-President.

JAMES WILSON,

Seventh Vice-President.

JAMES P. NOONAN,

Eighth Vice-President.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,

Treasurer.

FRANK MORRISON,

Secretary.

*Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor.*

Specially engraved badges were presented by President Green to the fraternal delegates.

A motion offered by Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers and seconded by Delegate Swartz, of the same organization, to adjourn the convention at the close of the Tuesday morning session until Wednesday morning at 9:30 o'clock, was defeated.

Chairman Martel, of the local committee, announced that automobiles were in readiness to take the delegates and visitors for a ride about the city, and that dinner would follow at the Oriole Terrace.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were introduced and referred to the appropriate committees:

Tunnel and Subway Constructors Requests Revocation of Charter of Local No. 63, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers.

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate John J. Collins of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.

WHEREAS, the Compressed Air, Foundation, Subway, Cofferdam and Sewer Construction Workers' Local No. 63 Chartered by the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America are a dual organization of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union of North America, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Charter of Local No. 63 and all locals chartered under the same conditions by the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, be revoked and they be duly notified to affiliate with the Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union of North America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

United Textile Workers of America Requests Assistance of Organized Labor for Striking Textile Workers of Passaic, New Jersey.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, George Creech and Arthur McDonnell of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, the heroic struggle of the Textile Workers of Passaic and vicinity has justly earned the commendation of the organized labor movement. These workers, now on strike for more than eight months, have shown a perseverance in and an understanding of this

long battle with the mill owners which deserves emulation by the millions of unorganized workers in this country, and

WHEREAS, it becomes the duty of the organized labor movement to encourage the fight these workers are making to organize, to have a union of their own, to win decent living conditions. If the Passaic strike is won, then the immense unorganized mass of workers in the oil, steel, rubber and other industries will be encouraged to organize; and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this convention call upon all of organized labor to assist the Passaic Textile Strikers, now organized into Local 1603 of the United Textile Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. That this convention request all international unions and the officers of the American Federation of Labor to circularize all affiliations with a proclamation, giving the history of this big strike, its significance to the labor movement and calling upon all local unions to aid at once. The Textile Strikers must be assured of food until the strike ends, and organized labor must not allow a curtailment of relief lest it weaken the strike and result in a settlement not as advantageous as would be had if the strikers, assured of the full support of organized labor, continue their struggle with lines unbroken.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Appeal for Financial Assistance for the Strike of the Textile Workers Against Wage Reduction Inaugurated by the American Thread Company of Williamantic, Connecticut.

Resolution No. 3 — By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, George Creech and Arthur McDonnell, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, the workers of the American Thread Company of Williamantic, Conn., have been on strike since March 9th, 1925, against a 10 per cent reduction, and

WHEREAS, this concern is a foreign controlled corporation protected by our American tariff, and

WHEREAS, the profits of this concern prior to day of strike was so huge that in a ten-year period their surplus was nearly equal to their large capitalization, be it

RESOLVED, that we, the delegates to

the Twenty-Fourth Convention of the United Textile Workers of America, pledge one continued financial assistance, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the incoming International Officers are hereby instructed to appeal to the entire Labor Movement of America for continued financial assistance, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention held in Detroit, Michigan, on October 4th to 16th, from the United Textile Workers of America present a suitable resolution along the same lines as is contained in the resolution before this Convention.

Referred to committee on resolutions.

Proposing the Establishment of a Labor Chautauqua to Assist Organizing Work in the South.

Resolution No. 4 — By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara Conboy, George Creech and Arthur McDonnell, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, the workers in the south are showing a desire for organization under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, the men and women now organized believe that the unorganized could be more speedily brought into the various International unions through the starting of a Labor Chautauqua; and

WHEREAS, the cost of a Labor Chautauqua would be large; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor call together during the Convention period the International and National representatives who would be interested in such Chautauqua, for the purpose of discussing the benefits to the South of such a course, and devise ways and means to carry this proposition out, providing a sufficient number of International and National unions consent to take part in such a program.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Company Union Menace.

Resolution No. 5. — By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, George Creech and Arthur McDonnell, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, the company union has been instituted in the textile industry by the mill owners for the purpose of defeating the desire on the part of thousands of textile workers to be organized in bona fide trade unions, and

WHEREAS, the company union, being created by the employers as a substitute for real workers' organization are under the direction and control of the bosses, meeting upon the bosses' premises, dividing the workers in one mill from their fellow-workers in another, preventing the workers from selecting their own leaders and advisors, are inimical to the best interests of the workers, and can only operate in the interests of the employers, and

WHEREAS, the company union cannot provide the necessary machinery for collective bargaining on questions of hours of labor, conditions of employment and wage scales, or form the means for adjusting questions of vital interest to the textile workers in their interests, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the United Textile Workers of America, in its twenty-fifth convention assembled, takes special notice of the menace to our union, and to the labor movement generally, of the company union, and warns the textile workers not to have anything to do with the company union but to organize in the United Textile Workers of America as the only means for improving conditions, hours and wages in this industry, and urges the workers now in the company union to take steps to change it into a bona fide local of the United Textile Workers of America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Reaffirming Protest Against Modification of Federal Law Excluding Aliens Ineligible to Citizenship

Resolution No. 6.—By Delegate Don Witt, representing California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for years demanded from Congress, and with co-operation of other organizations and interests finally secured, passage of a law excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship as a measure of protection to American citizenship, and as a logical condition of the national policy of restricted immigration, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has pro-

secuted for a year and is still prosecuting a nation-wide campaign for demand upon Congress to admit Japan to quota in 1927, thus excepting Japanese from the operation of a law which applies equally to all the yellow and brown races, constituting half the population of the globe, and

WHEREAS, The present Congress had under consideration prior to recess in July, three bills, one granting naturalization to about 400 Japanese who had been illegally naturalized by a Hawaiian Court in the face of protest by the Naturalization Officer and the United States Attorney; another permitting American-born citizens of Asiatic parentage to bring in as wives alien women ineligible to citizenship and the third recognizing Hindus as eligible to citizenship; two of which bills were defeated through vigilance of the California Joint Immigration Committee, acting for the California State Federation of Labor and allied organizations while the third was introduced too late for attention; and

WHEREAS, The passage by Congress of any one of the four measures referred to or of a similar nature would violate the basic principles of the present law, thus opening the way for further breaches in the barrier and ultimate destruction of the present protective policy; and

WHEREAS, Only general knowledge of the facts outlined herein can effectively safeguard against the results likely to follow continued propaganda on the part of various interests in breaking down the law; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled that we again direct the Executive Council to forcibly present to Congress and the proper committees of both houses organized labor's vigorous and emphatic protest against any modification of the Federal law excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Request for Appointment of American Members of Joint Commission to Consider Problem of Mexican Immigration.

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate Dor M. Witt, of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, at a special meeting held in Washington, D. C., in August, 1925, by representatives of the American and Mexican Federations of Labor, it was agreed that all phases of the Mexican

immigration problem were to be further considered and dealt with by a Joint American-Mexican Commission to be appointed by the American Federation of Labor, and the Mexican Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, although a year has passed since the Washington meeting and although California is confronted by a serious Mexican immigration problem, the Joint American-Mexican Commission has not been appointed, therefore be it

RESOLVED, by the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, that we hereby direct the President of the American Federation of Labor to at once proceed with the appointment of the American members of said Joint Commission.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

PAINTERS vs. ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

Resolution No. 8.—By Delegates Geo. F. Hedrick and Chas. J. Lammert, of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators.

WHEREAS, a number of protests and complaints have reached our General Office against the Electrical Workers painting electrical poles, standards, stop lights, alarm boxes and all other electrical equipment, and

WHEREAS, the Electrical Workers have gone so far as to threaten to strike jobs and cut off the lights during the Greater Saint Louis Exposition—where our members were doing this class of work, and

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Labor has always recognized our jurisdiction over all painting and decorating in all of its branches including the painting of electrical poles, standards, stop lights, alarm boxes and all other electrical equipment, and

WHEREAS, this work does not rightfully or properly belong to the Electrical Worker; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this convention hereby instruct the Electrical Workers to cease infringing upon the jurisdiction and rights of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, by discontinuing the painting of electrical poles, standards, stop lights, alarm boxes and all other electrical equipment as specified.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Pledging Support to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers in Struggle Against the Ward Bread Trust.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates A. A. Myrup, Jacob Goldstone, Peter Beisel, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its last annual convention declared its opposition to the two-billion-dollar Bread Trust which was being formed under the leadership of William B. Ward by the consolidation of the Ward, Continental and General Baking Corporations, and urged the Federal government to institute proceedings against this illegal combination; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Justice, after long and unwarranted delay, finally brought suit before the Federal Court at Baltimore, confirming in its petition every charge made by the American Federation of Labor against the Bread Trust and its promoters; and

WHEREAS, on April 3, 1926, Attorney General Sargent permitted the entry of a so-called "consent decree" drafted in secret conference with the Bread Trust attorneys, permitting this unlawful combination and its promoters to escape without any penalty whatever either of fine or imprisonment and allowing the Ward interests to maintain substantial control of the Ward and Continental Baking Corporations, each of which is large enough to dominate the baking industry; and

WHEREAS, the dissenting opinion filed by Federal Trade Commissioners Nugent and Thompson reveals that in the entry of this consent decree a gross fraud was perpetrated upon the Federal Court at Baltimore by providing in section 13 of the consent decree that the charges under section 7 of the Clayton Act against the Continental Baking Corporation were dismissed on the ground that similar charges were then pending before the Federal Trade Commission, when, as a matter of fact, the Federal Trade Commission complaint had actually been dismissed on the previous day and the Attorney General had been notified by letter, transmitted by special messenger, that this action had taken place; and

WHEREAS, the dissenting opinion of Commissioners Nugent and Thompson further reveals that the dismissal of the case against the Continental Baking Corporation was arranged for at a secret conference held at the Department of

Justice on April 1, 1926, participated in by the Attorney General himself, the Chief Counsel for the Federal Trade Commission and the lawyers for the Bread Trust; and

WHEREAS, the Senate, on July 1, 1926, adopted a resolution introduced by Senator Walsh of Montana, directing the Judiciary Committee to investigate this entire transaction; and

WHEREAS, the Bread Trust, dominated by the Ward interests, has continued its unfair tactics against organized labor and the consuming public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled declares anew its unflinching opposition to the Ward Bread Trust and pledges its support to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union in its fight against this unlawful combination; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to use their good offices to induce the Judiciary Committee to conduct a speedy and thorough investigation of the proceedings by which the Bread Trust was permitted to escape punishment for its repeated violations of the Federal Statutes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Commending and Urging Support of Relief Work Carried on by Organized Labor of Miami, Florida.

Resolution No. 10—By R. L. Harris of the Central Labor Union, Miami, Florida.

WHEREAS, Thousands of union men and their families have been made homeless and destitute in Miami, Florida, and vicinity through the destruction of their homes and other personal belongings by the hurricane of September 17th and 18th, 1926, and

WHEREAS, The Local Unions in close co-operation with the Building Trades Council of Miami and vicinity are rendering all aid possible within their power, providing emergency needs, medicines, food, clothing and other relief direct and in accord and co-operation with other relief agencies; and

WHEREAS, These very necessary activities created additional expense which is greatly added to by other activities necessary in preventing the efforts of the foes of union labor to take advantage of the stress under which the community now labors following the disaster and

change Miami from a union town to a non-union town, and

WHEREAS, The Labor Unions of Miami their members and officers have acted in a manner and a way for which the labor movement and all people may well feel proud whom by reason of and through their organization did serve the stricken city voluntarily and without cost working immediately after the storm had passed for the following days and nights until the city was provided with water, sewerage, lights and all hazardous obstructions, loose swingings, signs and all dangerous obstacles had been removed, this work of union labor did much towards saving the stricken city from disease and pestilence which usually follows in the wake of such disasters. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the spirit and principle of the American Labor Unions was truly reflected in the actions and service of Miami Union Labor during the crisis through which the city of Miami passed immediately following the destructive hurricane of September 17th and 18th, 1926. Be it further

RESOLVED, That the increased activities of the Miami Unions in providing succor for its stricken members, its operating in new fields necessary to the preservation of union standards and conditions be given the endorsement of this convention.

RESOLVED, That the International Unions be requested to encourage their local unions in Miami to continue close co-operation with all other unions in Miami, and lend financial aid where and as needed, and that a collection be made among the delegates to this convention and that the same be sent to the Miami Central Labor Union and that all central bodies and councils be requested to lend financial aid to the Building Trades Council and Central Labor Union of Miami.

Union Labor Review.

Miami, Florida,
October 1st, 1926.

The following is a brief description of the activities and service of union labor during the recent storm which wrought such havoc in Miami.

The hurricane and tidal wave which was in two sections with an interval of 45 minutes and two hours between, the destruction was appalling; houses, buildings, signs, trees, rails, walks, cars, boats, practically everything created by

man was dislodged, destroyed blown away or washed out. The city was without water, lights, sewerage and all vital necessities.

At the break of the storm and while numbers of people were in the panicky throes of hysteria the members of union labor were by reason of organization able to and did marshal the skilled and competent labor constituting the force required and necessary, whom by diligent, unceasing effort brought back to the city sewerage, water, lights and removal of dangerous, loose overhangings and hazardous obstructions, thereby protecting the city and environs from disease and pestilence which usually follows in the wake of such storms.

Through the office of labor headquarters food, medicine and other emergency needs and aid were and are now being distributed; in an office downtown along side of the General Contractors and other employers' offices; a labor bureau is being maintained; this is the central office acting as a directing agent to all of the various local unions for the placement of their members on the work to be done, another office will be transferred from private hands into this bureau, where common unskilled and miscellaneous labor is enrolled and placed, thereby placing all of the activities pertaining to labor where it should be in the practical hands of the labor movement of Miami.

In the City Building Department funds are not sufficient to provide the necessary number of building inspectors, creating a serious gap in the protection of the community, which will have to be cared for by labor; at present there is an inspector volunteer to be paid out of labor union funds.

There are a number of other activities but the foregoing salient ones should with a little analyzing give a good idea of the efforts being made by the forces opposing union labor. Organization made possible the great service rendered the stricken city, all of which the members gave voluntarily, gladly and without compensation or thought of same in conjunction and close co-operation of city and county officials and agencies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Creation of Commission by Congress to Investigate Conditions of Porto Rico.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Porto Rico State

Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, the Island of Porto Rico is rapidly and increasingly becoming the property of a few financial interests and business corporations that have gained possession and taken hold of the soil and resources of the island in violation of the Organic Law of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this concentration of the lands and financial powers by absentee landlords the bulk of the profits produced by the Porto Rican masses of laborers are never re-invested in the island but in foreign countries and the continental United States, where absentee owners reside, and it is thus seen that while a great increase in the wealth production of the island is recorded, the masses still remain and are left suffering in the most unbearable degree of poverty and industrial oppression; and

WHEREAS, The administration of Porto Rico in Washington has ostensibly devised as a solution of this problem, a plan whereby thousands of Porto Ricans will be transferred from their native island to the United States, because the withdrawal of wealth from the island and the control of land by absentee landlords make their life untenable and their industrial development almost a dream; be it

RESOLVED, By this Forty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor in meeting assembled, that the President of the American Federation of Labor be earnestly recommended to request the Congress of the United States to create a Commission with full authority to investigate the deplorable industrial conditions, especially the living and working conditions of the masses of laborers in Porto Rico, land and financial resources, and to ascertain how the Federal as well as the Organic Law of the island has been continually violated by the big financial interests, corporations and individuals which exploit the people of the island to the discredit of our nation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the earnest wish of the American Federation of Labor that such Commission may visit the island of Porto Rico to make a thorough investigation as these resolutions urge, and that such a Commission be composed of men who will not, as several unofficial Commissions have done in the past, accept mere courtesies and superficial official declarations as sufficient evidence upon which to base their official

conclusions and recommendations, but that the aforesaid commission be composed of Senators and Representatives capable of going to the very heart of things, to get the real opinions and views of men who toil in every kind of work and business, who know local conditions, who feel the real feelings of the people, and who understand our local conditions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Transfer of Government Administration of Porto Rico from Bureau of Insular Affairs to a Civil Government

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Porto Rico State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, the convention of the American Federation of Labor held at St. Paul, Minn., June 10-20, 1918, unanimously adopted a resolution, No. 50, introduced by our late brother, Samuel Gompers, which read as follows:

"WHEREAS, the Island of Porto Rico as a result of the war with Spain came under the control of the United States Government in 1898, and was governed directly by Federal Representatives until 1917; and

WHEREAS, Congress by enactment of the so-called "Jones Bill," provided for the people of the Island citizenship and local self-government with the right to choose their representatives in both branches of the Insular Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that it is the sense of this convention that to continue the policy of keeping the Island of Porto Rico in the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, as a part of the military arm of the national government, is repugnant to every principle of our democratic form of government, especially since one hundred thousand young men of that Island registered under the selective draft to make the world safe for democracy; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, that inasmuch as the people of Porto Rico have been granted a civil form of government in harmony with our territorial form of government and being a law-abiding and peaceful race of people, that this convention, through its officers, request the President of the United States to transfer the official governmental business of that Island from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to a civic department and in

our judgment the Department of the Interior, which has always had official supervision over all our territorial forms of government;" and

WHEREAS, we consider the time to be opportune to bring about the change as sought for in the above quoted resolution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor now ratify at once and again give its full endorsement to the principle involved in the above referred to resolution, and that the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be earnestly requested to insist upon reiterating to the President and the Congress of the United States that such a change, as provided for in Resolution 50 of the St. Paul convention, be brought about at the earliest possible moment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

American Federation of Labor to Continue Assistance of Organized Labor Movement in Porto Rico

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Porto Rico Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has never been felt more badly than at the present the necessity of inaugurating, carrying out and maintaining indefinitely a vigorous, intensive and systematic campaign of education, and organization amongst the working people of Porto Rico for the reconstruction of our local unions and to bring in new members so as to enable ourselves to regain and retain all that which was practically destroyed by the open shoppers and reactionary forces of opposition; and

WHEREAS, The social and economic task which is still necessary to carry on for a long time in Porto Rico to better local conditions as a question of humanity—if not for other reasons—and even as a matter of protection for the workers of the mainland against unfair competition of labor, for there are in Porto Rico many facilities for employers of a certain number of industries to go there and get cheap labor—cannot be left to local organized labor alone, on account of its too limited financial means and lack of opportunities; therefore, be it

eration of Labor propose as it has been

RESOLVED, That the American Fed-

done in the past, to continue to lend its worthy and unquestioned co-operation, influence, moral aid and all financial help possible to the working masses of Porto Rico as represented by the "Free Federation of Workingmen in Porto Rico" and to the people of that island in general, in their efforts to better conditions, to establish a decent scale of wages, a reasonable number of working hours, living conditions in harmony with civilization, the promotion of social legislation and the exercise of all their civil rights free from industrial or political tyrants.

Referred to Committee on Organization. Requesting Support of the Striking Cloak Makers of New York City

Resolution No. 14—By Delegates Morris Sigman, Isidore Nagler, Philip Oretsky, Louis Pinkofsky, Abraham Snyder and Basilio Desti, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Practically 40,000 organized cloak makers in the city of New York, under the jurisdiction of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have been on strike for the past fourteen weeks to prevent a lowering of the standards of life and work, secured through many years of organized effort and sacrifice, and to save the industry itself from becoming demoralized and leading the workers back to sweat shop conditions such as existed before the firm establishment of the Cloakmakers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The employers in the cloakmaking industry have and are resorting to every available and conceivable method of warfare, including the injunction process, in their attempt to resist the rightful and justified demands of the organized cloakmakers; and

WHEREAS, the striking cloakmakers have been and are conducting their just struggle of self-defense loyally and courageously in the face of great suffering and privation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor extends its full support to the striking cloakmakers of New York city, authorizes the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to call immediately on all affiliated unions for financial assistance, urging them to respond speedily and generously so as to assure complete victory to the striking cloakmakers in their present struggle and contest.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

**Proposing That Women's Label Leagues
Shall Have Equal Representation
With Trade Unions in Central
Bodies**

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate T. P. Hollcraft, Olympia, Wash., Trades Council.

Amend Section 11, Article 11, Constitution American Federation of Labor, by adding at end of said section the following: "Women's Union Label Leagues, Chartered by the Women's International Union Label League, Shall have representation in central bodies and State Federations, on an equality with local unions."

Referred to Committee on Law.

**Union Label Products Store Management
Agreement Adopted by Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union**

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Adolph Hirschberg, of the American Federation of Musicians.

Whereas, the American Federation of Labor very wisely has made it mandatory for every member thereof to purchase Union labelled products, realizing that if complied with conscientiously would result in the much desired organizing of the unorganized; and

WHEREAS, it is conceded that due to the lack of easily accessible stores in which good Union labelled articles can be purchased at reasonable prices, makes it difficult to comply with the above mentioned principle; and

WHEREAS, the Central Labor Union and Label Trades Department at Philadelphia, Pa., has devised and adopted a plan in the form of an agreement, a facsimile of which is herewith attached for your perusal and consideration, so that if acceptable it may be copied and adopted in other localities in a like or similar manner as follows:

ORGANIZED LABOR'S DREAM REALIZED, through the opportunity presented to you to consistently reciprocate in your demands by purchasing in a store where nothing but Union labelled products are sold, that compare well in quality and price with any store in the city; a store that will expand through your co-operation by adding departments from time to time until it has grown into a complete department store of Union labelled products.

To bring about the above desirable results, the following shall be complied with:

The Sampson Company, No. 60 North Twelfth street, Philadelphia, Pa., party of the first part, and Organized Labor of Philadelphia, and vicinity, party of the second part:

WITNESSETH AND AGREE, that:

1. The party of the first part (The Sampson Company) guarantees to build and sell clothes made to measure in quality and price satisfactory to all, with union label attached to each garment.

2. The party of the second part (members of organized labor) agrees to give the party of the first part (The Sampson Company) the opportunity to execute the above by ordering one union labelled garment, and if satisfactory, further agrees to continue to purchase from The Sampson Company, so long as the quality and price remains satisfactory, and further agrees to recommend to others to do likewise.

3. The party of the first part (The Sampson Company) agrees to apply the profits, which shall be nominal, to the expansion of the aforementioned store, by adding such departments of available union labelled products from time to time, as the earnings will permit, until the aforementioned store grows into a department store of Union made products of all necessities.

4. The party of the first part (The Sampson Company) further agrees to be guided by an advisory committee appointed by Organized Labor, composed of:

HORACE WILKINSON,

Hosiery Workers, Local No. 696.

A. L. McCLOW,

Bricklayer, Local No. 1.

THOS. DREW,

Printing Pressmen, No. 4,

I. P. U. of N. A.

HAROLD HENRIQUES,

Machinist, Local No. 690.

A. L. McCLOW,

Bricklayer Local No. 1.

JAMES McFLOY,

Hotel and Restaurant Employees, No. 115.

They shall co-operate in procuring for labor the best products available at reasonable prices, commensurate with the union wage and conditions, and assist in unionizing those shops whose products are desirable.

5. All interested parties further agree to co-operate to the fullest extent to bring about conditions as outlined above so that Organized Labor will realize its Ideals, Aims and Purposes for which it is striving, and which are

necessary and essential for its existence.

Endorsed by
Central Labor Union of Philadelphia
and vicinity, and

The Union Label Trades Department
of Philadelphia.

Signed and attested to in the presence
of our Conscience and the Allegiance
we owe the American Federation of
Labor.

THE SAMPSON COMPANY.
THE AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF LABOR.

Labor's Department Store (Organized
Labor's purchasing center) will focus
the eyes of all the manufacturers upon
it who will endeavor to sell their pro-
ducts to Organized Labor, and as a re-
sult will be obliged to Unionize. Other
stores, in their endeavor to cater to or-
ganized labor, will then be obliged to
demand union labelled products. The
benefits YOU will derive will be man-
ifold and endless. Therefore, place
your shoulder to the wheel, of which
you are a part and without whom we
cannot ride to
the realization
of ORGANIZ-
ED LABOR'S
DREAM. HELP
YOURSELF
AND YOUR
CO-OPERA-
TORS! IT
COSTS YOU
NOTHING TO
DO YOUR
DUTY!

JOIN THE UNION LABEL CLUB!

And,

WHEREAS, it has already proven it-
self to have the merits of practicability
as well as the necessary qualifications
for arousing the members of organized
labor in the interest of the label and
the principle involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the American Fed-
eration of Labor in convention here as-
sembled, concur in the plan as indi-
cated above and adopted in Philadelphia,
Pa., and recommend same for adoption
in all localities in the jurisdiction of
the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to the Committee on Labels.

**Proposing Amendment to Act to Pro-
hibit Enlisted Men From Accepting
Any Engagement Which Would
Interfere With Employment
of Civilians**

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates A. J.

Chlopek, Joseph P. Ryan and W. B.
Jones, representing the International
Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, Under the present laws
of the United States of America, active
service men of the armed forces of the
United States of America are permitted
to compete with American citizens in
private life under the Act of June 3,
1916, (39th Stat. 188), which provides
as follows:

"Hereafter no enlisted men in the
active service of the United States army,
navy and marine corps, respectively,
whether a non-commissioned officer, mu-
sician or private, shall be detailed, order-
ed or permitted to leave his post to en-
gage in any pursuit, business or per-
formance in civil life, for emolument,
hire or otherwise, when the same shall
interfere with the customary employment
and regular engagement of local civilians
in the respective arts, trades or pro-
fessions"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Fed-
eration cause legislation to be intro-
duced in the Congress of the United
States whereby the above law quoted
shall be amended to read as follows:

After the word (permitted)—the words
(or shall volunteer).

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Proposing Amendment of Act Governing
Working Conditions of Navy Yard
Employees to Provide That Contract-
ors Shall Give Preference to
American Citizens When Hir-
ing Labor and Pay the Pre-
vailing Scales of Wages.**

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates A. J.
Chlopek, Joseph P. Ryan, and W. B.
Jones, representing International Long-
shoremen's Association.

To the officers and members in at-
tendance at the Forty-sixth Annual Con-
vention of the American Federation of
Labor, Detroit, Mich.

WHEREAS, In several naval bases of
the United States of America, alien la-
bor is employed in competition with mem-
bers of the International Longshoremen's
Association, and

WHEREAS, Wages for employes in
the navy yards are fixed in accordance
with the provisions of the Act of July
16, 1862:

"That the hours of labor and rates
of wages of the employes in the navy
yards shall conform, as nearly as is con-



sistent with the public interest, with those of private establishments in the immediate vicinity of the respective yards, subject to the approval and revision of the Secretary of the Navy"; be it

RESOLVED, that the said law be amended by striking out the words "as nearly as is consistent with the public interest" and insert therein the following words "the prevailing scale of wages and no contractor shall hire alien labor, when American citizens are available," and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the United States wherein the necessary laws will be amended as provided for in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Amendment of Act Governing Working Conditions of Employees of Navy Yards Providing That Contractors Shall Give Preference to American Citizens When Hiring Labor and Pay the Prevailing Scale of Wages.

Resolution No. 19.—By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon, of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, in several naval bases of the United States of America, alien labor is employed in competition with members of the International Longshoremen's Association, and

WHEREAS, Wages for employes in the navy yards are fixed in accordance with the provisions of the Act of July 16, 1862:

"That the hours of labor and rates of wages of the employees in the navy yards shall conform, as nearly as is consistent with the public interest, with those of private establishments in the immediate vicinity of the respective yards, subject to the approval and revision of the Secretary of the Navy"; be it

RESOLVED, That the said law be amended by striking out the words "as nearly as is consistent with the public interest" and insert therein the following words, "the prevailing scale of wages and no contractor shall hire alien labor when American citizens are available"; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Forty-sixth Annual Convention assembled, cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the United States wherein the necessary laws will be amended as provided for in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Amendment to Act to Prohibit Enlisted Men From Accepting Any Engagement Which Would Interfere With Employment of Civilians

Resolution No. 20.—By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon, of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, under the present laws of the United States of America, active service men of the armed forces of the United States of America are permitted to compete with American citizens in private life under the Act of June 3, 1916 (39th Stat. 188), which provides as follows:

"Hereafter no enlisted men in the active service of the United States army, navy and marine corps, respectively, whether a non-commissioned officer, musician, or private, shall be detailed, ordered or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business or performance in civil life, for emolument, hire or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilians in the respective arts, trades or professions"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Forty-sixth Annual Convention assembled cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the United States whereby the above law quoted shall be amended to read as follows:

After the word "permitted," the words, "or shall volunteer."

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Amendment of Existing Laws to Require That Contracts for Work Done for the United States Shall Provide That American Citizens Shall Be Given Preference in Employing Labor at the Scale of Wages, Hours and Working Conditions Prevailing in the Community Within Which the Work is Performed

Resolution No. 21.—By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon, of the New York State Federation of Labor

WHEREAS, under the provisions of section 3709 of the revised statutes of the United States of America, all purchases and contracts for supplies or

labor shall be made by advertising a sufficient time previous for the proposals respecting same, and

WHEREAS, it naturally follows that the lowest bidder offering to deliver materials, or furnish labor in strict accordance with the specifications must be given the contract, and

WHEREAS, in a number of cases where work has been done for the United States of America, alien labor has been given the preference of the work notwithstanding the fact that sufficient American labor was available, and

WHEREAS, no provision is now made in the laws of the United States, when letting contracts, giving preference to labor and mechanics who are Americans by birth, or through naturalization, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor in 46th Annual Convention assembled cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the United States, wherein the necessary laws shall be amended to provide that on all contracts, or work done on behalf of the United States of America, American labor (citizens of the United States) shall be given the preference, and that the hours of labor and rates of wages of the employees so engaged shall conform with the prevailing scale of wages hours and working conditions in that community and no contractor or agent of the United States government shall hire alien labor when citizens are available.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Amendment of Existing Laws to Require That Contracts for Work Done for the United States Shall Provide that American Citizens Shall Be Given Preference in Employing Labor at the Scale of Wages, Hours and Working Conditions Prevailing in the Community Within Which the Work is Performed

Resolution No. 22.—By Delegates A. J. Chlopek, Joseph P. Ryan and W. B. Jones, representing the International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, under the provisions of Section 3709 of the revised statutes of the United States of America, all purchases and contracts for supplies or

labor shall be made by advertising a sufficient time previous for the proposals respecting same, and

WHEREAS, it naturally follows that the lowest bidder offering to deliver materials, or furnish labor in strict accordance with the specification must be given the contract, and

WHEREAS, in a number of cases where work has been done for the United States of America, alien labor has been given the preference of the work, notwithstanding the fact that sufficient American labor was available, and

WHEREAS, no provision is now made in the laws of the United States, when letting contracts, giving preference to labor and mechanics who are Americans by birth, or through naturalization, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the United States, wherein the necessary laws shall be amended to provide that on all contracts, or work done on behalf of the United States of America, American labor (citizens of the United States) shall be given the preference, and that the hours of labor and rates of wages of the employees so engaged shall conform with the prevailing scale of wages, hours and working conditions in the community and no contractor or agent of the United States government shall hire alien labor when citizens are available.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Endorsement of Governor Smith of New York for Election to the Presidency of the United States

Resolution No. 23.—By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon, representing the New York State Federation of Labor.

On behalf of the International Union of Pavers, Ramblers, etc., and affiliated local unions, and on behalf of the District Council of Pavers, Ramblers, etc. of Greater New York and New Jersey, the New York State Federation of Labor presents for your consideration the action of the International Union of Pavers, Ramblers, etc., in regular convention assembled, and respectfully requests approval or similar action to be taken by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, as follows:

"The International Union of Pavers, Ramblers, Curb Setters, Road Builders, etc., in convention assembled at Maennerchor Hall, 203 East 56th Street, New York City, on the twelfth day of July, 1926, do declare and pledge their sincere belief and faith in the United States of America and the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence, and in the policy of Lincoln and Jefferson, sound and constructive in the cause of unity, liberty and freedom of the people, founded on democracy, a government of the people.

"The democratic tradition will always live and prevail among our people if they will manifest an interest in the selection of candidates for public office, as more and more the people of our country are coming to the conclusion that their liberty, comfort and happiness are being immolated upon the altar of political greed and selfishness, as manifested in the recent primary election of Pennsylvania, and in previous elections for the high honor of being a member of the United States Senate, a legislative body which the people of our country depend upon for conservative and constructive legislation.

"How can sound public policy be protected and advanced when the influence of money is used to make unfortunate people sacrifice one of the greatest assets of the government, the power of elector?

"What the country needs now at the helm is a man who has been tried, who has shown his fitness as a legislator, who has shown throughout his public career a sincere interest in the people, and one who advocates and upholds the principles of democracy. And we, as part of the Organized Labor Movement of the United States, in convention assembled, recommend to the National Democratic Party, to the Democratic Parties of the States, to Organized Labor and the people of the nation, the designation of Alfred E. Smith, Governor of the State of New York, for President of the United States of America, so that our reverence for democracy can and will be maintained."

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Declaring Opposition to Any Further Increase In Postage Rates on Printed Matter.

Resolution No. 24.—By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon, representing the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, the congress of the United States has within the past ten years increased the rates on second class postage (printed matter) on two different occasions, such action in some instances advancing the cost of transmitting printed matter through the post office from 50 to 700 per cent, and

WHEREAS, the printing and publishing industry has assumed all of the burden it can bear, and as any further increase in the second class postage rates would seriously affect this industry as to increase the amount of unemployment, and

WHEREAS, this branch of the Postal Service is self-sustaining and there are other branches of the service which are being operated at a deficit—notably the rural free delivery and the parcels post, and

WHEREAS, there is now under consideration proposals for a further increase in the rates on second class postage, therefore be it

RESOLVED, by this Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we strenuously protest against any further increase in the postage rates on printed matter, be it further

RESOLVED, that we demand that the Congress give consideration to increasing revenues derived from those branches of the service, in the event that a greater income is necessary, rather than impose any further increase on second class rates or in any event that any non-sustaining branches of the service are considered worthy of government subsidy, that such subsidy be derived from some other source of governmental income and not from the self-sustaining branches of the Postal Service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

**Urging Continued Effort To Secure
Enactment of Longshoremen's
and Harbor Workers' Com-
pensation Act.**

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates A. J. Chlopek, Joseph P. Ryan and W. B. Jones, representing the International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, during the first session of the 69th Congress, U. S. of A., a bill was introduced by Senator Albert B. Cummins (since deceased), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and known as Senate 3170, and by Chairman George S. Graham of the House Judiciary Committee and known as H. R. 9498 to provide compensation for employees injured and dependents of employees killed in certain maritime employment and providing for compensation by the U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission, and the bills identified as follows: This Act may be cited as the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, and

WHEREAS, Longshoremen and Ship Repairmen when injured aboard vessels at the dock have been deprived by U. S. Supreme Court decision of protection which they formerly had under state compensation laws, and

WHEREAS, carefully considered bills to provide for these workers the necessary uniform national system of accident compensation were introduced in this session of Congress with the cordial support of the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor, Dr. John B. Andrews, Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation and the interested organization, and

WHEREAS, the Judiciary Committee of Both Houses of Congress unanimously reported in favor of this legislation—that its final adoption was delayed through the opposition of organized employers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that each member of Congress be requested to assist in every possible way the expediting the prompt enactment of this urgently needed legislation on a basis that shall afford adequate benefits to the injured workers and dependents, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the incoming Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby directed to mail a copy of this resolution to each and

every member of the 69th Congress, urging their moral and active support to the end that this legislation may be enacted into law without any further delay, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, that we express our deep appreciation to the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor, Dr. John B. Andrews of the American Association for Labor Legislation and the International Organizations, as well as to each and every Senator and Congressman who has rendered his service in support of this proposed legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Re-Affirming Adherence to the Principle of an Inheritance Tax.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon, representing New York State Federation of Labor.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor, in 46th Annual Convention assembled, hereby reaffirm its adherence to the principle of the inheritance tax, as set forth by the American Federation of Labor in its 1919 convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we are uncompromisingly opposed to the repeal of the Federal Estate Tax, so-called; and be it further

RESOLVED, that in the interests of equal opportunity for all we favor the passage of legislation which shall make provision for necessitous widows and orphans in the absence of inheritances.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Opposing Proposed Legislation for
Registration and Finger-Printing
of Aliens**

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon, representing the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, an active campaign is now on and being waged under the leadership of the Secretary of Labor, Mr. James J. Davis and Congressman Aswell, and Johnston, chairman of the Congressional Committee on Immigration, for the passage of a law providing for the registration of aliens; and this law proposed such methods of identification as finger-printing and photographing of the foreign born, methods now employed to identify

criminals; and these methods will be employed in cases of deportation resulting from strike activities and will mean the loss of naturalization papers for those participating in strikes; and

WHEREAS, such a law will introduce into our country methods of espionage and oppression similar to the Czaristic terrorism in old Russia and will discriminate against the foreign born workers and make it impossible for them to participate in the struggles of American Labor for a higher standard of living; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we emphatically declare our opposition to the passage of bills H-R 5585, 3748, 6523 and 4489, or to any other legislation having for its purpose the outlawing of foreign born workers in this country, and, be it further

RESOLVED, that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. use all its power to defeat these and similar bills and, call upon all foreign born workers to join the trades unions in America and actively aid in the struggle against these discriminatory laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Continuance of Effort To Secure Enactment of H-R 7962 Providing for Increased Compensation for Watchmen, Messengers and Laborers of the Post Office Department.

Resolution No. 28.—By Post Office

Laborers' Union No. 17864, Philadelphia, Pa.

WHEREAS, the legislative Committee and Officers of the A. F. of L. have in the past earnestly supported the efforts of this body to have enacted a bill H-R 7962 increasing the compensation for Watchmen, Messengers and Laborers of the Post Office Department, and

WHEREAS, this bill H-R 7962 is on the calendar as unfinished business, and in the hands of the Sub-Committee on Post Office and Post Roads for consideration and recommendation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we express our sincere thanks to the Officers and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor for their kindly interest in the past, and hope for the continuance of their efforts for the early and successful enactment of H-R 7962, therefore, be it further

RESOLVED that we appeal to the officers of the American Federation of Labor and delegates in convention assembled, to go on record in support of and favoring the early and satisfactory recommendation through the committee on Post Office and Post Roads of H-R 7962.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

At 3 o'clock p. m. an adjournment was taken to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 5.

Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Detroit, Michigan, Oct. 5, 1926.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Green in the chair.

Absentees:

Worthall, Scott, Glockling, Belair, Neary, Blume, Briscoe, Kasten, Tracy, Morrin, O'Brien, Boyer, Hutcheson, Ornburn, Flaherty, Lippold, Schulte, Coulter, Hauser, Rosemund, Parker, Evans, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Shachtmar, Sorkin, Sigman, Gillet, Siemer, Duncan, Gainer, Duffy, Swartz, Mugavin, Jones, Ryan, Wharton, Keller, Lane, Pattison, Crough, Lewis, Murray, Hughes, Nesbit, Hall, Kennedy, Golden, Mara, Carey, Smith, Barry, Wilson, Berres, Hannah, Donlin, Coefield, Rau, Berry, Higgins, Johnston, Burke, Sullivan, Mahon, Quinlan, Strickland, O'Brien, Conway, Helt, Austin, Cone, Cashen, Linville, Bonney, Johnson, Thomas, Atkins, O'Donnell, Barry (John L.) Stewart, Barns, Ryan (Jeremiah), McAndrew (Wm. P.), Wenger (W. J.), Alden, Augustino, Woodling, Colbert, Evans (Arthur E.), Frampton, Fagen, Hallcraft, Cafelt, Herder, Bower, Tarbell, Johnson, Shea (Marcus), Elwell, Eckhardt, Fitzpatrick, Bender, Bohm, Albert, Ruben, Shiplacoff, Shaw, Flynn (Michael), Purves, Portway.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams and cablegrams:

"American Federation of Labor Convention,

"Detroit, Michigan.

"Porto Rico State Federation expresses congratulations to convention and invites you to pass resolution instructing President Green and International officials to visit this island. Six thousand tobacco workers, after two months' strike, reaffirm their faith in organized labor as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

"Martinez, President."

"Mr. Frank Morrison,

"American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall,

"Detroit, Michigan.

"Convey to delegates assembled our

warmest personal greetings. May your deliberations be productive of a policy which will bring the multitude of unorganized under the banner of the A. F. of L. Assuring you of our continued co-operation in this state, we are,

"Yours for service,

"T. G. Freshney, Labor Commissioner,
"Robert Smith, Deputy Commissioner."

"Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,

"American Federation of Labor,
"Graystone Hall, Detroit, Michigan.

"Regret we cannot be present. May the deliberations and decisions of this convention continue to emancipate the workers of this and all other countries.

"Fraternally,

"Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America,

"Andries Meyer, President."

"Mr. William Green,

Convention American Federation of Labor,

"Detroit, Michigan.

"I wish to express my fraternal greetings to the delegates of your honorable convention through you, and extend my best wishes for the greatest success of your work.

"Louis N. Morones,

"Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor, Mexico City."

"William Green, President,

"American Federation of Labor,

"Detroit, Mich.

"The Mexican Federation of Labor sends most fraternal greetings to the American Federation of Labor and wishes that your deliberations be a great success to all the workers. Our delegates, Trevino, Gutierrez and Hernandez will extend our feelings of good will to your convention.

"J. M. Tristan,

Acting Secretary, Mexican Federation of Labor."

Secretary Morrison also read a telegram from the President of the Rotary Club, St. Petersburg, Fla., urging that the 1927 convention be held in that city.

President Green: In addition to the the presence of the fraternal delegates who are in attendance at this conven-

tion, we have with us a number of visitors. There are several here representing the organized workers of Germany. I know you would like to know them and see them and become acquainted with them. They come from the organized workers of that great country; they are here studying our ways, learning something about us, and Brother James O'Connell, President of the Metal Trades Department, will present to you the German visitors, together with Mr. Brownlie, representing the British Metal Trades, a brother from France, and a brother from Switzerland. All of them attended the Metal Trades Department convention, and we want you to know them this morning.

President O'Connell: Mr. President and delegates, the Metal Trades Department, at its convention this year, had a fraternal visit from a delegation of four gentlemen representing the International Metal Workers' Federation of Europe. This organization represents two million organized metal workers. For several years we have been in correspondence with the officers of this organization with a view of closer association and possible affiliation, but owing to the late war and the conditions existing after the war it was found impossible for the delegation to make a visit to the United States. This year, however, they made it possible, and the gentlemen have now been in the country about a month. Our Department arranged an itinerary for them through the United States, took care of their trip in every way, made it convenient for them to visit large numbers of our union factories and shops, and entertained them in several cities and tried to make their visit as pleasant and profitable to them as possible.

They are leaving the city Thursday morning to return home, taking ship Saturday from New York, and I simply desire the opportunity, on behalf of our Department, to present them to you—first, Mr. Robert Dissmann, the General Secretary of the Metal Trades Federation of Germany and a member of the Reichstag; Mr. Henri Labbe, Secretary of the French Metal Trades Federation; Mr. Conrad Ilg, Secretary of the Swiss Metal Trades Federation and General Secretary of his own international organization, and Mr. J. T. Brownlie, representing the Metal Trades Federation of Great Britain.

Mr. Brownlie speaks English, and he will say a few words to you.

ADDRESS BY MR. J. T. BROWNLIE.
(Representing the Metal Trades Federation of Great Britain).

Mr. President and brother trade unionists: Mr. O'Connell has told you that I speak English. Yes, and I have an additional qualification, Mr. Chairman. I am beginning to understand American as it is spoken by Americans.

As Brother O'Connell has said, we are a duly accredited deputation appointed by the International Metal Workers of Europe and Great Britain to visit and confer with the representatives of the metal trades unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with the distinct purpose of inducing those organizations to join hands with us across the sea and make common cause in the interests of the workers of the world. As a result of the good offices of Brother O'Connell and Brother Berres, of the Metal Trades Department of your great Federation, we had the opportunity of addressing the convention of the Metal Trades Department, when we stated the aim and object of our mission, the aim and object of the International Metal Workers' Federation, what it stood for and what it had accomplished. It is an organization of no mean standing, inasmuch as it has behind it an honorable record extending over thirty years, and it may be said to be the oldest international trades union in the world, as we understand internationalism in Europe. As Brother O'Connell has said, it is comprised of a membership of between two and three million organized metal workers. All the metal workers' organizations of Europe, with one exception, and the metal workers' organizations of Great Britain are affiliated to that organization, united not only for the purpose of disseminating reliable and accurate information in reference to matters of vital importance to all of us, but we are banded together for the purpose of rendering moral and material assistance to each other in the hour of need.

An organization of that character is imperatively essential when we have regard to the fact that capital is organized on a world-wide basis; it knows no frontier, pays no devotion to a religious shrine, it has no consideration

of a human being apart from being used as an effective instrument for the production of profit. Just as it was essential for the national organizations to come into being to protect the interests of the workers in a specific trade of that town, county or nation, it is equally necessary to have an international organization whereby we can safeguard our own interests.

One more point and I am finished, because your time is valuable, and I have stated the full story to the Metal Trades Department convention. You may ask yourselves, what will the international organization of metal workers, which we have the honor to represent, do for the American metal worker? It will do much. Apart from rendering you moral and material assistance in great questions, it can be of vital importance to you and of great assistance by seeing to it that those erstwhile trade unionists who have left their own old country and have come to settle down in the United States should take up their affiliation in their respective organizations on this great continent, so that they can give to their fellow trade unionists in the United States that assistance and support that they have given in their own country.

We appeal to you on higher grounds, we come not with selfish motives or as mendicants or as people with sinister objectives; we have come, as I have said, to make common cause with you and to ask you to emulate the great example manifested by your late distinguished President, Woodrow Wilson, when he broke away from the parochial traditions of the United States and stepped boldly into the old world and endeavored to remedy the wrongs of the old world by affecting universal peace. We ask you to come with us in that spirit, and I am pleased to say this morning, Mr. President and fellow trade unionists, that we have succeeded to the greatest of our expectations, having regard to existing conditions, in effecting a bond of unity between the International Metal Workers' Federation and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

I believe the decision arrived at in our convention on Friday morning will undoubtedly have a far-reaching effect, will bring us closer together when you come to understand us, when you get to know us. Notwithstanding the fact that we do not speak the same language,

the mere fact of grasping hands and looking into each other's eyes makes you feel a bond of brotherhood, and you are inspired with that hope and aspiration that we are endeavoring to realize in the interests of the toiling masses of humanity.

Some of you here may not agree with all the sentiments that I have expressed, some of you having regard to what I have described—by no means in an offensive manner—as your parochial or isolated position. In the language of one of the greatest poets that ever expressed the sentiment of the times, I say to you that

"It is coming yet, for a' that and a' that,

When man with man the wide world o'er,

Shall brothers be, for a' that."

President Green: I am sure we appreciate very greatly the message of our friend and fellow worker from Great Britain, Mr. Brownlie. The spirit in which he delivered his message and the words he uttered will long remain with us. We are glad to have him and his colleagues with us this morning.

We have some other visiting representatives of trade unions in Germany who are paying us a brief visit this morning. They are representatives of the shoe workers' organization. I want you to know them, they want to know you, and without further preliminary I will introduce to you, first, Dr. Phil. Margarete Ewinger-Schenk, who speaks English. With Dr. Ewinger-Schenk are Mr. Josef Simon and Mr. Mathias Lex, representing the shoe workers of Germany. We are going to have just a word of greeting from Mr. Simon, who will speak to you in German, and Dr. Ewinger-Schenk will translate for him.

ADDRESS BY MR. JOSEF SIMON. (Representing the Shoe Workers of Germany).

Mr. President and delegates, I am thankful to you for the honor of attending your convention on the occasion of this trip to America. We from the German Boot and Shoe Workers came to America to study the conditions of wages and employment in the boot and shoe industry and to become acquainted with your conditions here, and to take back to Germany the information that we get and make use of it.

In addition to that, we wanted to take up with you the matter of getting in closer connection with the American workers. The workers in Europe have an absolute necessity of getting in closer connection with the American labor movement, and therefore, last year several German workers came over to America. The European labor leaders are of the opinion that all the workers throughout the world should unite to fight against capitalism. Capitalism since the war has become stronger and stronger and has extended its power internationally. We know very well that especially in Europe, a great deal of American capital has been invested, and we in Germany especially wanted this American capital. That is true, but on the other hand, this is a great danger for the labor movement, and to avoid this danger it is necessary that more and more, more than up to now, the workers unite, the workers organize internationally.

I hope that this voyage to America will help us to get closer relations. I want to tell you again that it is with great pleasure that I attend your conference, and I wish for your work the best possible success.

President Green introduced to the convention Mr. Vernon E. Ziegler, a student of the law school of the University of Chicago, visiting the convention at the request of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Mr. Ziegler spoke, in part, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor: I am very glad to be here this morning as a representative of that ever-increasing group of students which has a genuine interest in the problems of labor and industry.

My purpose is to tell you about a very significant conference of students who worked in industry last summer, and to ask for your help in furthering this student movement. This conference last summer was composed of forty people who have a genuine and sincere interest in the problems of labor. Most of them were students who had spent at least one summer in doing manual labor in various industries throughout the country. The remainder were labor leaders, union organizers and leaders in workers' education and others in close touch with the labor movement. The students

came together at this conference under the leadership of veterans who knew more about the question than they, and pooled their experiences to inquire into the existing injustices and wrongs in our economic order and to make plans for the further increase of interest on the part of students in industrial problems. This group met at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

We were agreed at that conference that we should not try to reform the world by passing resolutions by the wholesale. However, we did want to express ourselves on two or three things, and two of them may be of special interest to you. We noticed where students on some occasions had gone into work in factories where men were on strike, and we unanimously voted to condemn students doing scab labor. We also know that many of the professors and some of the theological students are very impractical in their ways, and so we heartily recommended professors and theological students doing work in industry during their summer vacation.

We are trying hard to develop a larger group, but try as we may, we cannot do it successfully without the co-operation and active support of organized labor in America. We have started to do our work by organizing a continuation committee of the conference. I might say, by the way, that this conference was the outgrowth of the Evans-ton Interdenominational Conference last Christmas. The students there showed a very marked desire to know more about labor.

We meet with many difficulties in trying to get students employed in industry. Many of them hesitate to go out and try to find work, feeling that they are depriving the regular workers of jobs, but the much greater difficulty is in getting students jobs where they can get a contact with organized labor. We feel that it is of paramount importance that the students get jobs where they can see the difference between organized and unorganized conditions, and I am here to ask your active support in that direction.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

Vice-President Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows: Owing to the emergency of a situation among the organizations of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' the com-

mittee took up for immediate consideration the following resolution:

**Requesting Support of the Striking
Cloak Makers of New York City**

Resolution No. 14. — By Delegates Morris Sigman, Isadore Nagler, Philip Oretsky, Louis Pinkofsky, Abraham Snyder and Basilio Desti, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, practically 40,000 organized cloak makers in the city of New York, under the jurisdiction of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have been on strike for the past fourteen weeks to prevent a lowering of the standards of life and work, secured through many years of organized effort and sacrifice, and to save the industry itself from becoming demoralized and leading workers back to sweat shop conditions such as existed before the firm establishment of the Cloak-makers' Union; and

WHEREAS, the employers in the cloakmaking industry have and are resorting to every available and conceivable method of warfare, including the injunction process, in their attempt to resist the rightful and justified demands of the organized cloakmakers; and

WHEREAS, the striking cloakmakers have been and are conducting their just struggle of self-defense loyally and courageously in the face of great suffering and privation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor extends its full support to the striking cloakmakers of New York city, authorizes the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to call immediately on all affiliated unions for financial assistance, urging them to respond speedily and generously so as to assure complete victory to the striking cloakmakers in their present struggle and contest.

Delegate Nagler, in discussing the resolution, said in part: Our International President, Morris Sigman, is not present, not because he did not realize that it was important for him to be here, but for the reason that our struggle in the city of New York among the cloakmakers is of such importance that he had to be there.

Our International Union has made progress in building up the organization, even to the extent of putting in the five-day week, not imitating our

good friend Henry Ford, for we had the five-day week before he did. However, we have met with the worst obstacles the organization has met in the struggle we have at this time.

In 1910 we found the situation in our industry was such that misery and poverty existed among the cloakmakers. Workers had to carry their own machines—not a small machine in the hand, but a large machine on the back—in order to get a job of work. In 1910 we were able to bring those workers into our organization with the help of the American Federation of Labor, and since that time we have built up a powerful organization under the leadership of our ex-president, Ben Schlesinger, and our present president, Morris Sigman.

The struggle now going on is for a reorganization of the entire industry; it is not a question of a dollar more or an hour less in the week, but a struggle to put the industry on such a basis that our members will know who are their employers. At least seventy-five per cent of our people work under a jobbing system where their weekly earnings are not secure at any time. They work for contractors who have nothing to say about the adjustment of differences between them and the workers and who cannot see that the workers are secure in their earnings. Week after week some of the workers have to go to court to get their money from the employers. The people who represent capital in our industry are jobbers, and they do not want to have any responsibility for the workers in small groups.

In order to bring these jobbers, who control seventy-five per cent of the industry in New York City, to some sense of their responsibility, so that our workers may know their wages are secure, we went into this struggle. The chief executive of the state of New York has had a committee appointed to study our industry, and there never was such an indictment brought against any industry or against any group of people as was brought by this commission, of which George Gordon Battle is the chairman.

The commission states that if the present situation is allowed to continue the industry will be demoralized in a short time and the organization may lose its grip on the industry. I ap-

peal to you to adopt this resolution unanimously.

Secretary Woll: Our examination of the controversy now going on in New York City has demonstrated to us clearly that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is confronting a situation which means either that those workers are going to maintain their present standards of life and work or else they are going to go downward toward the tragic condition of the sweat shop.

It is of little consequence how that crisis has been reached, it is of little consequence as to how both parties might attempt to adjust the situation, it is true that the workers in the cloak making industry in New York today are confronted with a most serious situation, and they are carrying on the strike loyally and devotedly to maintain the standards of life and work they have builded up through these many years of organized struggle and in co-operation with the labor movement.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, since its organization, has been firmly established, whenever an affiliated organization found itself in distress and needed support, moral or financial, has never failed to respond. It has likewise demonstrated its loyalty and devotion, its anxiety and readiness to assist the labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor, and your committee feels that because of the great principles involved, because of the future welfare of the organized cloak makers involved in this matter, because of the ready response and loyal and devoted support they have given other workers, that we in convention should not only come to their support morally, but we should likewise express our gratitude and thanks for assistance given in the past by coming to their aid and making the victory of their cause certain.

President Green: I am in hearty accord with the aims and the purpose of this resolution. I feel that the organized labor movement should respond with alacrity and in a most generous way to the appeal of the Ladies' Garment Workers' for financial and moral support. These fellow workers of ours have been struggling for fourteen weeks, and the wonder of it is that they have been able to carry on their

struggle thus far without appealing to the organized labor movement for support.

Their cause is just; they are seeking to maintain standards of life and living commensurate with American citizenship and American requirements. Every morning these men and women have gone on the picket lines, meeting opposition and brutal treatment, sacrificing and suffering for the cause. We all hope there will be a speedy settlement brought about. I ask you, therefore, when you go back home, to report to your constituency their urgent needs, and I assure you that after this resolution is adopted the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will issue an appeal to all the trade unionists of the land to respond, financially and morally, to the appeal of our fellow workers in New York.

The report of the committee to concur in Resolution No. 14 was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green announced that the fraternal delegates would address the convention Wednesday morning. He stated that he made the announcement so that all the delegates might be present, and that they might invite friends who would be interested in the addresses to attend the convention.

President Green announced that Charles Sumner, Stereotypers and Electrotypers, had been added to the Committee on Executive Council's report and that Joseph W. Morton, Firemen and Oilers, had been added to the Committee on Resolutions. He also announced the substitution of Miss Rose Sullivan for Mrs. Julia O'Connor Parker, both of the Electrical Workers, on the Committee on Legislation.

Urging Demand For Union Labelled Brooms to Assist Campaign Against Convict Labor Products.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Will R. Boyer of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.

WHEREAS, The International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union have, during the past several years, spent thousands of dollars and a great amount of effort to combat the ever increasing competition of convict labor without result, and regret to report that during the past eighteen months our organization has lost a large number of members although the number of label shops has increased,

due to the increase in the number of prisons either granting contracts or establishing broom plants under the State Account system. In some cases these contracts have been let in violation or evasion of the law, Oklahoma having granted a contract to the Oklahoma Broom Company under which they manufacture more than three hundred dozen brooms per day and are offering these prison made brooms at a price that is less than the cost of manufacture in a factory employing free labor; and

WHEREAS, Manufacturers employing union labor in their broom plants have lost business and were forced to reduce their output and discharge men, due to this unfair competition of prison labor. Many non-union plants being forced to quit the business; and

WHEREAS, The International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, due to the replacement of members by convicts is compelled to seek the aid of organized labor in our efforts to stop the further encroachment of prison shops; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledge themselves to aid in these efforts to abolish the manufacture of brooms and other commodities in penal and reformatory institutions, for sale on the open market and to make special effort to educate their membership to demand and insist on getting union label brooms as the only method of avoiding taking into their homes the filthy products of prison shops; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to write all State Federations and City Central Bodies to assist the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union in their efforts to organize the broom industry and to persuade jobbers and wholesale dealers in brooms to refuse to handle prison brooms and to instruct all salaried organizers to aid in this work.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Opposing Participation of the United States in the League of Nations, World Court or International Labor Office

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, That part of the treaty of Versailles which establishes the League

of Nations, the International Labor Office, and provide for an International Court to construe and give effect to the statutes adopted; and

WHEREAS, The main promise so far as labor is concerned is that the conditions of Labor shall be humane and just without giving any definition of what is meant by the phrase humane; and

WHEREAS, The statutes of the Court provide that the Court shall give advisory opinions to the officials of the League and of the Labor Office; and

WHEREAS, Chattel slavery exists within the membership of the League and the member nations have not so far been stopped from continuing this traffic in human beings; and

WHEREAS, There is no prospect of the member nations coming to any agreement upon some action that will definitely prevent the continuation of chattel slavery; and

WHEREAS, The actions of the International Labor Office stamps it as hostile not only to the abolition of contracts to labor contracts enforceable by imprisonment but definitely hostile to even any discussion on the subject; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we are definitely opposed to the United States in any way participating in either the League, the Court or the Labor Office; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we respectfully suggest to the labor movement of civilized nations to take similar action with reference to their countries.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

To Oppose Pending Bills Which Will Weaken Seamen's Act

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, The House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries has before it two bills H. R. 10,009 to amend section 4 of the Seamen's Act so as to strike out the mandatory provision to the effect that the Seamen shall be entitled to receive one-half of the wages which he has earned and not received in any port into which the vessel may come not, however, oftener than once every sixth day, thereby leaving at the master's option whether the seamen shall receive any money in port of call or not and thus destroying the equalization purpose of said section 4 of the

Seamen's Act, and H. R. 8399 to amend section 2 of the Seamen's Act so as to permit a vessel to sail over the ocean through sleet, snow, rain or fog with no man on the lookout; and

WHEREAS, Section 4 of the Seamen's Act was passed to protect the freedom of the seamen and to equalize the wages in foreign and American ships, and section 2 of the Seamen's act was passed to protect the traveling public, and whereas the Supreme Court of the United States has passed upon both these sections of the Seamen's Act, has held them to be valid and needed; and

WHEREAS, There is now no way in which these sections of the law can be disobeyed without penalties applied; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we most respectfully request the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries to give no attention to these two bills, the purpose of which is reactionary and destructive, one to our merchant marine, the other to the safety of human life at sea; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor use such influence as is possible to prevent any further consideration of these two proposed bills.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Endorsement of Senate Bill 3574, Providing for the Deportation of Certain Aliens

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, S. 3574 "A Bill, to provide for the deportation of certain aliens, and for other purposes," introduced by Senator King of Utah and recommended for passage by the Senate Committee on Immigration, is a bill highly needed to prevent violations of the Immigration and Exclusion Laws; and

WHEREAS, The need for its passage arises out of the following fact, to-wit:

(A) That the vessels coming into our port yearly bring about half a million so-called seamen of which, by a low estimate, some fifty to seventy-five thousand and mix in our population in violation of our laws; (B) That nearly all vessels go away leaving some men here in violation of our laws, carrying away to sea a lesser number than that with which they arrive, the number at times reaching up to 200 men; (C) That the Chinese pay as much as \$1,100, oth-

ers not specifically excluded, but unable to obtain place within the quota pay up to \$350 to be landed in the United States in such way that they can mingle in the population; and

WHEREAS, This makes of our exclusion and immigration laws a mere mockery, besides corrupting our ship owners, our ships' officers and in some instances our officials, and whereas the bill reported will, when enacted into law, put an effective stop to this violation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we endorse this bill and respectfully pray that it be adopted as part of our laws to the end that a disgraceful situation may thus be ended; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be sent to the Committees on Immigration of the Senate and the House of Representatives and that it be given to the press.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Urging Legislation to Control Shipping of Seamen in the Lake and Coastwise Trade and Trade to Nearby Foreign Countries

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Under the laws adopted 1873 and 1874, any vessels engaged in coastwise trade or in the trade of nearby foreign countries may engage and ship their men without interference by the Shipping Commissioner; and

WHEREAS, This condition makes it impossible to enforce the safety laws adopted specifically to improve safety at sea, because there is no supervision, there is no copy of the articles left on shore, and no one has any right to go on board the vessels to ascertain to what extent if any the laws are obeyed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That these statutes be repealed so that the Shipping Commissioners Act passed in 1872, may be made applicable in the lake trade, coastwise trade and the trade to nearby foreign countries as they are now applicable to all vessels engaged in the foreign trade proper; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be sent to the Committee on Commerce of the Senate.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Stone Cutters Request Support of Legislation to Provide for Investigation of Health Menace in the Use of the Pneumatic Hammer in the Cutting and Carving of Stone

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate James A. Short, of the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of N. A.

WHEREAS, Many of the members of the Journeymen Stone Cutters Association of North America complain of the ill-effects of the pneumatic hammer in use in the cutting and carving of stone; and

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Stone Cutters Association of North America does not desire to be placed in the position of antagonizing labor saving machinery and at the same time desires to conserve the health of its membership; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to request Congress to pass a bill for the investigation of the harmfulness of the pneumatic or so-called air hammer.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing the Inauguration of a General Organizing Campaign in the Automobile Industry

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There are employed in the automobile industry many thousands of working people eligible to membership in the American Federation of Labor, the industry as a whole, however, being without organization at this time, except in some instances, so-called "Shop" or "Company" organizations; and

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. having had under consideration for some time, the question of bringing about the organization of the working people in the automobile industry, but the task being so great that only through united action, led by the American Federation of Labor, can we succeed in bringing about the desired result.

WHEREAS, All organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are interested, directly or indirectly, in the organization of this industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized and instructed to inaugurate a general organizing campaign in

the automobile industry at the earliest possible date and that the President of the A. F. of L. call a conference of the officers of all national or international organizations for the purpose of working out the details so that questions of jurisdiction may for the time being be eliminated to the end that all employees in the automobile industry may be brought into membership in the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Molders Request Reaffirmation of Action Declaring the Holland Furnace Company Unfair

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates M. J. Keough, John P. Frey, J. W. Mara and Pierce F. Hayden, of the International Molders' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Holland Furnace Company, through its opposition to the International Molders' Union of North America, has made it impossible for a friendly relationship to be established; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its action at the Atlantic City convention in 1925, in declaring the Holland Furnace Company unfair.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Favoring Legislation to Place Widows of Civil War Veterans Upon Equal Pension Rating With Widows of Veterans of Other Wars

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Mary L. Garner, of the South Bend, Indiana, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Norbeck-King-Curtis Pension Bill enacted July 3, 1926, grants a pension of \$50.00 per month to the widow of any person who served in the Army, Navy or Marine Corps of the United States in the War of 1812, or for sixty days or more in the war with Mexico, on the coasts or frontier thereof, or en route thereto, during the war with that nation, and was honorably discharged therefrom, shall be Fifty Dollars (\$50.00) per month.

WHEREAS, The widows of the Veterans of the Civil War, either soldier, sailor or marine, who are now getting Thirty Dollars (\$30.00) per month if married to the soldier, sailor or marine, during his time of service, will according to the Norbeck-King-Curtis Bill, enacted July 3, 1926, receive Fifty Dollars (\$50.00) per month; and

WHEREAS, A widow married to a soldier, sailor or marine, after his discharge from the service, even though married during the period of the Civil War, is not entitled to the increase in pension from Thirty to Fifty Dollars per month; and

WHEREAS, This Bill gives to one class of widows and discriminates against another class equally deserving; and

WHEREAS, No such limiting of the marriage date has occurred in connection with the widows of any war, neither war of 1812, Mexican war, Spanish-American or World War; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as protesting against this discrimination of placing a marriage limit upon the widows of the soldiers, sailors and marines of the Civil War; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That President Coolidge be notified of the action of this convention regarding this discrimination; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby favors the repeal of said section against these widows of Civil War Veterans and urges that with all possible speed they be placed upon an equal rating with the widows of other wars and receive Fifty Dollars (\$50.00) per month.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Machinists vs. Street Railway Employees

Resolution No. 38—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, Daniel P. Haggerty, Fred Hewitt, Chas. F. Wills and Robert Fechner of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, A controversy has existed for several years on the question of proper jurisdiction between the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees over men engaged in the manufacture, maintenance and repair of the machinery of street cars and auto busses; and

WHEREAS, Numerous conferences have been held between the respective parties and also with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, all of which have failed to adjust the dispute; and

WHEREAS, The work in question is, in the opinion of this convention, clearly and properly under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machin-

ists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees to relinquish claim to all men engaged in the manufacture, maintenance and repair of the machinery of street cars and busses except such minor work usually known as running repairs necessary to keep a car or bus on its run without being removed from service; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That, failing to comply with this instruction within sixty days after the adjournment of this convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to revoke their charter.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Urging War and Navy Departments to Put into Effect 44-Hour Work Week in All Navy Yard, Arsenals and Industrial Plants

Resolution No. 39—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, Daniel P. Haggerty, Robt. Fechner, Fred Hewitt and Chas. F. Wills, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The forty-four hour week is becoming increasingly prevalent throughout the country in well managed and successful industries; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has always favored the shortening of the hours of labor whenever the best interests of the workers and the country can be served thereby; and

WHEREAS, The constantly increasing productivity of the industries of our country justifies both increased earnings and shorter hours of labor for the worker; and

WHEREAS, We favor the policy that our government should be a model employer in matters concerning conditions of employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, strongly urge the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War to put into effect at the earliest practicable date a forty-four hour work week in all of the navy yards, arsenals, and other industrial establishments within their respective departments; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to lay before the proper officials of the government

this proposal at the earliest opportunity; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

To Endeavor to Have Government Contracts for War Memorials Provide for the Use of American Granite

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Sam Squibb, James Duncan, James Garvey of the Granite Cutters' International Association; Carl Bergstrom of the Paving Cutters' Union, and Fred W. Sutor of the Quarry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Through the recommendation of the American Battle Monuments Commission, the Secretary of War has awarded to foreign firms, a contract to furnish the permanent memorials that will mark the graves of the American soldiers buried in Europe; and

WHEREAS, The material to be used (Italian Carrara marble) is unsuitable and was selected solely because of its cheapness—a cheapness made possible through the inferiority of the material and the involuntary servitude forced on the Italian workers by the Mussolini regime; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the sentiment and desire of the American people demands that everything connected with the effort to properly glorify the supreme sacrifice made by these heroes shall be wholly American; and

WHEREAS, We further believe that the American people want the best quality of material and workmanship obtainable to insure markers that will not only satisfy when first erected but will permanently retain these qualities; and

WHEREAS, American granite is everlasting and in every respect the finest material in the world for the purpose and American workmanship is unsurpassed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor record its protest against the action of the Battle Monuments Commission and the Secretary of War, in awarding a contract for markers to Italian firms in Carrara, Italy; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and all affiliated bodies will use every honorable available means to the end that Congress or other interested government officials will have

inserted in all future government contracts for war memorials, a provision that American granite be used and that the work be done in America by American workmen.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Stove Mounters Request That Affiliated Unions Be Informed Upon the Attitude of the Estate Stove Company, Hamilton, Ohio

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate W. L. Funder Burk, of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Estate Stove Company of Hamilton, Ohio, for more than twenty years operated the assembling and mounting department of its shop under a written agreement with the Stove Mounters' International Union, Local No. 8, which agreement specifically provided that none other than members of the union should be employed at the mounting of stoves; and

WHEREAS, The Estate Stove Company, after laying off a number of members of the local union, did, on February 10, 1926, begin the assembling and mounting of stoves with non-union workman, refusing to employ members of the union; and

WHEREAS, At the request of the Estate Stove Company the Central Labor Union of Hamilton, Ohio, made an investigation of the matter and then fully endorsed the position of the Union, condemning the attitude of the firm as unfair; and

WHEREAS, The local union and representatives of the Stove Mounters' International Union have made every effort to effect a settlement of the grievance in accordance with the terms of the existing agreement, the Estate Company at all times arbitrarily refusing any and all propositions for employing union labor, stating that it was their intention to employ non-union labor on the work in dispute; and

WHEREAS, The Estate Stove Company manufactures stoves, ranges, furnaces and heaters under the trade name of "Estate," and is now specializing in the manufacture of a parlor heater sold under the trade name of "Heatrola"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled direct the secretary to give this matter full publicity, by circular, to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, immediately after the close of this convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor refer the matter to the Executive Council for the purpose of making every effort to adjust the trouble.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Proposing That International Unions Require the Local Unions to Affiliate With Central Bodies

Resolution No. 42.—By Delegate Samuel Seehaffer, of the Uniontown, Pa., Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, certain delegates representing the local unions in their district fail to attend the official meetings of the Central Bodies or the Trade and Labor Councils; and

WHEREAS, the local unions fail to pay the per capita tax to the Central Bodies or Trade and Labor Councils; and

WHEREAS, due to such failure to pay the above per capita tax, and on account of the failure of such delegates to attend such meetings of the Central Body or Trade Councils, the power, authority and facilities of such Central Body or Trade Council is hampered and curtailed, with the result that it cannot function as intended; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that all Internationals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor insist and require that they compell all local unions of the same to send their delegates to the official meetings of the Central Bodies and Trades Councils and to pay to the Central Body the required per capita tax and, be it further

RESOLVED, that the A. F. of L. insist that all Internationals affiliated with the same shall require their local unions to pay a penalty for the non-observance of the above resolution. The penalty (to be agreed upon by the International).

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Metal Polishers Request Assistance in Strike Against Hillerich & Bradsby Company, Louisville, Ky.

Resolution No. 43.—By Delegates W. W. Britton and Ray Kelsay, of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

WHEREAS, the Hillerich & Bradsby Company of Louisville, Ky., manufacturers of baseball bats, sold under the trade name of "Louisville Slugger" and also manufacturers of golf clubs, have

declared for the open shop; and

WHEREAS, when the firm began discriminating against and discharging union men, the committee waited upon the firm and the committee was immediately discharged and a general strike of all the employees of the Polishing, Buffing, Plating Departments was called April 2nd, for this firm took the stand they would refuse to pay the union rate of wages, refuse to re-hire or employ any union men and refuse to deal with members of organized labor, and have been placed on the unfair list by the Metal Polishers' International Union and the Louisville Trades Assembly, and many state conventions of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, this firm manufacturing the "Louisville Slugger," a baseball bat and also golf clubs, they depend upon the general public for the sale of their goods; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Hillerich & Bradsby Company of Louisville, Ky., be declared unfair to organized labor, and all International Unions, Central Bodies and Federal Labor Unions, be so notified, and that the A. F. of L. give this strike full publicity by requesting these various organizations to appoint committees to visit sporting goods stores, amateur, semi-pro and professional baseball leagues, explaining our grievance, and urging their assistance in helping us win this strike.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Proposing District Organizing Campaigns

Resolution No. 44.—By Morris Sigman, Isadore Nagler, Louis Pinkofsky, Philip Oretzky, Abraham Snyder, Basilio Desti, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, a considerable portion of the workers in the large and small industrial centers of the United States remain unorganized and thus constitute a menace to the standards won for themselves by the organized workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor encourage joint organizing efforts on the part of various unions in a given district, with the aid of the central labor body in that district, to reach the large body of unorganized workers through joint campaigns.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Proposing Support of Senate Bill No. 4505, Providing for Citizenship of Hindus

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Christian M. Madsen of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

WHEREAS, By an administrative ruling, a great injustice has been done to a small number of Hindus long resident in the United States who were classed as American citizens prior to this ruling but are now without a country; and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Senator R. S. Copeland has introduced a bill known as Senate Bill 4505, to remedy this wrong; and

WHEREAS, The passage of this bill will in no way alter the immigration situation nor be in conflict with the established policy of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse Senate Bill No. 4505 and instruct the Executive Council to use its best efforts to have it enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Favoring Lifting of Immigration Restrictions

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates Morris Sigman, Isidore Nagler, Louis Pinkofsky, Philip Oretsky, Abraham Snyder and Basilio Desti, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The workers of most countries of Europe are in dire straits as a result of the world war and subsequent economic derangement; and

WHEREAS, The workers of the world must help each other in their struggles for human standards of existence; and

WHEREAS, The doors of America have been closed to our suffering European fellow workers through the passage of harsh restrictive laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor express itself in favor of the lifting or modification of this ban on immigration, and demand that the doors of America be opened to the oppressed and persecuted workers of Europe.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Citizens' Military Training Camps

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates Morris Sigman, Isidore Nagler, Louis Pinkofsky, Philip Oretsky, Abraham Snyder and Basilio Desti, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The Citizens' Military Training Camps are an institution sup-

ported by open shop employers and wealthy capitalists seeking to impose military training on young workers by use of the false slogan, "One month's vacation with pay"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor inaugurate a campaign against the propaganda of the Citizens' Military Training Camps, and substitute for their slogan, "Down with war"; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor express its stand against the militarization of our youth in the colleges of the country, and its full sympathy with the present movement among the college students of the country against military discipline and training.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing That American Federation of Labor Demand Release of All Political Prisoners Throughout the World

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates I. H. Goldberg and Percy Ginsberg of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Various governments throughout the world have instituted a regime of political, economic and social oppression, with a view of crushing the labor organizations of their respective countries, and are persecuting and imprisoning people for the only crime of their steadfast adherence and devotion to their principles and to the ideals of labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor vigorously protests against all such oppression and demands the release of all political prisoners throughout the world.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing That the American Federation of Labor Urge Restoration of Citizenship Rights to Eugene V. Debs

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates I. H. Goldberg and Percy Ginsberg of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Eugene V. Debs has devoted all his life to the service of the toilers, sparing no sacrifice; and

WHEREAS, Advantage was taken by the enemies of labor of the war-time hysteria of intolerance to cause the imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs for the only reason that he had the courage to defend his opinions; and

WHEREAS, The injustice done to Eu-

gene V. Debs and to all the working people has not yet been remedied, for though Debs' sentence has been commuted he is still deprived of his rights of citizenship like the meanest criminal; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urges the immediate restoration of citizenship rights to Eugene V. Debs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate and to the speaker of the House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Advocating Recognition of the Government of Soviet Russia

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates I. H. Goldberg and Percy Ginsberg of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, This country still refuses recognition to Soviet Russia notwithstanding all the official expressions by the government of that country as to their readiness to settle their obligations to this country on a basis similar to that accepted by this country in its recent settlements with other European countries; and

WHEREAS, Such refusal of recognition is based primarily, if not exclusively, on objections to the social order and internal policies of the Soviet government, which procedure is in total contradiction to all precedents in international relations; and

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized by all competent observers and investigators that the Soviet government is now one of the most stable European governments; and

WHEREAS, The non-recognition of Russia creates additional difficulties in the development of industrial and commercial relations between these two countries, hampering the economic reconstruction of Russia, hindering the economic reconstruction of the entire European continent and creating less favorable conditions for the marketing of our goods in Russia, which is bound to be a contributing factor in increasing unemployment in this country during any industrial depression; and

WHEREAS, It has always been the policy of American labor to urge non-interference by our governments in the international affairs of foreign countries; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-sixth An-

nual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record as being in favor of our government starting immediate negotiations with the Soviet government of Russia looking towards an adjustment of all difficulties and the speedy recognition of Soviet Russia by this government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Modification of Immigration Laws in Favor of Political and Religious Refugees

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates I. H. Goldberg and Percy Ginsberg of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The traditions of our Republic and the tenets contained in the Declaration of Independence assert the right to the pursuit of happiness and freedom of all human kind; and

WHEREAS, The United States of America is looked upon by all liberty loving men and women as a desirable haven of refuge from unjust and oppressive persecution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled in this Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor favor the modification of the immigration laws to permit admission of those who are compelled to leave their countries on account of political or religious persecution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring 40-Hour Work Week in All Industries

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates I. H. Goldberg and Percy Ginsberg of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Under present methods of modern machine industry, the workers are continually subject to the strain of mechanized processes which sap their vitality; and

WHEREAS, If compelled to work for long hours under modern processes of production, the vitality, health and very life of the workers is put in serious jeopardy; and

WHEREAS, The ever increasing productive capacity of modern industry is so great that it has become one of the causes of over-production which is greatly detrimental and dangerous to industry in general and to the workers in particular; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring the shortening of working hours in all industries to 40 hours a week; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is herewith instructed to inaugurate a vigorous campaign in every industry throughout the country for the introduction of the five-day and forty-hour week.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Unions Requested to Employ Union Accountants Where Available

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, It is the practice of public auditors and accountants to employ "junior" and "senior" accountants to do most of the detail work, at wages as low as \$25 a week; and

WHEREAS, In the membership of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union are to be found public auditors and accountants, the majority of whose income is derived from their own work, who pay their assistants union wages; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of the labor movement require that the books and records of labor organizations should be audited and examined by those sympathetic to its ideals; and

WHEREAS, As a matter of principle, unions should employ accountants who can be held responsible by their union for the efficient and honest discharge of their duties; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Detroit, Michigan, that the efforts of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646 to organize the accountants be endorsed, and all unions called upon to employ union accountants wherever available.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Diverting the Operation of Muscle Shoals Nitrate Plants and Dam for Private Profit

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates R. J. Bailey, of the Alabama State Federation of Labor; J. C. Barrett, of the Birmingham, Alabama, Central Body, and T. L. McBrayer, of the Georgia Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has fostered and assisted all forms of transportation and manufacture in the United States by gifts of land or high tariffs; and

WHEREAS, Nothing of a substantial nature has been done by the United States Government for the farming interests; and

WHEREAS, the law under which the Muscle Shoals Nitrate Plants and Dam was constructed specifically dedicated and set apart, said plants and dam for the manufacture of explosives in war and fertilizer in peace; and

WHEREAS, The said law specifically provides that these plants and dam shall not be operated in conjunction with any enterprise operated by private capital; and

WHEREAS, There is an attempt to change this law and divert the use of the said plants and dam into other channels; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in session, that we are unalterably opposed to diverting the use of the nitrate plants and dam at Muscle Shoals in any other channel; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demands that the United States Government shall operate or cause to be operated these plants now erected for making of explosives and fertilizer, as the law now provides; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests that the current now being generated at Wilson Dam, or so much thereof as is necessary, shall be used in the operation of Nitrate Plants No. 1 and 2, which plants together cost the Government \$34,000,000; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be spread on the minutes and that a copy be transmitted to the Honorable Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Railroad Signalmen Request Assistance to Secure Legislation for Their Protection Under Hours of Service Act

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate D. W. Helt, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

WHEREAS, The Hours of Service Law, generally known as the "16-Hour Act," is intended to apply to all railroad employes, whose duties are involved in the safe and expeditious movement of transportation; and

WHEREAS, Signal Department Employes construct, install, maintain and repair all signal, interlocking and train

control devices, which devices are installed on railroads to govern and control the safe and expeditious movement of transportation; and

WHEREAS, The third biennial and eighteenth regular convention of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America, at its recent session in New York City expressed an earnest desire to be covered by the provisions of the Hours of Service Law and have instructed the Grand Lodge officers to secure an amendment to the present law to the end that all Signal Department employees will be protected in their hours of service under the present Hours of Service Act; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to assist the Grand Lodge officers of the B. of R. S. of A. in their efforts to secure an amendment to the Hours of Service Act to the end that Signal Department employees on the railroads will be covered by the provisions of the Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Participation in the Crime and Penal Conference Called by the Missouri State Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 56.—By John J. Pfeiffer, of the Missouri Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, the problem of crime, law enforcement and the scientific and humane administration of our policing forces, courts and penal institutions have reached a point where they constitute a direct challenge to our civilization and democratic form of government; and

WHEREAS, these problems are not the problems of the labor movement alone, but are the problems of every law-abiding and socially minded group in our state, and

WHEREAS, these problems are so complex and far-reaching that they enter into every activity of human life, and unless we find sane, scientific and practical methods of dealing with them all humane advancement threatens to be retarded; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this, the 33rd convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Jefferson City, Mo., during the week of May 24th, 1926, direct its president

to call a "Crime and Penal Conference" to be held immediately preceeding the convening of the next convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that the Missouri State Federation of Labor invite all organized groups representing the American Federation of Labor, business men's and women's organizations; the bar, and medical profession, social hygiene associations, women's clubs, parent-teachers' associations and other educational groups, social service, religious, fraternal and other organizations of citizens to send delegates to this conference in order that all elements in our community life may co-operate in finding ways and means in dealing with the problems of crime and scientific penal administration; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that this action of the Missouri State Federation of Labor be transmitted to the 46th convention of the American Federation of Labor with the recommendation that each State Federation of Labor be requested to call a similar conference preceding their next convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing That A. F. of L. Delegates Be Required to Have Six Union Labels On Person to Be Seated

Resolution No. 57.—By Delegate John J. Pfeiffer, of the Missouri State Federation of Labor.

In compliance with instructions of the Thirty-third convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor held May 24th at Jefferson City, Mo., we present the following resolution for your consideration:

WHEREAS, The Union Label is not receiving the support it should receive; many merchants point to the fact that international union officers and local union officers are not buying union label products; and

WHEREAS, If international union officers and local union officers do not practice buying union label goods, they cannot and will not encourage their members to buy union made goods. Therefore in order that the union label may receive the proper support it is necessary that the international officers be sold on the union label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Missouri State Federation of Labor introduce a resolu-

tion at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor that in the future all delegates to its convention be required to have six union labels on their person in order to be seated as a delegate; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to comply with requirements of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Denouncing the Fascisti Principle of Government

Resolution No. 58.—By A. I. Shiplacoff of the Federal Labor Union No. 17873, New York City.

WHEREAS, the people of Italy have for the last few years been ruled by a dictatorship which has deprived them of many of their civil, economic and political rights; and

WHEREAS, the aforesaid dictatorship has particularly affected the workers of that country, subjecting them to arbitrary laws in the making of which they have neither voice nor vote, and practically reducing them to the position of vassals to the dictator and his Fascisti supporters; and

WHEREAS, the very basis of the Fascist idea is contrary to the idea of government by the people which is the foundation of the best institutions of the American people and of all other freedom-loving people; and

WHEREAS, it has been authoritatively reported that the anti-democratic and anti-American Fascisti movement is attempting to exercise its influence in this country, particularly among our workers of Italian birth or descent, dividing them against each other; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the delegates to the 46th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn the Fascisti movement and philosophy as a return to the days of autocracy and tyranny in government and opposed to the interests of human progress; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that while the American Federation of Labor can not and would not endorse any organization in this country or elsewhere engaged in fighting the Fascisti movement, the delegates of the 46th Annual Convention denounce the idea of dictatorship in any shape or form and re-affirm the stand of the American labor movement in hearty support of representative

government, of freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and the inalienable right of the workers to organize into free and independent, industrial and economic organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Elimination of Speeding Up Practices In Government Employment.

Resolution No. 59 — By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lip-pold, Harry R. Meyers, Wm. Radtke, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Lee R. Whitney, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, In the postal service and other government establishments there have been instituted highly objectionable practices, under the guise of "efficiency system," which are harmful to the workers physically and destructive of service morale, and therefore add materially to labor costs in government employment; and

WHEREAS, These "speeding up" practices assume various forms and methods, all directed toward mechanical standardization by plans of weighing or counting, or otherwise measuring output without regard to variations of work and other essential factors; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated in all lines of endeavor that any system of "speeding up" the workers beyond a reasonable standard is disastrous in its reactions upon both employer and employee; and

WHEREAS, These "speeding up" systems in government employment are not only harmful to the health of the workers directly affected but they add to public taxation burdens because of the large overhead administrative cost of the superfluous supervision involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of government employees' organizations whose members are subjected to these dehumanizing practices with a view to their elimination in the interest

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Higher Differentials In Pay Rates for Night Work In Government Employ.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lipold, Harry R. Meyers, Wm. Radtke, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Lee R. Whitney, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, For the most part the United States Government in its employment policies has failed to recognize the hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, In the Postal Service, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and other Federal agencies, there are night work requirements involving the employment of many thousands of wage earners with no compensatory offsets in additional pay or shorter hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of government employes to have the government recognize, in a practical way, appropriate to the needs of each group, the hardship and undesirability of night work.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Extension of Saturday Half Holiday for Government Workers.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lipold, Harry R. Meyers, Wm. Radtke, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Lee R. Whitney, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The Saturday half holiday observance, which wage earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power, has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employes and employers; and

WHEREAS, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly period of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in state and municipal governments, and in private industrial pursuits—in a number of notable instances the five-day working week has been established; and

WHEREAS, In some instances encouraging progress has recently been made in applying the principles of a more extended weekly period of rest in Federal activities, with resultant benefits to the public and the employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, At this forty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the importance of the United States Government establishing and maintaining advanced employment standards, instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of government employes for the purpose of having the Saturday half holiday observance and principle extended in government establishments to benefit every possible worker.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Civil Service Court of Appeals.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lipold, Harry R. Meyers, Wm. Radtke, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Lee R. Whitney, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, Frequently in Civil Service employment there are dismissals and demotions made upon the arbitrary judgment of officials and from which judgment the employes affected have no adequate appeal; and

WHEREAS, This absence of any review vests undue power and authority in the hands of officials who may seek reprisals upon subordinates for reasons unrelated to their work; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental of Civil Service employment is permanency of tenure if the employe is competent to perform the work available and this fundamental is violated so long as said tenure is dependent upon the whim of officials who possess, as at present, prac-

tically unlimited powers to demote or dismiss employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to assist the representatives of organizations of government employees to curb this arbitrary power possessed by administrative officials through establishment of a Civil Service Court of Appeals, independent of any existing governmental agency, to which employees may appeal in demotion and dismissal cases and which would have authority to review all evidence in such cases and determine appropriate action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Substantial Increases in Rates Paid to Government Workers Under Federal Compensation For Injury Law.

Resolution No. 63 — By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lippold, Harry R. Meyers, Wm. Radtke, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Lee R. Whitney, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, of the Printers and Dye Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the Draftsmen's Union; A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, Daniel Haggarty, Robert Fechner, Fred Hewitt and Chas. E. Wills, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The rates of compensation fixed in the original legislation, enacted September 7, 1916, for the relief of government employees, injured in the performance of duty are based upon the then existing pay standards and are therefore admittedly inadequate at the present time; and

WHEREAS, This law, which covers only employees of the United States government, has not kept pace with the compensation standards of the states; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the affiliated organizations of government employees for the purpose of securing from Congress remedial legislation substantially increasing the compensation rates and

otherwise modernizing the compensation-for-injury law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Further Liberalization of the Civil Service Retirement Law.

Resolution No. 64 — By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lippold, Harry R. Meyers, William Radtke, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Charles J. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Lee R. Whitney, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, of the Printers and Dye Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the Draftsmen's Union; A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, Daniel Haggarty, Robert Fechner, Fred Hewitt and Chas. E. Wills, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Sixty-ninth Congress, largely in response to the urge of the organizations of affiliated government employees and the American Federation of Labor, enacted legislation improving in some respects the civil service retirement law, especially by increasing the amount of the annuities and changing the method of their computation; and

WHEREAS, While these liberalizations have brought a degree of relief to retired employees and operate generally toward an improvement of the retirement law, nevertheless, they are inadequate from both the standpoint of the employees directly affected and the public service; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to continue to co-operate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of government employees to the end that further liberalizations, particularly in the way of higher annuities and lower optional age requirements, shall speedily be enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Declaration Against Race Discrimination

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate E. D. Barry of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There still exists local unions that discriminate against negro workers; and

WHEREAS, It is against the interests of all the workers, both white and col-

ored, to divide the ranks of labor along the lines of race, sex or religion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor Convention go on record as opposing race discrimination wherever it manifests itself; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor pledge itself to do everything in its power to do away with race discrimination, and to present to the American Federation of Labor Convention this resolution calling for renewed effort in order to establish complete race equality in all trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Continuance of Efforts to Organize the Unorganized.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate E. D. Barry of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The open shoppers, under the leadership of various associated interests of employers have been especially active during the last year in their efforts to weaken and destroy the Trade Unions of Pennsylvania; and

WHEREAS, These open shoppers, in order to further their ends, are organizing dual and company unions; and

WHEREAS, This situation makes it necessary for continued and renewed effort to organize the unorganized workers of this state and to counteract the spread of dual and company unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to present this resolution to the American Federation of Labor Convention, and to support all resolutions pertaining to organization of the workers throughout the country.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Citizens' Military Training Camps.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate E. D. Barry of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Citizen's Military Training Camps are organized for the purpose of training young workers for the army and to be used in the next war; and

WHEREAS, The Military Training Camps Association, composed of large open shop employers, dominates the policy of these camps and does its best to see that the camps turn out scabs and

strike breakers; and

WHEREAS, Larger and larger numbers of young workers join these military camps, because of the encouragement given them by the employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor condemn the purpose and function of the Citizen's Military Training Camps and oppose any move to organically connect the American Federation of Labor with the War Department in any way or help in the recruiting of young workers expected to serve as cannon fodder in the next war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct our delegate to the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor to present this resolution opposing the Citizen's Military Training Camps.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing an Assessment to Assist the American Federation of Labor in an Educational Campaign Against Company Unions.

Resolution No. 68. — By Delegates Matthew Woll and Fred Ballbach of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, Company unions and so-called shop representative plans of organization of workers have been designed solely for the purpose of weakening if not destroying the trade union organizations and of preventing a sound, effective and permanent form of organization of the wage earners into trade unions; and

WHEREAS, These company unions and so-called shop representative plans are advanced in various forms and under varying guises but all directed to the same destructive ends; and

WHEREAS, These company unions and so-called shop representative plans can not fulfill the needs of the wage earners or render useful service to industry or to the public in general; and

WHEREAS, All trades, all occupations and all trade unions are affected by this subtle campaign of opposition to the trade union form of organization; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council has undertaken a study of these company unions and shop representation forms of organization with the purpose of designing effective means of combat; and

WHEREAS, This work can only be

successfully undertaken if properly and adequately financed and efficiently and determinately directed; and

WHEREAS, The present laws and rules relating to income of the A. F. of L. are not specially designed for the urgent situation demanding the attention of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby empowered and authorized to levy a special assessment or contribution upon the affiliated organizations to such an amount and under such conditions and regulations as will create an adequate fund with which to carry out the study and campaign designed to remove these employer controlled unions and shop representative plans out of our industrial life, it being understood that this special grant of power and authority is supplemental to that now vested constitutionally in the Executive Council, and with the further understanding that it may so arrange its levy of special income in a form as will least affect those affiliated unions seriously threatened financially; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated unions are hereby called upon to join with the A. F. of L. and its Executive Council, both in this study and campaign to the end that the trade union form of organization may proceed uninterrupted, effectively and efficiently, and in a progressive and constructive order making for a better understanding and a more permanent and lasting solution of our problems of life and industry and in keeping with our American conceptions and standards of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Suspension of Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union.

Resolution No. 69.—By Delegate John Mangan, of the Chicago, Illinois, Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, President Green has given considerable time and effort to adjust a controversy in the city of Chicago, affecting the Journeymen Horse Shoers in that city; and

WHEREAS, During the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, President Green succeeded in bringing together the representatives of the conflicting interests, including Her-

bert S. Marshall, Secretary of the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union, with the result that an agreement was reached, that President Green would submit a proposition as a basis for the settlement of this controversy, and

WHEREAS, Since that conference in Atlantic City, President Green has exhausted every possible means to induce Herbert S. Marshall to carry into effect his part of that agreement, without results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union of the United States and Canada stand suspended in this Federation until such time as they put into effect the agreement and promise made to the President of this Federation in Atlantic City.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution Increasing Per Capita Tax Payable by Directly Affiliated Local Unions.

Resolution No. 70.—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Fred R. Ballbach, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

Amend Section 1, of Article X, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, by substituting for the words "twenty-five cents" in the eighth line of that section the requirement of "thirty-five cents" and by striking out in the same section the words "Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, five cents per member per month," making the amended section to read:

ARTICLE X—Revenue.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lock-out; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less

than one dollar; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L.
Constitution Increasing Maximum
Initiation Fee for Directly
Affiliated Local Unions.**

Resolution No. 71.—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Fred R. Ballbach, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

Amend Section 14, of Article XIII, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, by substituting the figures \$25.00 for \$10.00 in the fourth line of that section; and by substituting for the words "25 cents" in the last line of that section the requirement of "one dollar," making the entire section to read:

Section 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$25.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of One Dollar for reinstatement.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Proposing Endorsement of Radio Broad-
casting Station Established by
Chicago Federation of
Labor.**

Resolution No. 72.—By Delegate John Mangan, of the Chicago, Illinois, Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized Labor has in the past made all the use possible of available avenues of communication at the command of modern society, nevertheless, these avenues, newspapers,

telephones, railroads, ships, movies and mail were of such a nature that they have in the main been controlled by the organized wealth of the world; and

WHEREAS, An opportunity is now presented to organized labor of America to utilize radio, the most modern of all means of communication; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has established and has now in operation the broadcasting station WCFL, wave length 491 meters, with a sending radius of five hundred miles, located on the Municipal Pier in Chicago; and

WHEREAS, This station has set aside the hour 6 to 7 p. m. daily for such announcements and information at the trade unionists of this country may desire to convey to their members in particular and the public in general; and

WHEREAS, This radio station is owned and controlled by the Chicago Federation of Labor, its affiliated and co-operating local unions, and is financed by voluntary contributions of trade unions; and

WHEREAS, Its possibilities for service to organized labor are unlimited, labor should avail itself of this great opportunity to obtain the ear of the world for its message; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the Chicago Federation of Labor radio broadcasting station and let the subject matter of radio broadcasting station be referred to the Executive Council for further consideration and action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Urging Demand for Union Made Hosiery
and Underwear.**

Resolution No. 73 — By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, George Creech and Arthur McDonnell of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The product of the Unity Hosiery Company of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, makers of ladies' and gents' hosiery, is the only product that bears the Union Label; be it

RESOLVED, At this Forty-sixth American Federation of Labor Convention assembled in Detroit that every delegate through his international organization demand union made hosiery and union made underwear.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing That the American Federation of Labor Demand an Investigation of the Activities of Agents of the Department of Justice in the Sacco-Vanzetti Case.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Samuel Squibb, International Granite Cutters' Union.

WHEREAS, The case of Sacco and Vanzetti has again come before the public; and

WHEREAS, After six years of imprisonment those who take an interest in this case are now more convinced than ever that Sacco and Vanzetti are not guilty of the crime they were charged with and convicted for; and

WHEREAS, The motion for a new trial based on newly discovered evidence, primarily on the confession of Celestino F. Madeiros, is now before the court of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, On this motion for a new trial, affidavits of former agents of the Department of Justice of the United States have been produced that show that there are records on file in the office of the Department of Justice, establishing the fact that there was collaboration between the Department of Justice and the District Attorney of Norfolk County to convict Sacco and Vanzetti on charges of a crime, of which the Department of Justice did not believe them guilty; and

WHEREAS, The Attorney General has refused access to the records in the case to the Counsel for the Defense, in spite of his urgent request for the same; and

WHEREAS, A large number of the International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are deeply interested in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti and have by resolutions adopted at their conventions, expressed the sentiment of their members on this matter; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled demand an immediate investigation by the Congress of the United States of the actions of the agents of the Department of Justice; the connection of the Department of Justice with the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti; and the refusal of the Department of Justice to disclose its files on the Sacco and Vanzetti case; be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President and Congress of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing an Organization Drive in All Industries.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Ben T. Oglesby of the Freight Handlers and Station Employes' Union, No. 17769, Kansas City, Missouri.

WHEREAS, Only a small percentage of the great working masses are as yet members of the trade unions, great numbers being still unorganized in nearly all industries; and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs not only militates against the unorganized who are helpless, but against the organized as well, who find themselves severely handicapped in their struggle for better conditions by the ever present army of unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The inevitable industrial crisis makes it all the more imperative that we bring these unorganized masses into the unions and thus enormously strengthen our ranks against the bitter onslaughts that are bound to come from the "open shop" drive of the employers as soon as this industrial crisis becomes general; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon all its affiliated international organizations to unite for a great organization drive in all localities and industries, in order to finally bring within the protecting folds of organized labor the masses that still remain on the outside.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution Against Race Discrimination

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Albert C. Campbell of the Freight Handlers' Local Union No. 17775, Kansas City, Mo.

WHEREAS, one of the worst obstacles that stand in the way of obtaining the greatly needed solidarity of the workers in each trade, craft, and industry, which alone will enable the workers to exercise their full power in struggle against the employing class, is the divisions in the ranks of the working class caused by race prejudice and race discriminations; and

WHEREAS, it has always been a basic principle of the labor movement that all workers shall be organized without regard to race, creed, or color; and

WHEREAS, this fundamental principle has not been fully applied in many trade unions, being violated through the establishment of discriminations against Negroes, and the propagation

of race prejudices against the Negro workers; and

WHEREAS, the Negro workers are occupying a place ever more important in the life of the labor movement, constituting a large percentage of the working population, making it a matter of life and death for the trade unions that the Negroes be organized in close solidarity with the white workers for a common struggle for common interests; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this organization hereby denounces all discrimination against Negroes as opposed to the interests of the labor movement and calls upon the entire labor movement to receive the Negro workers into its ranks in fraternal solidarity; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we call upon all unions to remove every discrimination in their constitutions, by-laws, rules of order, or precedents and procedure, that operate against the Negro workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that any such measures that may now be operative in this organization against Negroes shall be at once declared null and void and measures shall be taken to bring all eligible Negroes in membership in this organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging That State Federations of Labor Interest Themselves in the Enactment of Legislative Measures to Insure the Highest Efficiency in the Practice of the Medical Profession.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates M. J. Keough of the Molders' International Union; I. M. Ornburn, Cigarmakers' International Union; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees; M. J. Flynn, Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.; Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor; Fred Hewitt, Robert Fechner and Daniel Haggarty, International Association of Machinists; Thos. F. Flaherty, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; J. A. Franklin, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Shop Builders and Helpers.

WHEREAS, In the recent exposure of the Diploma Mill in the state of Missouri with its far reaching effects and

its menace to the very life of the nation, in that branch of the healing art affected thereby, we feel that some recognition should be taken by the American Federation of Labor in regard to the methods and standards employed in the granting of licenses to practice in the various professions in the several states, and the laws proposed and enacted that govern the practice thereof; and

WHEREAS, Workingmen and their dependents have not the wide opportunities of seeking counsel as to experts in the various fields of medical healing and are therefore almost completely dependent upon the efficiency with which state agencies provide machinery for selecting competent practitioners and excluding those who are not properly qualified; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor being deeply concerned with the machinery by which examining boards and other governmental agencies maintain professional standards in the healing arts urge that each State Federation of Labor be requested to interest themselves in the establishment of the best methods for securing the highest efficiency in the healing profession, and that each State Federation of Labor take recognition of the various legislative health measures proposed for the regulation and control of the machinery as well as the choice of members of the various examining boards in the several states whose duties involve the procedure of granting licenses to practice in the several branches of the healing arts.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

Requesting International Unions to Have Local Unions Co-operate With the Building Trades in Scranton, Pa.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Lawrence F. Hart of the Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, That through the lack of co-operation on the part of the carpenters, brick layers and stone masons, local unions of Scranton, Pa., the building trades in that city are seriously menaced with the open shop and the possibility of the destruction of their organizations in the very near future; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Presidents of the Brick Layers, Stone Masons and Carpenters' Unions, instruct their local unions in Scranton, Pa., to co-operate with the rest of the building trades in Scranton, to combat this de-

structive evil.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Proposing Investigation of Proposed Lecture Series Upon Subject of Taxation.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Ed. R. Derrickson, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

WHEREAS, Professor Richard T. Ely, under the auspices of various real estate boards is inaugurating a series of lectures on taxation which is to be printed and distributed free of cost to any institution of learning that will accept it; and

WHEREAS, It is believed this is but a system of vicious propaganda to befog the minds of students that will hinder if not entirely avert any just system of taxation to the detriment of the large body of our citizenship; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at this Forty-sixth Annual Convention instruct the Executive Council to investigate this propaganda, and if in their judgment it is to the adverse interests of the large body of citizens who are wage earners that they oppose this being used in any public schools, state universities or colleges supported by taxation of the general public.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Continued Support of Near East Relief.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Fred M. Hewitt, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, Near East Relief is chartered by the Congress of the United States and regularly presents its reports to this body; and

WHEREAS, the support of the many thousands of orphan children is wholly dependent upon the generosity of individuals and organizations in this country; and

WHEREAS, food and clothing must be supplied, and the task of training these children for self-support must be continued; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, at Detroit, Michigan, October 4, 1926, continue its interest and co-operation; and urge the continued financial support of members of organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that it continue in an advisory capacity the Labor Committee of the Near East Relief; and that it

use its influence to widen the observance of International Golden Rule Sunday, December 5, 1926; all of this not only to save the lives of thousands of children who are our wards, but also to train them for self-support and leadership in the various trades in the Near East countries of Greece, Syria, Palestine and Armenia.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Re-affirming Advocacy and Urging Political Activity in Behalf of the Direct Primary.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is being conducted a nation-wide fight on the direct primary, with the evident purpose of returning to the old system of nomination by convention, thus subordinating political parties to machine control; and

WHEREAS, We deem this activity an attack on democratic government, an assault on established free institutions and as a further effort to wrest control of the government from the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we reaffirm our belief in and advocacy of the direct primary, pledge anew our continued united efforts to defend the direct primary against its enemies, and further that we urge all affiliated national and international unions and state federations of labor to exert every effort to awaken the people to the danger threatening popular government and to withhold their political support from any candidate or candidates who are unwilling to pledge their loyalty to the direct primary.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Pledging Assistance for the Passage of Bill Providing Standardized Annual and Sick Leave for Federal Employees.

Resolution No. 82. — By Delegates Luther C. Steward, John J. Fitzgerald, Lee R. Whitney and Gertrude McNally of the National Federation of Federal Employees, and Thomas McQuade, of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union.

RESOLVED, that the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention as-

sembled, instructs its Executive Council to assist the organized federal employees in their efforts to secure the passage of H. R. 12930 which provides standardized annual and sick leave for federal employees.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Condemning Activities of Dual Union
of Mechanics and Laborers in
Chicago, Illinois.**

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates J. Aldrich, of the Operative Plasterers' International Association, and Samuel P. Luzzo, of the International Hod Carriers' Building and Common Laborers' Union.

WHEREAS, Fred Mader, of Chicago, Ill., has in recent months been masquerading as head of a bogus union of mechanics and laborers, under the title of "County Concrete Road, Concrete Block, Sewer and Water Pipe Layers' Union, Local 381;" and

WHEREAS, Fred Mader's activities are detrimental to the labor movement in Cook County, Ill.; and

WHEREAS, he represents himself as spokesman for the Chicago labor movement, while he is not connected in any capacity with the labor movement

and therefore his pretenses are wholly false; and

WHEREAS, he appeared before the County Commissioners of Cook County in the state of Illinois, and informed that body that a certain unfair contractor was fair to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the 46th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Detroit, condemn the activities of said Fred Mader and associates; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that the supposed organization is not a bona fide organization in any way affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No committee being ready to report, and no other business coming before the convention, Delegate Conners, Switchmen, moved a suspension of the rules and an adjournment to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Wednesday.

The motion was adopted, and at 11:45 o'clock a. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., October 6.

Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Detroit, Michigan, Oct. 6, 1926.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock Wednesday, October 6th, President Green in the chair.

Absentees:

Myrup, Scott, Dohney, Wardle, Belair, Briscoe, Kasten, Morrin, Brandle, Quesse, David, Hutcheson, Anderson, Lippold, Schulte, Coulter, Hauser, Rosemund, Balbach, Baer, Sullivan, Healy, Gillot, Seimer, Regnier, Fry, Lane, Carey, Smith, Barry, Hannah, Donlin, Berry, O'Donnell, Burke, Sullivan, Shea, Collins, Strickland, Conway, Austin, Cone, Cashen, Johnson, Atkins, O'Donnell (M. J.), Wade, Barry, Hill, Stewart, Stoddard, Katz, Ryan, Nally, Wenger, Mullen Augustino, Murphy, Woodling, Colbert, Frampton, Fagan, Coffelt, Herder, Bower, Tarbett, Johnson (A. C.), Shea, Elwell, Eckhardt, Walker, Covert, Fitzpatrick, Keeny, Williams, McGregory, Bender, Albert, Ruben, Ellstein, Polakoff, Shaw, Purves, Tracy, Darrington, Powers, Ryan, Portway, Fuchs.

President Green: The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America has been engaged in a conflict with one of the great baking concerns of the country. The Bakery Workers are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and have been fighting for recognition and for the establishment of relationships with this organization and the maintenance of a wage scale. They have asked that some phases of their experiences be explained to this convention. President Myrup is very deeply interested in this conflict, and they want the delegates to know something about it. He and his associates have requested that Mr. Holloway, representing the Peoples Legislative Service, explain to the delegates and report to you some of the experiences he and his associates have had in working for the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union. I am sure you will be interested in what he has to say.

ADDRESS BY WALTER E. HOLLOWAY (Representing the Peoples' Legislative Service).

Mr. President, Officers, Delegates of the American Federation of Labor: First of all, I want to express appreciation of this opportunity of presenting the case

for the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union, whose spokesman I am on this occasion; also to express the appreciation of The People's Legislative Service, whose organizer I am, and which organization has been commissioned by the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union to represent them in certain legal and legislative phases of their fight against the great bread trust.

I would be doing less than my duty, and very much less than my pleasure, if I did not take this occasion of expressing the sincere thanks and profound obligation, both of the Confectionery Workers' Union and of The People's Legislative Service, to President Green for his very cordial and helpful assistance to both organizations in this joint fight that they have been making against the greatest trust in the history of the world.

I think it very proper that this fight should be presented to the American Federation of Labor convention, where are gathered the representatives of all the trades in the organized labor movement, because the bread fight not only concerns the bakery workers but it concerns workers in all of the trades and the people at large. Everybody eats bread, and when one man or a small group of men by any combination of circumstances get control of the bread supply of the nation, that man or group of men are in a position to punish the people, organized labor and the bakery workers.

Now, briefly, I want to outline the situation that the bakery workers found themselves in during recent years. They have been fighting the Ward interests in the baking corporations for many years.

That fight dates back at least to 1910, but for a long time the baking corporations, while large, were not dominant as to block the bakery workers. There were other corporations outside of the Ward interests enabling the Bakery Workers to make contracts and arrangements and to exist; but gradually the Ward interests have grown and gained increased control of the baking industry.

During the war, under the Food Administration of the United States government, the price of wheat was fixed to the farmer, but the price of bread to the people was not fixed. The farmers'

hand was tied, but Ward's hand was left loose to dip into the pockets of the people, to take their pennies and compound them into dollars and pile them into millions.

In 1921, William B. Ward, known as the king and emperor of bread, had organized the United Bakeries Corporation and had gathered in independent baking concerns from the Atlantic to the Pacific and gained an enormous hold on the baking trade. In 1923 William B. Ward—anti-union so far as his power lay, and becoming increasingly anti-union as his powers grew—had gained such control in the baking industry as to make him feel able to abrogate his contracts with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union. From that time to this, Ward has been one hundred per cent anti-union.

In 1924 William B. Ward was able to shove aside other members of his own family in the baking industry, George S. Ward in particular, and to gain control of the Ward Baking Company and turn it into the Ward Baking Corporation with \$150,000,000 capital. I ask your attention especially to these colossal figures—the Ward Baking Corporation with \$150,000,000 capitalization. A little later in 1924 he gained control of the Continental Baking Company and organized it a holding company. The Continental Baking Corporation with a capitalization of \$600,000,000. Later in 1925 William B. Ward gained control—and announced publicly that he had gained control—of the General Baking Company, and turned it into the General Baking Corporation with a capitalization of \$1,000,000,000.

You will note the gradually increasing size of the baking corporations organized by William B. Ward. In January of this year the mad dream of the mad emperor of bread had grown until he organized the Ward Food Products Corporation in the State of Maryland with a capitalization of \$2,000,000,000. Two billion dollars in the Ward Food Products Corporation; \$1,000,000,000 in the General Baking Corporation; \$600,000,000 in the Continental Baking Corporation; \$150,000,000 in the Ward Baking Corporation, making an aggregate capitalization in the bread industry approaching \$4,000,000,000, four times as big as the Steel Corporation, five times or more as large as the meat corporations or trusts, three times as large as the American Telephone and Telegraph Corporation.

Now we thought that this trust, dominating, as it did, through its holdings and absorption of 173 independent baking companies and corporations from the Atlantic to the Pacific, constituted a menace to the life and liberty of the American people, constituted a challenge to the American Federation of Labor, and constituted a threat of death to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union. That is the view of the matter taken by Mr. Myrup and his associates in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, and for that reason they thought it wise to seek the help of the American Federation of Labor and of the People's Legislative Service.

Last year at the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City resolutions were passed by this body bearing upon the fight of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union. About that time Mr. Myrup and his associates saw fit to ally with themselves The People's Legislative Service and the fight has gone on. I want now to briefly outline the steps of it to you.

First, I want to show you the method pursued by William B. Ward in attaining dominance in the baking industry. It is a unique story, gentlemen, in finance, something I never saw before, something that ought to challenge your attention and enlist your interest and study. This colossal bread trust was built up by William B. Ward without the investment of a single dollar of his own money. That seems like an astonishing statement, but it is susceptible of the clear proof. This is the method he followed.

The Ward Baking Corporation, the Continental Baking Corporation, the General Baking Corporation are holding companies with capitalizations vastly in excess of the value of the companies that were to be absorbed in these holding companies. Ward was given by the directors of these holding companies, which he himself controlled, large amounts of promotion stocks, and with this stock he bought up and absorbed the independent baking companies. In some instances he offered and gave as high as seven shares of A stock and two shares of B stock in the holding company for one share of the concern absorbed. He turned back, in the case of the General Baking Corporation, some two million shares of the holding stock which he himself possessed into the treasury of the General Baking Corpora-

tion at the nominal current, stock market price of the stock. In that he accumulated millions of dollars for himself privately. Later on when, by the activity of all the agencies concerned, his big dream was punctured he was sued by one of his associates in the General Baking Corporation, Mr. Helms, for \$8,000,000 for money wrongly obtained in this way.

I hope it is clear to you how Ward attained this dominance, this colossal hold on the baking industry by absorbing the independent companies throughout the land without the investment of money. It was a stock rigging proposition; it was a paper transaction, and yet it gave this man a dominant control of the baking industry.

A little later, as I told you, he sought to put these three big corporations into one. The Ward, the Continental and the General were to be combined into The Ward Food Products Corporation with a capitalization of \$2,000,000,000. At that time, in 1925, when The People's Legislative Service came into the fight in co-operation with Mr. Green and his legislative men, we followed up the fight started in the Senate of the United States in 1924 by the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette, when he introduced a resolution into the Senate instructing the Federal Trade Commission to examine into the practices of the corporation, at that time the dominant one, The Continental Baking Corporation.

Unfortunately, gentlemen, the Federal Trade Commission was packed with reactionaries. There are five members of the Federal Trade Commission and three of them stand with and for the financial aggregations, and particularly in the bread industry, to such an extent that the investigation was delayed, postponed, and it seemed for a time that nothing would be done. But, following the resolution of the American Federation of Labor at its last convention, and following hammering in the Senate and in various ways we got the Federal Trade Commission into action.

As a part of this publicity pressure which I call your attention especially to, at the instance of Mr. Myrup and with the help of the American Federation of Labor, The People's Legislative Service put on a big mass meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York City, March 1, 1925. Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., came there to speak; Frank P. Walsh was the chairman of the meeting; President Green was to be there, but, unfortunately, other things kept him from his

appointment, but he was kind enough to send Mr. Frank Morrison, who made a splendid address and pledged the whole-hearted support of the American Federation of Labor to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union in their fight.

This meeting was broadcast through one of the large broadcasting stations in New York City and the proceedings were heard throughout the country from the Mississippi River east. At this time the Federal Trade Commission was literally forced into action and George Barber, the lieutenant of William B. Ward was put upon the witness stand at 45 Broadway, New York City. Colonel Brindell, of the Federal Trade Commission, was asking him questions and eliciting information that was attracting the attention of the whole United States.

Gentlemen, the newspapers print facts of this sort, and when the light of publicity is turned upon a trust by a governmental investigation you do get results. I want to show you what the result was. I think it has justified the wisdom of Mr. Myrup and his associates. It was a unique fight, with a unique and a startling result.

When I first talked to Mr. Myrup a little over a year ago, I expressed the hope to him that by means of this nation-wide publicity we would be able to shake the confidence of the investing public in the paper of William B. Ward and break the stock market quotations of his paper. Now let me give you the concrete result.

In 1916 the General Baking Company's stock was selling upon the stock market for two dollars a share. Between that time and this that stock had been split six ways to one and it had been boomed on the stock market to \$272.00 a share, making an aggregate of \$1,632.00 market value of two dollars in 1916. The aggregate market value of the stocks of the Ward paper had multiplied by the hundred. Then came this investigation and the stock market broke. The very next day, following the opening of the Federal Trade Commission at 45 Broadway, the market in the baking stocks crumbled. I will give you the exact figures as taken from The Wall Street Journal on this matter.

The A stock of the Continental Baking Corporation had reached \$144.00 a share; following the smash it dropped to \$65.00 a share. The B stock of the Continental had risen to \$42.00 a share; it dropped spectacularly, dramatically, to \$8.75. The Ward Baking Company stock, Class A, had reached \$198.00 a share; it tum-

bled, plunged down to \$90.00 a share. Ward's Class B had reached \$95.50; it tumbled to \$24.75. The General Baking Company's A stock had reached \$83 7-8; it tumbled to \$50.50. The B stock had reached \$19.00; it collapsed to \$5.75.

The aggregate market value of the three corporations had reached the astonishing sum of \$445,305,000. When the crash came, it dropped to \$205,000,000 or a loss of \$240,000,000, more than a half; in other words, the water had been smashed out of the corporations, or a large part of it. Over a quarter of a million dollars had been squeezed out—and I have authoritative information that William B. Ward personally, in his anxiety to sustain the market value of his paper, put in, first, a million dollars to stem the tide, then two million dollars, then three million dollars, and the upshot of it was that he has personally had his fortune crimped and pretty badly shaken, and the Ward Food Products Corporation was checked.

The very next day, on April 2nd, following the mass meeting in New York City, when the nation was informed of the facts through Mr. Morrison's talk and Senator LaFollette's talk, the Ward Products Corporation entered into what is known as a consent decree of the Department of Justice of the United States government. Ward agreed not to put the three big baking corporations together into one; he agreed, temporarily, at least, to lie down, to quit in that direction. The Ward Food Products Company was dissolved by this consent decree.

I call it a signal victory, and I congratulate the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union on taking the first round in the fight, and I extend to the American Federation of Labor the hearty appreciation of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union for its part in that fight.

Now, briefly to sum the matter up, The first round in the fight has been won; the big bread trust has been checked; the stock market values have been smashed—they stayed smashed, let me add that. In spite of the colossal boom in other stocks since that time, the baking stocks have stayed down when they landed in this smash. The first round of the fight has been won, but, unfortunately, gentlemen, that consent decree between the Ward people and the Department of Justice contains a loophole for Ward to crawl back into the realization later on of his dream unless a constant watch is kept of his

conduct.

I am giving you now the exact words of the minority members of the Federal Trade Commission. I am aware that I am talking in the presence of the press of the United States, and I am weighing my words, and I am not relying upon my own authority in this matter. I am giving you the facts as they were reported in print in the dissenting opinion of Commissioners Thompson and Nugent, of the Federal Trade Commission.

Those gentlemen are authority for the statement that the Ward Food Products Corporation in its consent decree with the Department of Justice made a bargain whereby it was understood and carried out that in entering into this consent decree with the Department of Justice to dissolve the Ward Food Products Corporation, the Federal Trade Commission would drop its case against the Continental Baking Corporation. The word "collusion" was used by these gentlemen.

Now, that is a very serious matter. The Ward Food Products Corporation was dissolved by the Department of Justice on the ground that the Federal Trade Commission had a case and was prosecuting a case against the Continental, when it was known on April 2nd, at three o'clock in the afternoon, by special messenger from the Federal Trade Commission to the Department of Justice that the Federal Trade Commission had dropped its case against the Continental. The Department of Justice knew that, and yet the consent decree was entered into by the Department of Justice with the Ward Food Products Corporation. If that matter were allowed to stand Ward would be able to go ahead and, incidentally, he has gone ahead with his program of absorbing independent companies into his big \$600,000,000 Continental Corporation.

The Peoples Legislative Service, following April 2nd, immediately called the friends of organized labor in the Senate of the United States and in the House of Representatives into council in this matter. The upshot of it was that on the last day of the Congress just dissolved Senator Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana, following a speech by Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., in which Senator LaFollette had outlined the history of his matter and called the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice on the carpet, exposed the complicity—and I use that word deliberately and designedly—of these two

departments. If anyone wishes to challenge this statement he has only to get the Congressional Record of April 29th.

Senator LaFollette exposed the facts and Senator Thomas J. Walsh then introduced a resolution to this effect: That the Committee on Judiciary in the United States Senate be instructed—that is the word, not requested—but instructed, to inquire of the Federal Trade Commission and of the Department of Justice what they had done by way of investigation and checking of the growth of the bread monopoly.

Now, the matter stands that way. Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Chairman, is in readiness and is in action in investigating this situation. With the opening of Congress in November the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union expects, through the co-operation which they so strongly hope for of the labor movement at large throughout the United States, backed up by the public opinion of America, to bring about through this investigation of the Judiciary Committee a full exposure of the facts with regard to the Federal Trade Commission's failure to carry out its legitimate case against the Continental. We want to know why the case was dropped. If the case was good in 1924, it is good now.

This matter is open for investigation, and it is the sincere hope of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union and the Peoples Legislative Service that an effective investigation will be had and the truth with regard to the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice will be had, and thus the way will be opened to continue the fight against the bread trust, and not only to check it, but to destroy it and to give renewed life and opportunity to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union, so that they may be able to maintain a decent wage scale, satisfactory conditions of labor and a high standard of living. And it is hoped that the great organizations of labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor will realize that the fight of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union has already resulted in saving organized labor millions of dollars in the price of bread.

If William B. Ward had been able to carry out his dream and have this trust, with a capitalization of \$2,000,000, he would have had to raise the price of bread in order to pay dividends on such a colossal capitalization. Realize what has been done, then realize what

yet remains to be done, and that is to back up in every possible way you can the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union. Certainly every organized labor man can refuse to buy and use trust bread.

Why buy the bread of the enemy of organized labor? Stay away from trust bread; eat independent bread, and in that way and by giving whole-hearted support, through publicity and in every other way that is suggested to you, you can help materially in the final victory in closing the most menacing trust in the history of the world, the food trust. All men eat bread. When they eat they live. If they do not eat they die. And the man that controls your bread, controls your life, controls your destiny, as your liberty is in his hands. I appeal to you to see to it that this menace to the liberty of America and to the liberty of the organized labor movement, particularly the organized bakery workers, is removed and the victory won.

President Green, I thank you for your courtesy, and I thank you ladies and gentlemen for your attention.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Typographical Union: While I presume that this very splendid address will be printed in the proceedings, the facts brought out by the speaker are such that I believe they ought to be put before the American workers for the purpose of educating them as to the growth and the menace of the monopolists who would acquire control of the staff of life.

For that reason I move that a summary of this address be printed in leaflet form and distributed to the central labor bodies and such local unions as apply for copies during the next few months. (Seconded and carried.)

President Green: In accordance with the understanding arrived at yesterday, we will now listen to the addresses of the fraternal delegates attending this convention. I am sure we have been looking forward in pleasant anticipation to this delightful experience this morning. I am confident that we are to be permitted to listen to several most instructive and inspiring addresses.

For years there has been maintained with unbroken regularity between the American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress an exchange of fraternal delegates. As a result of this exchange of fraternal delegates lasting friendships have been formed and the great movements of the two English speaking nations of the

world have been helped thereby. We have been fortunate, indeed, in that the fraternal delegates sent us have been men of trade union experience and trade union standing, men who have been honored by the workers of Great Britain and Ireland, men who came to us with a record of service, men who had proved by their actions their loyalty and devotion to our great organized labor movement.

As I speak to you now I know you recall the names of those distinguished fraternal delegates who visited us in the past. They were your friends, you learned to like and to love them, and they carried back to Great Britain the most pleasant memories, I know, of their visit to our country.

We are especially fortunate on this occasion in that we have present with us two representative trade unionists from Great Britain. They come to us with a message. We will be helped by their presence and we will be instructed by the information they will transmit to us.

The first speaker will be Brother George Hicks, the chairman of the British Trades Union Congress, general counsel and general secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trades Workers. He has served the trades unionists of Great Britain in various other capacities and comes with a fund of experience and information at his command. It affords me very, very great pleasure to present to you this morning Brother George Hicks.

ADDRESS BY MR. GEORGE HICKS
(Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress).

President Green, Officers of the American Federation of Labor and Delegates: I am sure that the very warm and cordial remarks of your chairman have touched me and Brother Bromley very deeply, and we hope by the remarks we make here this morning that we will make some contribution to a better, if possible, understanding of the difficulties that beset us on both sides of the Atlantic.

I am going to do something that is not very customary for me. I have put down a few observations on paper, chiefly because I am going to deal in some of the observations with that world shaking event that occurred in Great Britain during the past year, and which it is very necessary, whenever

we speak of occasions of that character, that our words are very well weighed and measured and proportionate to the great event that happened.

On behalf of the British Trades Union Congress I bring you greetings and the pledge of brotherhood and comradeship from the whole organized working class movement of Britain and the British workers generally.

I am gratified and charmed with my visit to your wonderful Republic and am proud to be with you here at your annual Convention. I have been deeply interested in all I have seen and heard since I have been here. Your cities and their municipal organization; the manner of your industrial life, the efficiency of your industrial fabric, your keenness and vital urge, convey many ideas and lessons to me. Being a builder, a bricklayer, your buildings have been of particular interest. You certainly do know how to build in this country. I am sure the Pharaoh who built the Pyramids would have been filled with envy at your skyscrapers. I look at your towns—your streets—the long rows of buildings—commercial houses, business offices, factories, shops, mansions, and I say to myself: Here is evidence that our fellows have been pretty busy. The building craftsmen are the same the whole world over. And they know their jobs, too. And I say to myself also: that if you workers know how to build like this, are possessed of such knowledge, skill, constructive ability and power as to bring into being these mighty cities—then you can also build strongly and wisely in other directions. You can build big movements, establish powerful organizations, bring the same creative power into play in all spheres of human activity. The buildings of a country are a good index as to the material, moral and intellectual progress of that country.

I felt that I had to say a word about your building workers. I know of several old members of my own trade union who are now members of the buildings workers' union of this country. A good trade unionist is a good trade unionist in whatever land he may be. The world is his country. I remember, during the critical days of the recent General Strike in Britain—at the blackest hour—when the strain upon my organization, the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, and the whole trade union movement, was

at its heaviest point, receiving from the Kearney, New Jersey, local No. 20, of the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union of America, a donation of \$200 towards our strike funds. I can assure you that that spontaneous, unexpected expression of practical generosity made a profound impression both upon myself and my Executive Council. We deeply appreciated the kindly spirit which prompted the sending of that money. At the same time we received unexpected help of a similar character from the building workers of South Africa. We were made to realize that there were fellow workers in all parts of the world who were deeply interested in our welfare and keenly aware of the difficulties of our struggles, and that, across the oceans and continents, the spirit of international brotherhood and solidarity was something very real. That as regards building workers, as such, and the international comradeship of those working at our crafts and trades. But that spirit has been expressed by all crafts and trades, by all the workers in all countries.

As a member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and consequent thereon as one who played a leading part in the great historical drama of the General Strike of Great Britain, I feel that I cannot let this occasion go by without telling you something about that world-shaking event.

You workers of America are, and have been, enjoying a period of prosperity. Your wages, judging by European standards, are high. Employment amongst you is good. Your conditions are much more favorable than the conditions under which the British workers live and have their being. In Britain, ever since the end of the war, we have been passing through a period of unprecedented industrial depression. Our industries have been in a bad way and have undergone serious contraction. From the date of the Armistice onwards we have had in our midst an unemployed army of from one and a half to two millions. This figure, for Britain, is a really formidable one, representing roughly, twelve per cent of our workers. And also, with many of our industries, part time employment for thousands has been a general rule. It would be difficult to convey to you the frightful impoverishment this has oc-

casioned for millions of our working people, but one has to endeavor to grasp that fact as a background to the causes which led to the General Strike.

In Britain, as you know, we have a great, well-organized Trade Union Movement. It was only to be expected that when conditions became so bad as to be unbearable, when wages came crashing down, when hundreds of thousands vainly clamoured for jobs and when employers pressed forward in a general offensive on the workers, that the Trade Union Movement would be compelled to take action.

The General Strike came as the culmination of events which had developed since the close of the great war. One has only to review the industrial history of Britain since the Armistice to realize how closely linked is this chain of events. In September, 1919, there occurred a great railway strike, tying up the entire railway system of the country. In 1921, after what is known in Britain as "Black Friday," came a thirteen weeks' lock-out of the miners. In 1922 came the great engineering—what you in this country call the machinists' lock-out. These were followed by employers' attacks on the workers in each industry in turn. The textile workers, the printers, the dockers and so on. In 1924 we had a nation-wide dispute in the building industry. So the struggles went on. All the time the greatest economic pressure was exercised by the employers against the workers.

The British employers are organized in powerful associations, and are linked together in the Federation of British Industries.

There were voices which arose in our movement pointing out the urgent need for the closest possible unity. If, they said, our unions are being beaten singly into the dust, the obvious thing for us to do is to join forces. Then it was that the demand arose for the concentration of Trade Union power in the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

From this it will be readily understood that a considerable number of organizational changes took place. While it cannot be said that the British Trade Union Movement was fully prepared for the General Strike, it was nevertheless undergoing a process of transformation towards that end. Con-

siderable additional powers were given the General Council by the Trade Unions arising from the Congress decisions of Hull in 1924 and Scarborough in 1925, and a conference of Trade Union executives held at the end of July, 1925. The local Trade Union bodies—Trades Councils—were drawn into closer relationship to the General Council. And as far as I am personally concerned, realizing as I did the terrific crisis towards which we were driving, I did everything that was in my power, through our Labor press and by speech, to prepare and to arouse our movement for the struggle.

We well knew that the struggle would resolve itself around the mining industry. Coal mining is the basic productive industry of Britain. It normally employs over a million workers. The tragic plight of the whole of British industry affected coal mining the most, the decrease in manufacture, the decrease in transport, meant, of course, that less coal was used for fuel purposes. Then the revolution in shipping resulting from the introduction of the Diesel engine, and the use of oil instead of coal for power purposes on ships, has had greater reactions on the British coal industry than on the coal industries of other countries. Then the intense progress of foreign competition has also affected this industry.

It must be borne in mind that Britain was the first country to become industrialized, and that coal-getting dates back for a far longer number of years there than elsewhere. Today we find the British coal industry in a very backward state. The methods of long ago are still, in many instances, in operation. Many of the coal mines have been well worked and the coal face is at long distances—in some cases, miles—from the pit shaft, and the miners have to walk and crawl those distances before they can begin work. These factors have to be also taken into consideration. But, a comparatively small percentage of the mines are operated with the latest, most up-to-date coal-getting machinery. Only the most radical re-organization of the mining industry, in regard to the ownership of the mines and their working, will put it upon a modern plane.

Consequent on all this the mining industry has been, during the past six years, in a condition of chronic crisis. Pits have closed down. The whole pop-

ulations of mining villages, in many instances, have been without employment. Part-time employment has been rife. Wages have been bad; conditions of work and life for the miners have been made very miserable indeed. The miners' life, hard, toilsome, difficult and dangerous as it is in the normal way into the grey woof of which the blood-red thread of Death from explosions and accidents is so frequently woven—has been made increasingly hard, toilsome and difficult.

Under conditions such as these, the mine owners came forward with a demand for further drastic reductions in wages—amounting for some sections of miners, in South Wales, for instance, to as much as one-third of what they were receiving prior to May 1st. The mine owners also demanded an increase in the working day; from seven hours to eight hours.

The whole British Trade Union Movement rallied behind the miners.

On Friday, April 30th, the Government subsidy to the coal industry ceased. It was understood that the coal owners' notices were to take immediate effect; which they did. The General Strike began on May 1st with the lock-out of over a million miners. On that same day the General Council announced its intention to call a General Strike to begin at midnight on Monday, May 3rd.

The General Council's proposals for this co-ordinated action of the unions contained a list of trades and undertakings to cease work as and when required. It included transport of all kinds, printing and the press, iron and steel, building, except on working-class housing, electricity and gas. Sanitary and health and food services were to be left alone. Directions were issued emphasizing the need for trade union discipline, and incitement to disorder was strongly deprecated. The actual calling out was left to the respective Trade Union executives. The issue was clearly defined: It was war.

Fellow workers, it is impossible to give you a word picture of what followed during the next eleven days. Every industry was at a standstill. Every city and town in the country was silent and still. The improvised machinery of the Government worked like a locomotive whose vital parts were tied together with pieces of string. There were no newspapers; even the "Times"

and the "Telegraph" had to content themselves with issuing little foolscap sheets of typewritten matter. The mighty power of Labor; of the Trade Union movement, was demonstrated as never before in all its history. The life—the vital force—had been subtracted from everything. Just realize that in a small, compact, highly industrialized country like Britain three and a half million of the workers in the essential industries had ceased from functioning. The times, as we all felt, were big with fate. It was as though some mysterious almighty force had swept over everything, and had brushed with the wings of Death the mines, mills, factories, workshops, dockyards, railway systems, leaving them inert and desolate. The workers massed together, they held great meetings and demonstrations. They organized, with remarkable ability, local machinery for the relief of distress, for picketing, for disciplining the troublesome elements and protecting the women and children from the hardships that all strikes entail. I tell you, the British workers were splendid. The present British Government is a reactionary Tory Government, and has been, all the time, the instrument of the mine owners. This Government endeavored to provoke disorder. The police were provocative. There was a great parade of armed force; steel-helmeted soldiers, with loaded rifles, marched up and down. Tanks, armoured cars, and all of the panoply of war were very much in evidence. It was certainly not the fault of the Government that a vast sea of blood was not shed on the streets of London and other towns. With quiet dignity the workers, themselves, maintained the peace.

Well, this General Strike lasted eleven days. Being the first of its kind it was very much of a great adventure. It possessed all the elements of a stupendous gamble. There were many organization weaknesses and many factors not taken into consideration. We did not secure by it what we intended to secure. As you know the conclusion of the General Strike was unsatisfactory, and the miners have continued with the struggle. I do not intend to go into that; there are many questions of a domestic character that we in Britain have to deal with in this connection. But this I will say—speaking with a full sense of my responsibility

to our movement—that the conditions which produced the General Strike in Britain still exist. Nobody with a spark of intelligence would desire a repetition of the terrible industrial warfare a General Strike involves. But we cannot escape from the stern and awful realities. The tremendous sweep of economic forces, the terrific clashing of class interests, cannot be avoided. We are compelled to make our plans upon the conscious realization of actualities. On either side in Britain today the two sides are preparing for the coming struggle. It would appear that General Strikes of a more intense and formidable character than the one recently experienced are inevitable.

The miners' struggle still continues. It has gone on and on for many weary months. The coal fields are desolate. The mining communities exist, from day to day, in a condition of semi-starvation. It is as though famine had descended upon the land. What miserable mortals we are, when we permit the deliberate creation of want and misery and hunger in order to resolve our quarrels. The miners are fighting to live; live hardily and desperately as they have done in the past.

You know that. I believe every worker in the world knows that now.

Indeed, what we have been undergoing in Britain has been the intimate concern of the workers of the whole world. East and west have been joined in this. There is many a miner's home in Durham or Fife or South Wales been made the happier by help that has been given by you workers here in America. There is many a miner's babe now living who would have been dead; many a weary miner's wife been restored to hope and health who would have been despairing and sick, but for the help sent from abroad. To the workers, to our people of all countries, this has been a world-struggle. Every country has forwarded its tribute. The workers of Russia have made deductions from their wages—held Flag days—developed mass voluntary assistance—evinced a kindness and generosity beyond conception. The same with you here in America. Right well have you carried out the recommendation of your President to "give till it hurts." But, in measure, that has been true of the workers of Holland, Germany, France, Belgium and other European

countries. From the down-trodden workers of India has come a little assistance. Even from the workers of China—ruthlessly exploited and poor as they are—with their country in the throes of military strife — help has come. The workers of the world have united, in a very real and practical sense, in defence of their British comrades. We British workers are deeply grateful for all this. We have long memories—we shall not forget.

It is such action as this which is doing so much to pave the way towards international Trade Union Unity. The workers of every country are feeling the need of each other, are developing a sense of mutual dependence, close comradeship and solidarity. We must do everything we possibly can to foster this spirit of international brotherhood and unity. For several years past I have been an ardent advocate of international Trade Union Unity. We must break down the barriers of race and creed, national prides and prejudices and really establish an international community of labor. I visualize a powerful world-wide Trade Union organization which will aggressively advance labor standards; which will prevent the horror of war, and which will be a tremendous instrument for the protection of the weak and down-trodden. Just now I mentioned China. I recollect reading, over a year ago, a letter which your President, Brother William Green, sent to President Coolidge, calling attention to the sad plight of the Chinese people. At the present time there is need for the whole of our international movement to use its utmost endeavors to prevent murderous aggression on the Chinese people. We must demand of the imperialist powers that they keep their hands off China. If we had a Trade Union International, such as I visualize, we would be able to guarantee that justice would be done to the patient and long suffering peoples of the East. I want to see the American Federation of Labor taking part once again in our international councils, just as I want to see the Trade Unions of Russia there also. The times demand a wide-visioned statesmanship from the leaders of our movements in all countries.

Fellow workers, it is impossible to convey, in a speech, no matter how long, all I should like to say. Ours

is a big movement, and no matter how dark the present may seem, the future, I am confident, holds for us a field of glorious achievement. We are groping our way towards finer things. The development of transport, the wonders of science, the airplane, the wireless system of communication, the vitaphone, bring us every day closer together. The world is becoming very small, indeed. We would be sadly lacking in intelligence if we cannot, with the heritage that progress has given us, make our Trade Union movement the means, the dynamic force, for creating a nobler humanity and ushering in a higher era of civilization.

Good luck and long life to the American Federation of Labor!

With the consent of your President, Brother Green, I am going to refer back just a moment to the present position as far as the miners of Great Britain are concerned. Brother Bromley and I have received a cablegram from the secretary of our British Trades Union Congress, Brother Walter Citrine, informing us of the attitude of the British government in relation to the present mining dispute. You know that the dispute has been on now close to six months, taking four weeks to a month. Our miners are certainly in a bad position—not so much from the standpoint of organization, but in a bad position financially to be able to offer the necessary resistance to this attack upon their standard.

I am sure that most of you have already made yourselves acquainted with the nature of the attempts of the employers to reduce the present already low standards of the miners. The demand has been made for an increase in the working hours, which the present government has legalized—a permissive eight-hour day working in the mines. When Brother Bromley and I were discussing with the late chairman of the Royal Commission that investigated the whole conditions of the mining industry in Great Britain, it not only gave us a picture of the British coal fields, but it gave us an X-Ray photograph all that was substance and all that was vapor in the matter.

We were discussing with him the question of the working hours. He said the hours of labor were already long enough, that the hours were not really seven hours a day, but seven and a half hours a day. The miners will be able to testify themselves that very fre-

quently it is eight hours and over from bank to bank. Some of the pits are so deep and the atmospheric conditions so bad that the miners are unable to work for more than four days a week; they have to have the necessary time off to build up substance and energy to carry on for the next week.

Their wages prior to May of this year, with the cost of living roughly 70 per cent higher than in 1914, were on the average 30 per cent above 1914. When the demand came for reducing these wages and standards, you can easily see the conditions which were responsible for organizing the resistance to that.

Our cablegram reads: "The British government are absolutely adamant on hours extension for the miners. Position is most serious. It is imperative that you should acquaint the American movement of this serious attack on British trades union standards. The General Council asks you to make the strongest possible appeal for financial support. The miners will be out for some weeks."

That is the story that we have to tell you this morning. We would be happier if we were able to tell you that the struggle was over or that we were able to immediately see ways and means of settling it. You have had a delegation over here headed by our comrade, Ben Tillet, with other members of the Miners' Federation, who have told you in detail what the general conditions have been and have made an appeal to you for financial support.

Our British trade union movement put in roughly three million pounds of wealth to the strike during those eleven days, and of course have contributed to the maximum of their capacity since, but you can easily understand that so far as the British trade union movement is concerned it has not had the chance to recover so as to be able to make the contribution in the measure they would have desired.

I know that you have troubles in this great country of yours. I have read the papers and have been in contact with your officers and have been informed of the disputes which you have here and of the appeals which will be made for help, and I feel somewhat unpleasant in having to appeal for greater assistance for our miners, their wives and families in this struggle in Great Britain, but I feel you will do all you possibly can in that direction.

The hazarding life of the miner is

known to all of us. During the period of the general strike there was no one to take the place of the miners. Whatever other jobs they took, none of them went down into the mines. We know that the safety of the mine is very largely determined by the physical and mental fitness of the individual that is working in the mine. If he has not the necessary money to purchase the necessary food to build himself up physically, if he has anguish and torment of mind that he is not able to feed his wife and family while continuing in the mine, then that attitude of mind is not conducive to the safety of work in the mine, any if there is anyone who ought to have a decent living it ought to be those people who delve into the bowels of the earth and extract this mineral that is the basis of the industry of the world.

I am sure that any appeal that I will make will be responded to with the maximum that you will be able to give. You have read in the papers that some of them have returned. They have returned, some of them have gone back to work, but there isn't a man that has gone back to work because he is against trades unionism, it is not that at all, it has been the very economic pressure, the starvation that has driven him back to work. Let that point be definitely understood by all and sundry. The miners are still loyal to their organization, when they have had six months on the street, unable to get food for their wives and children, and when you think of that you can understand the mentality of men who will go back to work under conditions of the character I have described.

Our trade union movement has had a hard time. It is coming through that time, not dull, not depressed, not down—we have our tails up and we are going to build up again and be able to resist any attack upon our organizations. We will be ready again. The conditions that compelled us to take the actions of the past are the conditions that will compel our former organization. We have engaged in a great experiment. Our responsibilities for the future are very heavy and very great; we must be careful, and not reckless in the use of the power and responsibility placed upon us; on the other hand, we must not be timid, we must face the realities as they present themselves to us in our every-day tasks.

I don't know that I want to say any more, only to say that no matter how dull it may appear at the moment, the general position and the outlook, I am

sure there is a glorious field of opportunity awaiting us, and before long we shall take a position on that field. We are being brought together nearer and nearer by our wireless, by our wonders of science, by all the agencies and means that are able to communicate from man to man across the oceans and continents, and we are beginning to understand each other better than ever before. I am sure that the world is getting much smaller, we are coming in contact with people we never saw previously. The same set of conditions existing in one country are relative to a set of conditions existing in another country. Our movement is the greatest in the world; it is free from control of the vested interests, it is prepared to represent the masses of the people the world over, in order that we may be able to usher in a brighter, a cleaner and a happier life.

We want our great educational movement to develop nationally and internationally. With our great organizations linked up and understanding each other, let us have our educational institutions that will give us the reasons why men and women in different parts of the world are going without food, improperly housed and improperly clad. That is not God-ordained, that men and women should go without the necessities of life. That is man-made law, and we must organize to remove that which is imposing handicaps upon our people today.

So far as our movement is concerned, we understand it better than those people outside. So far as your movement is concerned, you understand it better than those outside. We do not interfere with you, and we do not expect you to interfere with us; we bring you fraternal greetings and the hope that in the very near future our organizations will expand and extend and be able to embrace all the workers in the different parts of the world, so that nationally and internationally we may march side by side to the conquest of those things that are waiting for us when we have made up our minds, so that we will be able to remove permanently all preventable misery, all dissatisfaction and want, and to apply our brains and capacity to those things that will minister to our wants and requirements, and to leave the world cleaner than when we came in.

President Green: Now, after listening to this inspiring and instructive address I can, with every degree of assurance, tell you that we have another treat in store for you. I want to present to you the colleague of Brother

Hicks, the other fraternal delegate from Great Britain. Brother J. Bromley comes as a duly accredited fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. He is a distinguished member of Parliament, the General Secretary of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Like his colleague, Brother Hicks, he has been honored in other ways by being called by the members of organized labor in Great Britain to serve in responsible positions. Some of you know him, some of you have been acquainted with him, and most all of us know him, as we do Brother Hicks, by reputation and by reason of the service rendered his fellow workers in Great Britain.

I feel greatly honored this morning in being privileged to present to you Brother J. Bromley, fraternal delegate from Great Britain.

**ADDRESS BY MR. J. BROMLEY,
(Fraternal Delegate British Trades
Union Congress.)**

Mr. President and brothers all, representing the various sections of the American Federation of Labor: I want to supplement the greetings from our movement in Great Britain which Brother Hicks has already tendered to our comrades of the great trades union movement of America, and to assure you that our brotherly greetings are not mere empty words. If you knew the feeling of international solidarity desired amongst the trades unions of Great Britain, if you knew the admiration they have for the organization of their American brothers, you would realize that it is not merely a formality that we bring to you, but a deep, pulsating feeling of brotherhood and a desire that your progress may be ever continued in an upward direction.

Now my friend Hicks—and he is a very capable individual, I assure you—we should not have made him our chairman if he was not—has tried to get into the good graces of his colleagues of the building trades here by admiring your buildings. Well, I am sorry that the locomotive unions or brotherhoods of America are not here, that I could say a word with regard to their magnificent engines. So I am at once placed at a disadvantage, but I will put this to you: the members of my Comrade Hicks' union in Britain don't build quite as great structures, and I have told him before, Mr. President, when he has been assuring me of what good

fellows they are, I have said to him, "Yes, it will take all your people three months to build a decent dwelling house in England, and if one of my people should get in a temper one day and get off the track, they can knock it all down in three minutes." I think I have put "paid" to his flattery of the building trades, and I say I sincerely regret that the corresponding brotherhoods of my own unions in Britain are not a part of this great Federation. And I hope that by some future occasion when I, not as a delegate but for the pleasure of meeting friends that I have met on this occasion, again come to this country, I may know that those railway brotherhoods of which I speak have linked up with their comrades in the other trades and organizations of this great nation.

Now my friend Hicks has reported pretty fully on the question of our great national strike in Great Britain, but I fear, with his usual statesmanlike care, that he has hardly cared to exult to you of the result of that struggle. I want to ask you to bear with me and even sympathize, to some extent, if I do exult about that struggle, and I think you will accept the statement that my exultation is real when I tell you how it has affected some of our organizations which took part.

I want to say to you that in spite of reports to the contrary—and you know the press of all nations is largely owned by capitalistic interests and it tells always its story as it would desire the readers of the papers to see the facts; it does not, Mr. President, even by accident, ever tell the real truth of what happened even in its own country much less in any other. And so you may have had a view, in fact, I know you have had a view of our great national strike and its results rather colored against organized labor.

I want to say to you that it was one of the greatest victories that not only British trades unionism has ever won, but that trades unionism the world over has ever won. I agree with Hicks that it was not undiluted. You never set out on the first great adventure and bring all the prizes home. Would your movement, Mr. President, have been the tremendous force on this continent which it is had not some pioneers blazed the trail, had not some one, as it were, swallowed the first oyster of organized labor's attempt to free itself, if there had been no one who had taken the first plunge would you, sir, have been Presi-

dent of such a tremendous power of organized men and women, determined as you are today?

And so in the same category I put our first national strike. I will promise not to delay you to the extent of weariness, Mr. President, but I want to go back to victories prior to the actual stoppage. The economic position of our mine workers, which you have already heard from my colleague, were in existence in August of 1925. Employers found, as employers always do—and I warrant you have it in this country also—that the only possible way to make profit in industry is to reduce wages. They never thin out the dead heads, they never reduce the directors' fees, they are not anxious to cut down dividends, they are not particularly aggressive in reducing unnecessary managerial costs, because wages are always the simplest thing to get at and give the biggest immediate returns.

And so the mine owners found out again that great secret that wages would have to be reduced. Now, unfortunately, let us admit, that in any capitalist state where the necessities of life in national industries are run for profit and not for use, you do have positions arise which are called uneconomic. It is a horrible word, friends, to say to any man or woman, whatever their trade or calling, whether absolutely essential or luxuries, whether something that looms largely in the public eye or is out of sight from every-day appearance, it is hard and wrong to say to them that although you give of your brain, of your muscle, of your sinew, of your strength and of your intelligence, we cannot make sufficient profit out of the product of your labor, and so it being uneconomic, your wives and your families cannot be regaled with even the moderate necessities of life. That is why I hate the word in industrial remuneration relations of "uneconomic." However, until we have our great industries in our country owned and controlled by the people and for the people, and not for profit, we are unfortunately faced with such issues.

In August, 1925, the miners were faced with that issue. Their wages were to be reduced, they were to be cut down in this direction and the other direction, and had it not been for the feeling of solidarity and sympathy of our trade union movement in Great Britain, they would have gone down unwept, unhonored and unsung, as it were, because the government—I have something to do with it, at least in facing it across the floor

of our legislative chamber, and I don't like its appearance, I doubt its honesty and I certainly am not uplifted by its actions as far as the working people of our country are concerned. I know you will bear with me speaking of our political situation because in our country it is so woven and inter-knit with our trade union movement. I am not a politician in the ordinary accepted sense of the word, I am a trade unionist sent to Parliament by our fellows to keep my eye on the thieves that are governing our country in the interests of the employers. All governments in every country where the workers have not complete control are the representatives of the great financial and banking and employing interests. Therefore, our government would not have moved a hand to save the miners, because you see, friends, they were only miners, and the workers are so many that if one man won't do a job there is another fellow generally that will, except, as you know, that where the consciousness of that has impregnated the beings of our men and they have organized, as you and we have done in trade unionism, and say, "No, I might want a job but it is this fellow's, and if he leaves it I have no time for it. I am too busy doing nothing."

But for that in August, 1925, all our friends of the mining industry would have gone down without having the machinery which we would like to have and which we shall have in the future, because we have learned lessons arising out of our strike. It has not doped us, and believe me, it has certainly not cowed us or frightened us, it has only shown us where to strengthen our armor, where to strengthen our organization to fight better next time.

But without all that our movement came to the assistance of the miners, and here is where we railway organizations came into the front rank. We are proud to be in the front rank; it gets the hardest blows sometimes, but I say to our railway organizations in this country, if they fear to be in the front rank let me say to them, while there may be blows coming there early and hard there is always honor there, and their wounds are always in front who bear the brunt of the day.

And so we said, you have beaten and starved these people in the past by working on the coal already raised, and if you don't at least give these people some semblance of a fair deal, then not one ounce of coal at present above ground

will be moved anywhere on any railway, on any dock, into any vessel or out of any vessel.

That brought even our powerful government—and when I say that I want it understood that I mean in numbers, not in intelligence—thought brought them all standing, and immediately a Royal Commission was appointed. The miners went on with their work with a subsidy which panned out to the extent of 23,000,000 pounds, rather than face the issue with organized labor.

I tell you that, Mr. President and friends, not in a boastful spirit or a spirit of braggadocio at all, but to prove to you that there have been victories which you possibly have not heard of in connection with the mining trouble in Great Britain.

And so we come along to the event which my friend Hicks has portrayed and given you pretty accurate knowledge with regard to. I wish it were possible that some of our brothers and sisters here might have seen our great metropolis, London. It would have made you proud to belong, in whatever capacity, to the great organized trade union movement. That battle was not a constitutional issue. The government tried to make it one because they wanted to loose on us their dogs of war. It was a calm, dignified, forceful, sympathetic stand by the workers on behalf of comrades who were suffering. We drew no guns, we uplifted no paving stones, but man and woman throughout Great Britain said, "Get on with it, we will stand."

If you could have seen London with no trains, no busses, no trams, no taxicabs, everything standing, it would have proved what some people in our country doubted previously—the power of organized labor when it is used absolutely, effectively and entirely. Of course you would hear of our few "Johnnies" who drove a bus or two about, plus fours and Oxford bags and monocles—yes, they came out and haw-hawed a bit. They were exceedingly proud of themselves, they lolled back on the bus, but mark you, instead of one driver there were two or three of them and a policeman to boot, to see that nobody stole their cigarettes, and the flappers on the pavement looked with admiration on those gallant fellows that actually drove a great bus about London. There they were—Lord This and the Duke of God-Knows-Where, yes, even the scions of nobility actually worked in Great

Britain during that trouble.

Two noble lords, colleagues of mine in the House of Commons, made a savage onslaught on the railways. They were both located at one station near the House of Commons, so that their friends going to make the laws could see these gallant chaps, and what do you suppose they were doing? One chap was snipping tickets and the other brushing up the platforms. None of them were driving engines. You see, they could hardly have expected it, they would have got so bally dirty at the job!

While you were reading of these busses being driven, my friends, just put yourself into a relative understanding of what effect it had. They brought a few typists and a few clerks into offices in London to industries and factories and works that were standing idle. They ran a few people who wanted to go from one street to another, but for every bus that ran you could picture the port of Liverpool standing; for the next bus, industrial Manchester with folded arms; for the next bus, Newcastle-on-Tyne taking a holiday; and so forth. They had not the slightest effect, friends on the great strike in Great Britain.

We won its victories, too, in its end, as Hicks has recorded to you. We have some questions to ask within our own movement. It is neither our desire nor our duty to worry you with details of that description or to forestall our own examination of the problem, but when it was over I say to you we had won a tremendous victory, even economically, even in material facts, but for the fact that owing to the turmoil of the first great adventure every one may not have seen, eye to eye, sufficiently quickly to take advantage of it, but we have won victories of satisfaction of our power.

My own, like other organizations, were in the front rank, because to stop train service was one of our first effective desires. And my own organization—coming down if you will forgive me, to the individual for a moment—of something over 62,000 people in Great Britain, not two hundred went to work during the whole period of the dispute. Three-fourths of that number were men who had got into some little advisory position. We did not scruple at rules or funds. We spent our money; fund after fund went down; we spent until we came to the last few shillings in the coffers. We officers went without our wages, and we are suffering per-

centage reductions now to rebuild. We spent all, and yet we are proud and pleased and delighted, because we shall build again, we shall come again and be prepared, ready for the next struggle.

Now that is only one. There are scores of unions in Great Britain in the same position—not grieving, not sitting weeping over their losses, but with shoulders squared and heads erect, proud that we took our part in an exhibition of the coming power of organized labor in our country, only to be enthused, to rise like Phoenix from our ashes, to be prepared for the next great adventure, with greater vim and greater energy.

I think possibly the figure my friend gave of 3,000,000 pounds would refer to the direct expenditure in benefits and expenses during that strike. I think it might be enlarged in costs since to 5,000,000 pounds. That, I think, is roughly \$20,000,000. Well, it has been money well spent, because it has proved to our people that without what so many people so foolishly advocate, without revolution of blood, without trying to face poison gas, etc., in wrestling in one day or week from capitalism its power, without that the folded arm is the finest weapon we can have.

There is one incident I would like to tell you of, when this government, in a panic, desiring to crush us, made a great parade of bringing some foodstuffs out of the London docks. The amusing part of it was that we had not stopped the foodstuffs; we had offered to help them distribute foodstuffs. And so they made a gesture, to satisfy the old colonels, the government army officers who have eaten all they have killed in the past—yes, I am talking about the people miles behind the battle line, those gallant old heroes who say, "Ah, if I only had my battalion here now," who would fight to the last drop of everybody's blood but their own. These people and dear old maiden ladies of the noble families who were living on railway dividends or coal mine dividends, living in peaceful, happy little country houses, when strikes came on in the past would say, "Oh, those terrible people, my word, out on strike again! Why doesn't the work of the world go on? But we will soon beat them." They read in the paper how blacklegs are working—scabs, I think you call them, but we call them blacklegs because of the fact that no blood goes to the brain, there is none there, it thickens in the leg and stays there. In other words, we sometimes call

them the fifth day creation. Those who are not deeply religious might look, and you will find that on the fifth day the Lord made all creeping and crawling things.

And so, when these people, during this strike came down to breakfast about ten o'clock or half past, they asked the maid or man servant for the paper, and the answer would come, "there is no paper this morning, my Lord." "What, what? Then the other one." "There is no other one." Then they said, "Oh, what is happening? We don't know, we can't hear." All these people were so terribly frightened and the government wanted to make a gesture, so to bring out a few barrels or loads of foodstuffs from the docks, which we would have moved with very great pleasure because we did not want to starve our own people—not professing that we were so solicitous about the other crowd—they brought soldiers with fixed bayonets, cartridge belts, tin hats, machine guns and lorries. And you know, Mr. President, that our dock crowds are not all graduates from college. I don't know what they are in the States, but on our side they usually settle an argument with—I will pass it an leave it at that. But we sent word to these people and we said: "There is likely to be some clash, they are trying to aggravate you; just stand back a mile from the docks." Just imagine the ridiculousness of our tip-top Napoleon, Mr. Churchill! When all of his military men marched out there was nobody about, there was no riot. The few people that were walking up and down the sidewalk simply looked at the troops and smiled, and the troops did not love their job. They were only made ridiculous by the representatives at Westminster of the employers.

Now, brothers, that ended for the time being the first national strike of Great Britain. As I have said to you, we have gathered strength and determination from it. The victory is far more real than apparent, and I want you to understand that some of the stories that have been played about the world are untrue. For instance, I have been asked since I came to Detroit if it was a fact that the railway organizations signed some humiliating settlement. Possibly, sir, you will pardon me for coming down to the individual on purpose to kill an untruth—nothing of the sort! When the national

strike was over, we, like other unions, ordered our men back to work and they went, and immediately they were faced with the acceptance of a humiliating document, saying they would never do it again. We called them down, and every man stood down again solid for another two days whilst the railway companies spirited this document away and it went out of sight. And then they endeavored to let our week's wages wait, which they could do under common law—about 1,300,000 pound—and we said: "No, you must not do that. If you do we shall simply sit like this for another day or two while you are considering it." And we had the money, and in response we said, "Now, when we strike again we will tell you about it beforehand. It won't make the slightest difference as to how many of us will strike, but at least we will give you warning. We may have some kind of negotiations, but we will reserve to ourselves the right." No humiliation in that.

And what is more, when we went back and there wasn't sufficient freight traffic running or minerals to keep our people employed, the railway companies gave all of them that would take it a week's holiday, with pay, so as to ease the trouble with the organized railway men who had struck them without having any individual falling out with them.

I tell you that, Mr. President, because I know how stories are published, fabrications are built up to try to make timorous organized labor in other countries as to disasters which follow.

There is another channel through which you have had some misconception as to our position. We are bothered a little with our Communist friends in Great Britain, and always it is us who have done wrong. They are not bad boys at all. We get on with them quite well and we want to keep them in the movement, but they take a tremendous delight in hammering us. If there is any one worse in our movement than myself, it is Hicks, and there is no one worse than Hicks except me. But I will tell you how we treat them. We say, "Yes, you are good lads, you are very earnest about it; you want to make a new world in five minutes; you think it is very easy, but it is not." They call us everything but by our first name.

We treat them like the prize fighter

did his wife, and that story is this: a late champion of the prize ring left the ring, settled down and got married. Shortly after a friend of his met him and he said, "Bill, is that right, the wife knocks you about?" Bill said, "Yes." "No," the friend said, "not an old fighter like you?" And Bill said, "Yes." And the friend said, "You, an old champion of the prize ring, allowing a woman to knock you about." And Bill said, "Aye." And the friend said, "Man alive, how do you account for it?" And Bill answered, "Well, it pleases the old woman, and it don't hurt me."

And so, Mr. President and friends, our good Communist friends and minority movement friends in Britain are ever so much better and kinder than you believe. They give us a little trouble, but as I said, it pleases them and we go on just exactly the same.

Of course you will hear from that side what terrible people we are. It is not so, and I will tell you in conclusion another thing that our great dispute has done. There were many who said the workers of our country were waiting for a lead, a wise lead, not over a precipice, not to throw every power away on nothing. The event proved that they were. We have said that if we could only prove such an event that politically their consciences also would be aroused; and that is true, and you know in our country we haven't two distinct movements, although we have two wings of one. The trade unionists finance and run their own members as members of Parliament. We realize that with all our industrial struggles, just as we have got the dollars, as you say, from this table to that, the government of capitalists can pass a law and sweep them all into their hat just the same, and of course we object to it.

Already we poll more Labor and Socialist votes in a general Parliament election than we have organized workers affiliated to our Trades Union Congress. Of the two great parties in our country, organized labor has smashed one of them. What we say about our great Liberal Party, we say that last election their party came to the Parliament House in a charabanc, and after next election we hope they will be able to bring him in a wheelbarrow.

And I want to say this, that possibly not within the next year, but within the next two or three years, when your delegates from this Federation of Labor come to our conference they will be the guests of the ruling power of Great Britain. I

don't think there is much doubt about that. I never prophesy unless I am pretty sure of my ground, Mr. Chairman, and I think that is pretty safe ground.

You know that so is our trade union movement organized, so conscious is it, so educated to the necessity of control of not only industry, but politics, that I think I can safely say there are a hundred places in Britain today where, whenever the next election comes, or if it comes next week, our ordinary labor candidates—bricklayers, carpenters, miners, clerks, railway men, could sit at home and never go near their division and let the other people, with all their motor cars and their yaw-yawing ideas preach to them about their election, and they would never stand any chance of returning anything but the labor men. That is why I made the prophesy which may appear to be rather alarming, but if you want to do honor to any one, especially after our next election, select them to come and they will be the guests of the ruling class of our country, I am sure. But whenever they come, whatever delegates you send, I only hope that we shall be able to repay, through them to your great movement, in some measure that great bond of brotherhood and sisterhood, I may say, because of the way the ladies have treated our wives, that you have so ably exhibited.

I see the ladies are here, and I will just tell you why I digress for a moment. Hicks is a big fellow and a good fellow. I want to spare his blushes, because I say different things about him in arguments at home, but he is always timid in entering a new country. And he said to me, "Jack, I don't know what those people of the States are like. I think I will take my wife to look after me." And I said, "You are right." My wife heard of it and she said, "I am coming." For about a month I read up all the accounts of storms on the Atlantic and ice bergs—yes, I knew the ladies would enjoy this, but I am prepared to confess to the ladies that I have had twenty-five years of it, it seems a lot longer, but that is all it is, I have had the honor of being second in command to one of your sex all that time. When I had exhausted all my vocabulary the wife said, "I am coming." She is here."

And finally, seriously, comrades, from the bottom of our beings and from the great heart of our great movement of Britain, of which we are so proud and of which I am afraid we are rather humble

representatives, we again bring to you the greetings, the good wishes, the heart-felt desires for progress in every direction you desire to go. We hope to continue this great bond of brotherhood, linking up ever stronger and more strongly the workers of the world, until those who have created the beauty, the wonder, the science, the advance of mankind, those who today are called common or humble workers, may take the place of the idlers, the parasites who have sucked the blood of national and human progress for years, when you and we the world over may say, we who have built the world, who have beautified the world and made the world happy, shall rule and own the world, as we believe that Providence ordained that we should.

President Green: I am sure we will all remember for the balance of our natural lives the very entertaining, instructive and profound address which was just delivered by Fraternal Delegate Bromley.

In conformity with the precedent established years ago between the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain and the American Federation of Labor, by which fraternal delegates were exchanged, there has grown up a custom between the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor of having fraternal delegates at the respective conventions of the organizations in each country when circumstances and conditions would permit. In line with that custom we have the fraternal delegates from Mexico at our convention this morning. There are three present, but one of them will assume to speak for all and will extend to us the fraternal greetings of the working people of Mexico.

Our supreme and only concern in the working people of our sister republic has been to assist them in improving their economic and industrial conditions. We have ever recognized the indistinct line existing between the Republic of Mexico and the United States. As we claim the right to deal with our own domestic affairs here and pass upon them as American citizens and as trades unionists, as we claim the full and free exercise of that citizenship right, so we gladly extend to all other citizens in every other country the recognition of that same right. We want to be helpful to the humble workers in Mexico and throughout the

world in raising their standards of life and living, in making it possible for them to earn wages and to work under conditions of employment that will fit them for citizenship, for fathers, for sons, and for brothers and sisters.

That is our supreme concern; that is our only concern. We may look with approval or disapproval upon the disposition of political and domestic questions over which we have no control. That is a matter of opinion and judgment, but there is between the working people of the world a common interest in the mobilization of their economic strength, so that we can unitedly stand against those forces of greed and avarice that would sink the working people of all nations to the depths of despair. It is against that we protest, it is in the assistance of the workers that we offer our help.

I now take the great pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Ricardo Trevino, the secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor and a duly credited fraternal delegate from that body to our convention.

ADDRESS BY RICARDO TREVINO, (Fraternal Delegate Mexican Federation of Labor).

Mr. President and brother delegates, I profoundly wish I could speak your own language so that I could express my sentiments direct to you, but that not being the case, we will do the best we can, so that you will understand what I am going to say to you. It gives me great pleasure to again be with you in a convention of your organization and to convey to you and to the working people of the United States our own personal feelings of brotherhood and the fraternal greetings of the working people of Mexico.

International solidarity is the principle upon which all the labor movements of the world are based, but we do realize that between the working people of Mexico and the United States the bonds of solidarity must grow stronger and stronger as time passes. It is an indisputable fact that we in Mexico, as you in the United States, are both under the influence and the exploitation of the same capitalist forces, because in Mexico, as well as in the United States, they employ the same methods in their attacks and their campaigns against the organized labor movement, and in not a few cases the same men

direct this campaign.

We could point to a number of trusts and corporations who exploit the same industries in Mexico that they do in the United States. We could point to numerous cases where, if an industry in one country is affected by a strike, the corporation so affected has been able to offer more resistance to the demands of labor by the simple expedient of intensifying its production in plants owned by the same companies in other countries.

I am going to cite one case to prove my assertion. In 1921 the coal miners of the State of Coahuila in Mexico, went on strike against the American Smelting and Refining Company. This company uses the coal mines in Coahuila for the coke that is used in all of its foundries in Mexico, and the strikers found it very hard to secure the conditions that they were looking for because of the fact that the smelting company imported coke from the United States to run its foundries in Mexico. And this same company and others who are engaged in industry in Mexico follow the same methods in cases of strikes in the United States, they supply their needs from Mexico.

Therefore, I believe, brothers, that the labor movements of our two countries must not permit themselves to be used, one against the other, by the forces of capital. We believe that we must stand together in the defense of the interests of the workers, which are all common to us. Notwithstanding all of the efforts made by our enemies to separate us, we have numerous proofs of solidarity between the working people of Mexico and the working people of the United States, because we believe sincerely in the principle of solidarity. In Mexico we have always sought to the limit of our possibilities to practice that principle. For instance, in the case of consumption of goods not manufactured in Mexico, we are always making efforts that if they are brought from the United States they be brought from those factories where the workers are affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

And furthermore, in all financial transactions between Mexico and the United States, that is, in official transactions, we have always endeavored that Mexico transact its business through the labor banks owned or controlled by unions af-

filiated to the American Federation of Labor. Not long ago, when the employers of the United States launched their so-called open shop campaign, and all along also in the campaign for injunctions against strikes, you may be interested to know that at the same times we had the same fight in Mexico for the open shop and for injunctions in case of strikes. The one thing that was done to make a difference was to change the name. In Mexico they don't call it an open shop, they call it a fight for freedom, thus trampling the name of liberty, and in the case of the injunction the same procedure was followed, they chose a name which seems to be really, a defense of the right to work.

But we need not fear, because in this struggle trades unionism will forge ahead, for the simple reason that we are not for anything that is against justice or civilization. We must not forget, brothers, that in this so-called open shop campaign of the employers, in whichever of the two countries it should be successful it necessarily will affect the other country also. And what could we say about a number of other countries than America if this campaign should be successful here, what could we say of those countries where, through lack of organization of the workers, they are an easy prey for the unscrupulous industrial corporations who are exploiting the workers of these countries?

This consideration brings to my mind vividly the greatness of the vision and the efforts of that great man whose memory is very dear to the workers of all the world and whose work is being so ably continued by President Green. I refer to the man who lives in our hearts—Samuel Gompers, the man whose militant spirit is a stimulant and an encouragement to the workers of all the American continent, and who succeeded in creating among the workers of Mexico undying sentiments of fraternity for the American Federation of Labor.

Fortunately, we of the organized labor movement in Mexico have achieved two very important things as against the campaign to which I was referring a while ago. I refer to the recent achievement of the eight-hour day and the seven hours for night work, and safeguards thrown about the women and minors employed in industry. Eight hours is the limit of the work day in Mexico, and whenever any employer wants to exceed that limit the State has the duty to enforce the provisions of the law regarding the eight-hour day.

Now as to the right to strike, we have succeeded in establishing in Mexico by law the right to strike, and in the case of a strike, if the employer attempts to introduce strike breakers the State has the duty not to permit him to use the strike breakers, providing the strike was declared by a majority of the workers in that factory. Something more yet—in the case of a strike, if the award is against the employer he is compelled to pay to the workers full time for the days lost during the strike. Now this latter provision is not yet a law. That is achieved only through the strength of the organization, but in parliament there has been introduced a bill intending to make it a constitutional provision.

This principle that when a strike is originated by a just demand of the workers and the employer refuses to come to an agreement, the principle that he is liable for damages to the strikers has been accepted as a precedent by the Supreme Court of Justice of Mexico.

We believe that in speaking for these conditions of the workers in Mexico it is fair to declare that the government of Ex-President Obregon had quite a part in their achievement, and the same applies to the present government of President Calles.

It is natural that because of these articles of the Mexican Federation of Labor and the way it is working in harmony with the present government, it has caused that minority to which President Green so ably referred a while ago to launch accusations and charges against the present government. If I call your attention to this now it is because we want to fraternally make the request that you make all necessary investigation, so that you will not be taken by surprise. In Mexico, on the other hand, we must also be prepared against charges made in our own country against the American Federation of Labor by those same elements.

At the sixth convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor held about two years ago, there was a resolution adopted that the Mexican Federation of Labor has the duty to prevent any attacks being made against the American Federation of Labor in our own country. The cause of freedom and human progress requires that there be no misunderstanding between our respective labor movements and between our respective peoples. We believe that we are standing in defense of freedom and justice for our people who have suffered so much in the past, and we dedicate all our efforts to the

achievement of that freedom and the conservation of the national dignity and the welfare of our people.

Now, brothers, the path of truth is not always smooth between Mexico City and Washington, and it is because of that that we have invited President Green and the members of the Executive Council to visit Mexico, so that they may have the opportunity to study the economic and social conditions in our country, and that that study may be made with that spirit of brotherhood, mutual respect and solidarity which are the cardinal principles of the organized labor movement.

In conclusion, I again wish to convey to you the sincere fraternal greetings of the working people of my country, and also—I am going to use the literal word—the embrace of solidarity which I wish now to be the means of bringing from the working people of Mexico to the workers of the United States.

President Green: I am sure we deeply appreciate the fraternal greetings extended to us by the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor. Inasmuch as we are approaching very rapidly the hour of adjournment, I will not impose upon you by engaging in any extensive remarks at this time.

Some of you know our friend from Canada, the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. It was my good pleasure and very great privilege to become acquainted with him and to meet him on a recent visit to Montreal. He is a bona fide trade unionist, a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. He has been selected by the delegates attending the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to visit us and to extend fraternal greetings.

I present with very great pleasure Fraternal Delegate Richard Lynch, representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

ADDRESS BY RICHARD LYNCH (Fraternal Delegate Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.)

Mr. Chairman, visitors and fellow workers: I am here in the capacity of a delegate from the broad Dominion of Canada, next door to the United States, which is just a yard and a half away, to convey to you delegates of the convention of the American Federation of Labor the fraternal greetings from that broad Dominion of the organized workers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the

in doing so I trust that you will take these greetings not only to yourselves, but to the homes that you will visit after the termination of this convention.

It has been said that I am a carpenter. I am a carpenter, first, last and always, and I am not one of those fellows who will allow the other fellow to interfere with him if I can possibly help it.

This is the proudest pinnacle of my life, Mr. Chairman, to be here representing a nation of workers at the great United States labor parliament, your convention, and in that capacity I desire to express the sentiments that have been expressed on several occasions on the other side of the line. It is a line that reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific; it is only three thousand miles long, and there isn't a soldier or a policeman guarding it.

The population of your great country, I am led to believe, is close upon one hundred and twenty millions. We people on the north of the boundary, with the extent of territory that I have stated, have only a little over nine millions. You here are able to organize, to run a driving campaign and be successful in it, but I regret to say that such a state of affairs does not prevail north of the border.

I never was a beggar in my life, I had always a copper coin in my sky-rocket, but I do desire to say on this occasion that I hope at some future date, very soon, I hope, through the instrumentality of the remarks I am just making, that you will usher into our midst some of the live wires that are around you and dump them in there, Mr. Chairman, and make us a live people. We desire it, we require it, and we expect it.

I have listened with pride to the remarks of these two "birds" from the other side—one a bricklayer, the other an engine driver. They didn't know, when they commenced their orations this morning, that there was a jailbird in their midst. If they knew that I would not have been the rose between two thorns that I have been all the morning. I know of Kilmaghan jail in Dublin; I have been in it. I know of Strangeways jail in Manchester; I was in it. I know the West Mount jail outside of Montreal; I was in it, too, Mr. Chairman, and with all these peculiarities attached to me I think I am a good "bird." The only unfortunate part of it is, Mr. Chairman, that I am an old

"bird" and tough picking.

I am pleased and delighted to be in your midst; I shall never forget it. I would like to continue, Mr. Chairman, along the broad lines of some information as to what has transpired in that great Dominion called Canada. You speak of peaceful picketing, you speak of the injunction. Well, we have those bitter fights up our road.

We desire a little assistance, Mr. Chairman, in the line of a campaign of organization. Our population, as I have stated, is very low, and the government of Canada wants to increase it by lowering the bars of immigration and allowing the jailbirds that have been let loose, all the riff-raff and rag-tag of the lower elements to come in and take the places of those who now have no work and cannot be fed during the winter months. They are charitable to others, but they forget the home "birds."

You can give us assistance directly, as I have stated. We desire it, we require it and we would be very thankful if something lively would be done by you, Mr. Chairman, and your Executive Council, and I know that your face is good enough and honest enough, and with smile enough for me to say that you will do it and do it pretty soon.

We have, as I have stated, the picket and the injunction. The injunction that is levied in the city of Montreal, the metropolis of Canada, is taken out for four dollars, and the individual that breaks the injunction goes to jail without option of paying a fine. It is so manipulated that it is an utter impossibility, once you are within the hand of the law, to get extricated—you have to "do time." You can't even congregate together in two's. If three congregate it is a law-breaking job, and you have got to come across in the van or walk the streets to go to the "coop," and once in the "coop" you have a job to get out. You have no friends and nothing in your sky rocket yourself.

The conditions that prevail in our country are very demoralizing. We have everything in the building line that is able to creep or crawl or climb a ladder. His wages reach from 28 cents an hour to 35 cents. If he can live or exist on that, well, I am at a loss to know why the birds of passage don't stay in Canada all their time during the winter months.

The conscience of our capitalist that

our brother referred to here during his oration is very elastic. It can either be a half inch or a mile and a half. It puts me in mind of the woman in Ireland who went into a grocery store and wanted some tape, and the woman of the store was washing the baby and could not leave to serve the other lady. "Mrs. Brown, what do you want?" "I want some tape, and I only want two-penny worth. How much shall I take? Don't disturb yourself." "Take as much as your conscience will allow." And she took forty yards.

That is the feeling of the big boss on the big jobs, both in this country and Canada. If we could subdue these fellows and bring them within the lines of rational reasoning we might be able to live, but when a man has the conscience to offer another man, both born of a woman, no distinction of flesh, when he has the conscience to offer him 28, 30 and 32 1-2 cents an hour, Mr. Chairman, what kind of a "duck" is he?

It has been stated that we need education and need it very much. I have always said and will always adhere to that statement, that any nation's greatness depends upon the education of her children. If that condition prevailed we would have no comrades of conscience, we would all be eating off the same table, eating the same products of the land, and everybody would be driving his own limousine. Unfortunately, such is not the case.

You men are the rulers of the land, you are the masses, not the classes; you are in the majority, but you forget how to rule. You let the other fellow get into your midst and he imposes on your generosity, and when the last ballot is cast and he is elected, he knows you no more until the next four years comes around.

We are suffering, Mr. Chairman, from the same disease in Canada. We have no doctors of eminence that will come in and cure the disease. It still prevails, and I trust that William Green, President of the labor government of the United States of America, will be the first eminent physician to come into our midst and heal that disease.

I do not wish to impose upon your generosity any longer, but I wish to again convey to you the hearty fraternal greetings of the organized men and women of Canada, and trust that you will have a pleasant convention,

a safe journey home, and that you will all continue to do in the future as you have in the past—the best for home and family.

With those few words, Mr. Chairman, I beg to thank you for your kindness during my stay here and for the kindness extended to me by the boys wherever I have met them. There is always a smile on their faces, and that naturally makes me happy and I have to smile, too.

President Green: Fellow delegates, because the hour of adjournment has arrived I am reluctant indeed to transgress upon your time and patience while I make an appropriate reply to the addresses of the fraternal delegates. The requirements of this position, however, and of precedent and custom, seem to call for some appropriate remarks just now from the presiding officer of the convention.

I shall endeavor to be brief, setting forth in simple language as quickly as I can the sincere appreciation of the eloquent, illuminating and instructive addresses delivered by the fraternal delegates this morning. It is not my purpose to refer specifically to many of the interesting things which these delegates said to us in their splendid addresses.

We reciprocate with feelings of fraternity, brotherhood and profound respect all the sentiments to which they gave utterance. We ask them to take back to their colleagues, those whom they have the honor to represent, the fraternal greetings of the American workers, the assurance of our deep interest in their common welfare, and the sincere promise that the great American labor movement will give to them our sympathy and our support in carrying forward their work of advancement and of common accord.

We watched with profound interest the great venture of our fellow workers in Great Britain. We were deeply interested in that great experiment. We viewed with admiration that great demonstration of solidarity, and I might say that in my judgment there is no other nation in the world, no group of people that could have made such a demonstration as our colleagues in Great Britain. They had behind them the traditions of the past, they had an organization that had been developed through years and years of experience and sacrifice. It was an organization that had been benefited by training and by experience, ably led and ably officered, with a constituency

possessed of a courage that knew no limits nor boundary lines. And so with all of that setting we had reason to expect a great demonstration of solidarity on the part of our fellow workers across the sea.

We realize, of course, that the trades union movement in each country must be governed by circumstances and conditions prevailing within their own respective jurisdictions. They know what is best for them. They are democratically controlled and democratically managed, for after all the supreme authority of our labor movements rests eternally within the power and the conscience of the minds of the rank and file who make them up.

And so we say to our British brethren that what you think is best for you, you may inaugurate and put into effect. We have confidence in your judgment, in your intelligence and in your experience, and for that reason we watched, as I have said, with very great and ever-increasing interest the experiment that was made. There is a wide difference between the national, political and economic conditions prevailing in that great country and in ours. There they have a people that speak one language, they have a people that have a history, they are concentrated in a small territory, the lines of transportation and communication are responsive and accessible. They are differently constituted and differently situated than we are here in America. It is an old world with a history made up of peoples who have gone through centuries of experience.

Here we are a new world, a melting pot; we have racial differences here, we have people here who speak different languages and different tongues, and we are endeavoring to blend them all into a magnificent, strong, indestructible economic organization, so that our work is of a constructive character. We haven't the traditions and the experiences behind us that you have had. Our whole future for many years to come must be occupied with organization and education among the peoples who live in our cities, our towns and upon our prairie lands. Our work is to go forward, doing the work that you have already done, organizing them into our movement, bringing them in and educating them to our philosophy and our views.

Again, we are committed here irrevocably to the principles of collective bargaining in trade agreements. We are seeking to advance the economic interests of our workers by collectively bar-

gaining for the exchange of the service we have for the highest and best wages that we can obtain. We are engaged in shortening the hours of labor, in raising the standards of life and of living, in creating an atmosphere favorable to the organized labor movement, and as we believe in collective bargaining, in the making of wage agreements so we here in America are religiously committed to the observance of any contract we make anywhere or any place.

That is the policy of our movement. It originated here in our hearts and minds, and we think it is best for us, and I am sure that as the workers over the sea claim for themselves the exercise of the right to shape their policies and put them into effect and to carry them forward, so we here in America will be granted, I know, the full exercise of that right to draft and shape those policies which bring to us the largest and best returns.

But, my friends, we here have in our hearts and minds the spirit of co-operation and helpfulness. We want to help the people throughout the world, the working people everywhere, we want to give service as we may and as we can, and for that reason our hearts, the most tender sentiments of the working people of this country were touched when the appeal from the miners of Great Britain came to us for sympathy and support. And in response to that appeal the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor drafted two appeals to the workers of our land to send their contributions to the striking British miners, so that their women and their children might carry on.

I realized that because of the economic conflicts in which we are engaged here, because of the heavy demands made upon us financially and economically, we could not respond to that appeal in that large measure that we looked for and hoped for, but after all, it is not in the total amount that is given, it is the spirit in which it is given and it is the sentiment that is behind it, and I can truthfully say that every dollar sent from America to aid the striking miners of Great Britain carried with it the sentiment and the hope for success of every working man and every working woman in America.

I know something of the struggles of the miners. My life has been lived with them. I learned my trade unionism with them. Their lives are lived

in the mines, associating with dangers, seen and unseen, and they develop that rugged character, they develop courage, and in their isolated way of serving society they think profoundly. Among them there are constantly stirring those feelings of intelligent discontent, and you cannot and never will crush and defeat the spirit of the coal miners anywhere in the world.

So, my friends, we have looked with admiration upon the splendid fight your fellow trade unionists are making across the sea—aye, we have heard the cry of the women and the children. They have touched our hearts, they have touched our most tender sentiments, and we hope they will win, but whether they win immediately or not the victory will come, because they know no defeat, that word is not in their vocabulary, and as my friends have said, if there comes a temporary setback, if there comes a realignment of their forces, if there comes a rebuilding process, it will be in the interests of the workers, and the time will come when the victory that may not now come to them will be with them and will remain permanently and forever.

In the opposition that we extend to those who would exploit us, there can be no difference, no lines of distinction. Those who continuously seek to exploit the workers in every land are truly brothers beneath the skin. It makes no difference what may be the nationality or color of the man who gives honest and faithful service, it makes no difference whether he lives here or across the imaginary line in Canada or in the Republic of Mexico, or in the nations of Europe, there are those who will exploit him if they can, and so it devolves upon the labor movement, solidly united, completely and closely related, to stand as the protecting force to the workers of the world against exploitation and degradation.

We want to enter heartily into common accord and understanding with all the other trade union movements throughout the world. We should like to respond to the splendid suggestion made by our friend Hicks that that great new country in Russia should be included in our category, but I know I speak the sentiments of the great majority of the working people of our country when I say that at the moment there stands an impregnable barrier between the working people or the

government of that country and the American Federation of Labor. We are in sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of the working people of that country, but when they embrace a philosophy that is so antagonistic to the philosophy embraced and followed by the American Federation of Labor, then it would be a waste of time and effort to attempt to reconcile our conditions.

And so there must come a psychological change, a change in the viewpoints of those who embrace the philosophy followed by the people in that great country before we can even think of establishing co-operative relations between them and the American Federation of Labor. I am speaking thus frankly and honestly because I know that it is the sentiment existing in the hearts and minds of the majority of the working people of our great country. It is most difficult to harmonize and co-operate with those who publicly announce that their primary purpose and their ultimate object is your destruction and your annihilation, and those people must cease threatening to destroy the great, proud American labor movement before we can entertain thoughts of affiliation or solidarity.

In conclusion, may I endeavor in my humble way to translate to our friends, our guests, if you please, these fraternal greetings, the feelings of my heart and your hearts, and my mind and your minds. They are feelings of friendship and good will. I can truthfully say that we are happy to have them here. Their eloquent addresses have made a deep impression, and we shall cherish long within our memories these words of wisdom and information that were uttered this morning. We ask you to feel at home with us, to realize that you are our guests. We extend to you our hospitality, we want you to know us better, and when you return home we wish for you a safe and speedy reunion with your families and your friends. We thank you heartily and sincerely for your fraternal greetings and for all you have said to us this morning.

Chairman Martel, of the local entertainment committee, announced that the official convention picture would be taken immediately upon the noon adjournment. He also made an announcement concerning the theater party on Wednesday evening and the dance on

Friday evening at the Hotel Fort Wayne, both events arranged in compliment to the delegates and visitors.

President Green suggested that on account of the morning session having held some time past the regular hour of adjournment, the rules be suspended and adjournment taken to a later hour

in the afternoon.

A motion embodying the suggestion of the President and providing for adjournment until 3:30 o'clock p. m. was offered by Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, and was adopted, and the convention adjourned at 1:20 p. m. to 3:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Third Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees: Scott, Belair, Briscoe, Kasten, Quesse, Leopold, Schulte, Coulter, Hauser, Rosemund, Tinney, McAndrews, Snow, Baer, Healy, Gillot, Siemer, Lane, Crough, Kennedy, Golden, Carey, Smith, Hannah, Burke, Quinlan, Collins, Strickland, Conway, Austin, Cone, Cashen, Wade, Hill, Kutz, Alden, Augustino, Murphy, Woodling, Fagan, Herder, Tarbet, Elwell, Eckhardt, Walker, Hart, Fitzpatrick, McGregory, Bender, Albert, Ruben, Polakoff, Shaw.

President Green introduced to the convention Dr. Curran, a representative of the Near East Relief.

DR. J. C. CURRAN,

Representing The Near East Relief.

Mrs. President, and Members of the American Federation of Labor: I consider this an honor and a privilege to be allowed to state the work that has been accomplished during the past year by the Near East Relief. Exactly eight years ago one of the first men to respond to the plea of Henry Morgenthau was your late President, Samuel Gompers. He answered the call to save the Christian minorities in the Near East, and from the call of Samuel Gompers there was incorporated, by special act of Congress, the Near East Relief.

You men today can feel proud of the fact that during those eight years one million lives have been saved through the response of the late Samuel Gompers. The Near East Relief is now caring for all that is left of the oldest Christian nation in the world. We all have our ideas of what caused it, but we know one fact, that the blood of the Christian martyrs of the Near East today is on the head of the crowned heads of Europe. That is, these people

were mere pawns in the game of diplomacy. The Near East Relief, an American institution, has gone over there to save the situation which the world thought lost.

One of the first things we teach these boys and girls is the dignity of labor; we are not making professional beggars of them in the orphanages. We are teaching them the dignity of printing by using the books printed by the Typographical Union. In the City of Nazareth we are teaching the boys the dignity of labor by teaching them the trade of carpenters right over the place where our Lord taught us the dignity of labor. In Macedonia we are teaching the boys and girls the art of weaving, and we are implanting in their hearts forgetfulness and forgiveness.

My friends, would you believe me as a doctor when I say that I have seen children by the roadside in those lands in a condition that beggars description, boys and girls lying there more dead than alive, their little, frail bodies wrapped in pieces of burlap. They are not asking for the luxuries of life, but only for a chance to live. Those children not only have been deprived of their parents but they have been deprived of their country, and today they are wards of America, your wards and mine.

And so in the city of Nazareth, in that carpenter shop, those boys that are learning the trade of carpenter have made a gavel. It is made of wood over a thousand years old, brought from the city of Lebanon at the foot of Mount Olivet. It was made in the carpenter shop at Nazareth which is right over the exact spot where our blessed Lord taught us the dignity of labor. Those boys made it. They have sent it to this convention as an expression of ap-

preciation of what you men have done by keeping them alive.

And so, on behalf of the Near East Relief and on behalf of the orphans committed to their care, in thankfulness of what you men have done for them, I present this gavel to your President, hoping that it may be in use for the next thousand years for calling men together to work out problems in regard to their fellow man.

President Green: The membership of organized labor is deeply interested in the work of the Near East Relief Committee. We are in sympathy with all they are doing to save and to educate the orphans of that desolated country. I know that the words of Dr. Curran will find a most hearty response in the hearts and minds of the delegates in this convention. We will continue to assist in every way we can, exercising our moral influence and giving to that work of the Near East Relief Committee such material assistance as we are able to render.

I want to express my sincere appreciation of this beautiful gavel which has been presented to me. I thank you, Dr. Curran, for it. I am deeply impressed with the sentiment that goes with it, with its historical worth and its historical value. We of the American Federation of Labor will treasure it as one of our priceless possessions.

President Green introduced to the convention Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare, a member of the American Federation of Teachers, who has for some time been investigating prison made goods and prison conditions for the United Garment Workers' Organization in a most helpful way, her work taking her into many prisons and many communities where the problem of the sale of prison made goods is very keen.

MRS. KATE RICHARDS O'HARE.

In beginning the address Mrs. O'Hare expressed her pleasure in the opportunity to bring to the attention of the delegates of the American Federation of Labor problems connected with the treatment of criminals in penal institutions and the problem of the manufacture and sale of prison made articles. In dealing with this subject she said in part:

I doubt if there is any other one problem that is confronting the people of

the United States today that is of more interest and is attracting more thoughtful attention now than the question of crime, of court procedure, of the administration of law and of the administration of our penal institutions. Never, perhaps, in all the history of this country have we had those things brought to our attention so forcibly as at this present time.

We have spent millions of dollars in building our school buildings, our high schools and our universities, and with all this tremendous increase in our knowledge we are graduating from our schools an enormous number of young people whose feet find their way into the ways of crime. We are beginning to say: "What is wrong with the American home? Why is it that with the increase in material wealth our homes are producing so many young boys and girls who find their way into the ways of crime?" It is challenging the church today. We are beginning to ask what is wrong with the church and with all the time and energy and money that goes into it that we are not able to keep our young people in the ways of rectitude and virtue.

And crime is beginning to challenge the labor movement, and not only because of the enormous money cost of crime, for, after all, the costs of these things fall upon the workers; but it goes farther than that, and we are beginning to ask ourselves if in the task the American labor movement has given the attention, the time, the thought and the study to the problem of crime and penal institutions. We are spending more money in this country to punish bad people than we are to educate good people, and when any nation reaches that point it has reached a danger point.

Two years ago the United Garment Workers of America felt that this problem had become one that was so acute with them, because of the competition of prison made goods with the workers of that organization, that it was necessary that some particular study should be given to the subject, and so they put into force one of the things we have always believed to be one of the principles of organized labor. We have known for a long time that if you want to build a house the thing to do is to go out and hire a union carpenter to do it, and so the United Garment Workers believed that the whole ques-

tion of crime and penal institutions was a problem of education, and they went to the Teachers' Federation and asked for someone who could go out and do some survey work and some study and find out what the situation was.

At this point Mrs. O'Hare spoke at some length of the survey she made of the conditions in the various prisons of the United States, and continuing said: In the United States today in at least forty of our great states the whole penal institutions have been transferred into great manufacturing plants. The taxpayers, the wage workers, the farmers, the people who produce the wealth of this country have, out of their toil and labor paid, in the form of taxes, and every state in the union has invested at least one million dollars and in many instances as high as five and six million dollars in building penal institutions.

These penal institutions built by the taxpayers have been turned over to private individuals, and these private individuals have established their factories inside the prison plants. They receive their rent, heat, light, power, drayage and all of the incidental overhead expenses of business. These things are met by the taxpayers and given as a free gift to these individuals who have some pull with the political parties in power.

After we have so generously supplied these great manufacturing concerns with their plants and their overhead, our prison boards have entered into contracts with these prison labor contractors to sell them the labor of the convicts that are employed in these State owned and operated plants to produce goods that belong to the private manufacturer and are sold for his profit.

In the garment industry three big prison labor contracting concerns have contracts in about thirty-eight of our states; all their overhead is paid by the taxpayers, and then they pay the State for the labor of producing, we will say, one dozen blue chambray shirts, anything from 47½ cents to 63½ cents a dozen. The legitimate manufacturers build their own buildings, pay for their own heat, power, light and drayage and pay their workers a living wage, and it costs the union manufacturers for labor from the time the cloth lands at the depot until the finished product goes back to the shipping room, an average cost of \$2.40 a dozen.

You can understand what that means to the legitimate manufacturer, the em-

ployer of union labor, when he must sell his product in competition with the man who is tax-subsidized so that all his overhead is paid by the taxpayers. You can have a picture in your minds of these thousands of women and girls in this country who make their living by making garments, and yet they must go into the factory and work and their product must be sold in competition with the garments made in prisons.

If it were only a question of a few garment workers or a few employers of garment workers who would be affected we might be a little more smug about it, but there is something beyond that. The very moment that we turn our prisons over to a prison labor contractor and he establishes a factory there we take the entire control of that prison, with all its discipline, with all of the complex problems of dealing with anti-social and abnormal people out of the hands of public officials, out of the hands of people the state is paying for the job, and turn it over to the prison labor contractor, whose only interest in that prison is to get the largest possible amount of profit out of those convicts. That means that ninety per cent of all the prison brutalities, of all the prison abuses, of all the barbaric things that occur in our prisons center around the efforts of the prison labor contractor to secure the largest amount of profit out of the convicts.

In the United States we have made a tremendous progress in education, in industrial development, in all of the things that go to make up civilization. All our civilization has gone forward in this country except one thing, and that is our penal system. Our penal system does not belong to the twentieth century; it bears no relation, we will say, to the advances that have been made, it knows nothing of the advances that have been made in modern psychology; it knows nothing of the advances that have been made in dealing with the abnormal and the subnormal. In everything concerning our prisons we are back in the sixteenth century.

You wonder how it can be possible that a nation can progress in every other thing and stand still in this one thing that is so tremendously important, and we do so because of this: Around our prisons we build great steel walls and in these walls we place steel gates. We take our abnormal and our anti-social and what we call our criminals and shut them behind these walls. Then we turn them

over to the prison contractors. As long as it is possible for any private individual in the United States to make a profit exploiting convicts, just that long the penal institution in the United States is going to belong to the dark ages and not to the twentieth century. Not only does the private profit of the prison labor contractor shut modern science out of the prison, not only does it make it impossible for the physician or the psychologist or the psychiatrist to be shut outside the prison, but it shuts inside all the disease, all the menace to public health that goes with a situation like that.

In conclusion Mrs. O'Hare described at some length and in a very interesting manner conditions that surround convicts working for prison labor contractors. She made special reference to the conditions surrounding the workers in the garment factories and described the horrible conditions surrounding such work. She mentioned particularly the fact that convicts afflicted with all sorts of loathsome, communicable diseases work on these garments, which are sold in stores throughout the country and bought largely by working people who, in that way, risk carrying the diseases into their homes. She urged a campaign of education by organized labor men to teach the women in their homes the danger of handling these garments, and also to teach them the advantage and the necessity of encouraging the sale and use of union made garments and other articles.

In concluding her remarks Mrs. O'Hare called attention to the fact that all factories outside of prisons are carefully inspected and sanitary conditions are required, and stated that only in prison contract factories is there an entire absence of inspection and sanitary requirements.

Delegate Frey: I would like to ask a question of the President of the American Federation of Labor relative to an invitation which he received to address the Y. M. C. A. in this city, but before the President replies I would like an opportunity to express a few thoughts upon a subject which is in every delegate's mind and which this convention cannot very well afford to permit to pass unnoticed.

For many years the American trade union movement has had the encouraging support of the leaders of the religious denominations of this country. In their national conventions, when considering social problems they have declared for

the policies and they have given to the world the statement that, without qualification, they endorsed the principle of collective bargaining and that through collective bargaining alone do they see the way by which the wage earners can take up and solve their problems.

We have all valued the encouragement which came to us through the moral support of the clergy. For many years trades unionists have been invited to occupy pulpits and there explain the social philosophy and the social policy of the American trade union movement. We have not requested the honor of occupying those pulpits; we have not used the American Federation of Labor in order to have the opportunity, but the broad-minded, clear-thinking clergymen of this country have requested trades unionists for many years to expound the principles of this movement of ours and to tell the story of what it is doing for humanity and for human liberty.

Now we come to a city that boasts it is the stronghold of the non-union shop, a city where there is organization for employers and capital, and who say there should be no organization for those who work for wages. We discover from documents already printed in this city that, in addition to controlling industry autocratically in Detroit, they are endeavoring to control the policy of the churches of this city and to take a hand in interfering with the social program of these congregations.

The Board of Commerce, finding that we were going to have a convention and learning that some of the churches had invited representatives of the trade union movement and other men to fill pulpits, immediately launched a campaign to browbeat clergymen so that they would be compelled to withdraw the invitations they had extended—and I regret to have to confess that there were clergymen in this city who did withdraw such invitations.

On September 27th of this year, as contained in the official publication of the Detroit Board of Commerce, is a letter directed to Detroit churchmen which reads:

"Detroit ministers have been offered labor speakers to appear in their pulpits Sunday, October 10th. This is a part of the program of the American Federation of Labor to make Detroit a closed shop city, as you will realize when you read the following list of speakers submitted."

The list contains the names of three members of the Executive Council of

the American Federation of Labor; it contains the names of men who for years have taken a prominent part in the American Trade Union movement; it contains the names of clergymen who have an international reputation because of the position they have taken on social and industrial questions, and then the letter continues:

"The citizens of Detroit are keen in their appreciation of the freedom of speech, but they realize that this fundamental principle of our republic implies thorough discussion of both sides of any question. If the ministers of Detroit open their pulpits to men who are admittedly attacking our government and our American Plan of employment, it is certain that they will submit to our request to furnish speakers on the following Sunday—Detroit speakers who will be happy to show that our city has outstripped all of her rivals simply because she has been unfettered by labor organizations.

"The industrial leaders of Detroit did not initiate this movement to bring their labor fight into Detroit's churches. We join with them in doubting the wisdom of making our churches debating grounds for such a subject. However, we are eager to answer Labor's assertions, no matter where they are made.

"We ask you, as the supporters of these churches, to weigh the matter carefully and fairly, and advise your minister as to whether or not you wish to have your church deviate from the program for which it is maintained."

It is for the churches, Mr. Chairman, to determine whether they would be deviating from their program if labor representatives occupied their pulpits. It has been published in the daily press of this city, Mr. President, that you received an invitation to address a gathering under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association and that later on that invitation was withdrawn, connected with the withdrawal being the action of the Board of Directors of that organization compelling the officials to fall in line with their desires.

For a moment let me go back to the letter which says that we are attacking the government of this country because we are trades unionists. It is unnecessary to mention any names. The record of the leaders of the American trade union movement and the record of the movement itself during the war will stand the test of history. No trade unionist amassed a fortune while preaching patriotism; no dollar-a-year men

who were trade unionists have been held up to public scorn since because they robbed their own government, and I would like to have the names of those directors of the Y. M. C. A. placed side by side with the names that are contained in this communication, and then have their records as known to the citizens of the United States compared.

What interests me altogether is not the fact that some clergymen have bowed to the commands of Mammon in Detroit; what interests me is this: They form their employers' organizations in this city for the purpose of making trades union organizations an impossibility. They took full advantage of the American right of voluntary association, and then they used their associations to make it a physical impossibility for any employee of theirs to enjoy the equal American right of voluntary association. They boast that there are no unions here because they have made it impossible for men to remain in employment if they join a trades union; and now we find them, after having established this non-union condition in the industries of Detroit, using their tremendous power to endeavor to have the disciples of the Carpenter of Nazareth keep their mouths closed.

If the employers of the city are able to throttle the church, to what an extent have they already throttled and dominated the public press of their city and to what extent do they control public officials? I would like to know whether the fact that some of the most outrageous injunctions ever issued were issued in the state of Michigan was because of the influence of these same men who tell the clergy of their city, "You cannot invite men to occupy your pulpits whom we do not like?"

There is something for the clergymen of Detroit to be proud of, not what occurred this week, but what occurred many years ago when every one of them was a courageous champion of human liberty. I went down to the center of the city and on the side of a building I saw a tablet. I found that it marked the end of the underground railroad that stretched through Ohio and through this state and enabled the unfortunate slaves to get into Canada where the Constitution of the United States and the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States could not return them to their former owners.

The underground railroad was organ-

ized by the clergymen of Ohio and Michigan. In those days they were heroic in the face of opposition; their mouths could not be closed against the injustice of human slavery in any form. That is something for the Protestant churches of Detroit to be much more proud of than the illustration which has come to us during the past week.

For countless ages the altar of the church has been the refuge of the oppressed; it has been to that altar the oppressed have gone for advice, for consolation, and for courage. If the time ever comes that the altar of the Christian church is dominated by any other spirit than the one that has been behind it from the time Christ preached his doctrine, if the time ever comes when Mammon dominates the altar, Christianity has passed away.

Delegate Furuseth: I think before anyone has the floor the President should have the chance to answer the question asked by Brother Frey.

President Green: The inquiry you make, Delegate Frey, can at this time be answered definitely and clearly. Last July I received an invitation from the secretary of the Detroit Young Men's Christian Association to address a mass meeting under the auspices of that Association on Sunday afternoon, October 10th. I received a supplementary invitation about September 28th, urging me to accept the invitation formerly extended and to not fail to be present at the mass meeting.

I replied accepting the invitation, and came to this city fully prepared to serve as best I could by delivering an address next Sunday afternoon at a meeting held under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association. Yesterday I noticed in the press a statement that the invitation extended to the President of the American Federation of Labor would be canceled. However, I had no definite information that the press was correct; but today, since the adjournment of the morning session, Mr. C. D. Van Dusen, President of the Detroit Young Men's Christian Association, and Mr. Terrill, the secretary, called upon me officially and advised me that the Board of Directors at a meeting yesterday had decided to cancel the invitation.

These gentlemen expressed sincere regret and said they were very, very sorry because such action had been tak-

en by the Board of Directors. It was explained by Mr. Van Dusen that the directors of the Detroit Young Men's Christian Association had arrived at the conclusion that it would be both unwise and inadvisable for the President of the American Federation of Labor to address a mass meeting in this city under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association. They stated that they had under way a building program that runs into the millions and they did not want anything to interfere with it; that they were apprehensive that if this meeting were held that the building program would be seriously interfered with.

I made reply that I felt they had withdrawn the invitation and had canceled because the President of the American Federation of Labor in his official capacity had been called upon to address the mass meeting; that I regretted that such a condition existed in Detroit; that it seemed to me such a situation would not make for the welfare of this community. However, I did not feel hurt about the matter personally, but I felt that our great movement here in this city had been somewhat humiliated because of the action of the Board of Directors of the Detroit Young Men's Christian Association.

I have stated to you calmly and dispassionately the facts in the case, and I leave it with you without comment. I feel I can leave the action of the Board of Directors of the Detroit Young Men's Christian Association with them and their conscience. If there is anybody who is going to be hurt because of their action it will be the Detroit Young Men's Christian Association and not the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Berry (Major George L. Berry). I arise to associate myself with this discussion precipitated by Delegate Frey. I venture the assertion that everyone who has heard the President's statement upon this subject appreciates the candor as well as the logic contained in it, and I know we all appreciate what he has just said with reference to it.

This is a convention of the workers of America, and it would seem to me that this is the place to, in a very emphatic fashion, answer this further manifestation of autocracy in the city of Detroit. I don't know that we have ever had such a complete example of

the growth of autocracy in America as has been demonstrated in this city in the past week.

In addition to all that, Mr. President, there is a line in this statement which Delegate Frey has read that causes me to offer resentment, in that the patriotism of the men whose names appear in that list has been questioned. I haven't heard of any of these gentlemen acknowledging that they were attacking the Republic of the United States; quite to the contrary, they have demonstrated many times their love and affection for the government of the United States, and when this crowd of slackers and profiteers responsible for this agitation attempts to question their patriotism I shall, for one, resent it.

I am reminded of that celebrated demonstration at Buffalo following the conclusion of the address of the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, (applause), when there was a practically unanimous vote of the delegates of the American Federation of Labor convention to sustain the government of the United States in time of war. And I have not forgotten, either, the services of the former president of this body, Samuel Gompers, (applause), that attracted, not only the admiration of his fellow countrymen, but the admiration of the thinking people of the world.

And then again, Mr. President, I haven't forgotten the fact that the records in our possession show that 682,000 members of organized labor, with cards in their pockets, responded to the call of their country. And where were these people that today intimidate and coerce the churches into withdrawing invitations extended to members of organized labor. Where were these men during that great struggle, who today question the patriotism of the organized workers of America?

My information is that one of those responsible for this outrageous, un-American action was the chief outstanding slacker of the republic, Edsel Ford, who, by chance, too, I gather, is one of the chief contributors to this proposed building that the Y. M. C. A. is erecting to the tune of a million and a half dollars. By what right has this man and his group to question the patriotism of members of organized labor in face of the record—in face of his record? Who is this man Van Dusen that has the audacity to come to your room and withdraw the invitation extended to the President of the American Federation to address a gathering of members of the

Y. M. C. A. It may be interesting for you to know that he is not only the manager of this Y. M. C. A. enterprise but that he is likewise the general manager of the Kresge five and ten cent store.

It may be interesting, too, for you to know that over Kresge's own signature, in a letter to the junior senator from this state, Senator Couzens, he acknowledges that the maximum pay of the girls in his store is \$7.50 per week. This is the type of American that presumes to question our patriotism and our spiritual belief. This is the type of American that would abridge free speech and free press; this is the type of American that is trying now to throw sand in the eyes of the citizenship of this great city in proposing that the salvation of the workers is the American plan.

No, Mr. Manufacturers, we saved America, we love America, we fought for America that it might be made secure. We have not attacked America but we have attacked and will continue to attack without reservation that hypocritical plan of yours called the American plan.

I quite anticipate some readjustment in the physical requirements entering into the manufacture of automobiles. There is a change occurring. Some of them are feeling the pinch of depression. They have been drunk, and are now drunk, with swollen profits taken as well as made upon the sacrifices of men engaged in this industry. With a readjustment coming, with the condition facing them, with the loss of trade for them inevitable, they presume and intend to save their profits and their face by cutting wages, and in the meantime blinding the people of Detroit with this American plan. There has never been a greater reflection upon America than this selfish plan resorted to by this gang of cutthroats, these profiteers, these slackers in time of trouble when the very life of the nation hung in the balance.

As an ex-service man, having served in two wars of this Republic, I want to voice my resentment, and in support of the dignified attitude taken by the President of the American Federation of Labor upon this occasion. (The delegation arose and applauded Major Berry).

Delegate McCullough, International Typographical Union. Mr. President, I want to say at the start that I devoutly thank God that the exhibition given us by the so-called Christian churches of Detroit is not to be taken as the measure of the attitude of the

Christian church of the United States towards the American labor movement.

The City of Detroit claims distinction in a great many ways. We have been told of its beauty, of its enterprise, of its hospitality—we have witnessed the one and tasted the other. It has now added to its category of distinctive characteristics that peculiar one of being the first city to say to the American Federation of Labor, "You are unpatriotic, and you are un-Christian." The Nazarene, in dealing with a somewhat similar situation, very aptly said, "Verily, I say unto you they have their reward."

I think Detroit will gain from this action a reaction from the American people that will make these men understand and appreciate, if they yet have any sensibilities left, the grossness of the insult they have offered to a representative gathering which, in its individual makeup stands for the best citizenship of the United States and is generally so regarded.

What will it profit Detroit if it gain a Y. M. C. A. building and lose the respect of the American people? And that seems to be the bargain they have made, sir; they have exchanged their dignity, they have exchanged their manhood, they have exchanged the rights of an American citizen in order that they can accomplish a Y. M. C. A. building! And a Y. M. C. A. building for what purpose? To see that no man with a card in his pocket can come into that building!

Mr. President, it may interest you to know that I am in the honorable class with you. A few years ago the secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in my home town in making up his list of lecturers to give instruction in the night school put me down for a course of lectures on sociology—not because of my profundity in the science, I presume, but because, perhaps, of my fluency of expression.

I went over on the first assigned night and I had a parlor fairly well filled and delivered the lecture. I went over the second night and they not only had that parlor filled but they had moved the folding doors and opened up another parlor and they were both filled. The second night not only were the parlors filled but the corridor was filled. I was getting away big! Then the secretary came to me with a note from the Board of Directors telling me I had been cancelled. And one of the Board of Directors, who was a close personal friend of mine, came to me

and said: "Mac, do you know why you were cancelled?" I said, "I don't, and I don't care a damn!"

"Well," he said, "I am going to tell you. Two of the directors object to you because you are not orthodox." That may be your case, Mr. President, they probably object to you because you are not orthodox. I got a little interested and looked up these two directors. I found that one was president of the Omaha Business Men's Association and the other was chairman of the Board of Directors of the Omaha Business Men's Association. I looked at them and said, "Thank God, I'm not orthodox!" As I said at the start, I thank God devoutly that this spirit of hostility to our great movement does not represent the spirit of the Church of God toward the American Labor movement.

Many of you who are here will recall when Brother Charles Stelzle first came among us and Brother Peter Dietz, one a Presbyterian and the other a Roman Catholic, bringing us the message of the church. One of the first men I shook hands with when I came into Detroit was Brother Peter Dietz. I am sorry I did not have the chance to shake Brother Charles Stelzle's hand.

In my home town on Labor Sunday almost every pulpit in the community was occupied by a member of organized labor. Myself and one of my close friends each made two addresses on that day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. The church congregations do receive the message. On a number of occasions Secretary Morrison has assigned me at Federation meetings to speak from a pulpit, and he has done the same with others. This is the first time in all my experience that we have ever come into a community where they were not willing to allow one of us to stand on a consecrated platform and address an assemblage in the name of Him who for the greater part of His short life on earth worked at a carpenter's bench.

What is to be said for any plan, whether you call it by that misuse of a fine word, "American Plan," or whatever designation you care to apply to it, that contemplates the suppression, the subjugation of a free people to the point where they will be denied the opportunity of hearing from any social cause, no matter what it is—not merely from the Federation of Labor which represents the great American labor movement, but any social cause?

This letter Brother Frey read carries with it the threat that "if you allow these men to come in today and present their message you must allow us to come in tomorrow and present ours." In the name of God, Amen! And I don't think there is a man on this floor that wouldn't be delighted with the opportunity of debating this question with any representative of the American Plan. But they shut us out; they don't want to debate with us; they don't dare to debate with us; they cannot match openly and fairly in the light of day their meeting with ours. We meet in the open, the door is open to the world, anybody can come in here and hear anything that is said. Do they meet with open doors? You try to get into their meeting once and see if they meet with open doors.

The American labor movement will suffer very little because of the indignity put upon our President. It is not a reproach to him, it is a reproach to the good name of a great community that has an honorable history. No one that has studied American history is unaware of the great part that Detroit has played in the development of our country. Delegate Frey referred to it as being the northern terminus of the underground railroad, because that was an activity at a time when it took real courage, when it took honest manhood to stand up and face the social conditions that prevailed. He referred to the constitution and the mandate of the Supreme Court, but he did not tell you of the bravos, of the thugs, of the gunmen of those days that were waiting for these people.

Some of us are familiar with the story of Owen Lovejoy. We know that his printing office was wrecked, his press broken and thrown into the Mississippi River because he had the courage to stand out as an active agent of this underground railroad. They tried to take his life; they thought they had taken his life; if they had not been certain that they had not taken his life they would have done so. Those were the men that made it possible to erect a tablet on the wall of the building.

And who are these men of today who lie down under the whip of what Brother Berry has so correctly characterized as "profiteering slackers"? How will the souls of those men face the soul of Owen Lovejoy and others who were associated with him in that great effort for human betterment and human liberty on the soil of America?

I don't think ever a more shameful chapter has been written in the history of a civilized community than has been written here. Like Brother Frey and Brother Berry, I resent with every ounce of energy I have the foul aspersion that is put upon us when they say we are un-American and unpatriotic.

I didn't get into the service. It wasn't because I didn't try. Among my most cherished possessions is a personal note from Woodrow Wilson and another from Newton D. Baker thanking me for the offer I made and expressing their regret that they were unable to accept it. I did serve for many weeks on one of those dollar-a-year boards. I was selected for that service by Samuel Gompers, and I am proud of it. I had two sons and a son-in-law with the colors, and they weren't drafted, they were volunteers, they were in uniform before the selective draft law was enacted. My wife and my daughter, every member of the family, worked and did all they could for the country—and here these people come in and tell us that because we are members of organized labor we are un-American and unpatriotic. I would like to see one of them come in here and tell George Berry that to his face.

Now, Mr. President, I haven't begun to say what I would like to say, I feel so keenly, so wrought up about this that I am scarcely able to express myself intelligently, but if there is any way that we can devise that will throw back this insult, that will encourage the ministers of Detroit to follow the example of Jesus Christ when he drove the money changers out of the Temple, I am willing to give it my most hearty support.

Delegate Furuseth, President, International Seamen's Union: I resent the accusation that the labor movement is un-Christian and un-American. I was born in another country I came here by accident, in pursuit of my calling as a sailor. I want to confess that I did not have a great deal of admiration for America before, but during my peripatations throughout the world I have learned to distinguish between what I saw elsewhere and what I saw here. And yet it took me ten years before I became an American citizen.

Now I want to say to you, and if I could reach these gentlemen, I would like to say to them, that I became a citizen of the United States because I found upon study that it embodied the highest Christian principle that I know of, and that it embodied further in its

history and in its institutions, so far as they have been permitted to live, the highest conception of human freedom.

I want to protest first against the idea of the labor movement being un-Christian, and in doing so I want to call your attention to a certain statement in the Creation as we find it in the Bible to the effect that God made man in His own image, "man and woman created He them, and then on the seventh day He rested, and saw that all He had done was good." If we human beings were made in the image of God, He must have given us at least some part of the creative faculty that made creation possible.

I have an additional reason for thinking that He did because He said that "on the seventh day He rested." Usually we think of creation as being finished in six days. It was not, according to scripture, as I read it. Creation was turned over to man, and if you will look at the archeological remains that we find you will find that creation began at once in the shape of tools, weapons, foods, institutions—everything from the simplest things that tend to sustain human life to the highest things we know of—it is all the creation of man coming from the use of the creative faculty which God gave him, according to scripture.

What, then, shall be said of those who so utterly disregard human history that they would blanket and destroy the creative faculties of men and women in this nation? What shall be said of their patriotism if we are to look to what happened to other nations that undertook the same thing? What became of Babylonia with its slavery? What became of Assyria and Egypt? What became of Greece and Rome? What was the way European civilization was going at the time of the French revolution? Step by step the creative faculty of man in Europe was being destroyed. Let the clergymen, for the sake of their pulpits or other things, disregard fundamental Christianity and forget the Lord's prayer that they have been teaching us to pronounce; let them think of that and take whatever consolation they can from what comes from this hall today.

It says that we are the sons of God. We are taught to call Him "Father." It says, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." It is the clergymen who are to tell us how that is to

be done; it is the clergymen's work to tell us how to do it. They woke up late to the importance of the trade union movement in these modern times. The Catholic church knew it in the middle ages. The Collegiates—ancient Labor Unions—knew it in the early times, but whenever the business man undertakes to govern the world in his way he commits the greatest crime that can be committed—he sins against the Holy Spirit, and the penalty for that is death.

Now, I want to deal for one minute with the American labor movement. What is a labor organization? A voluntary association of free men to do collectively what they cannot do individually. Is there anything in the Christian religion that is against that? No, the church itself is a voluntary association and always was. The circle around the Nazarene was a voluntary association, too, and it came out of the labor movement of the time.

This country was composed of different colonies of Great Britain. They had tremendous grievances to complain of. They recorded those grievances in the Declaration of Independence, which is the first constitution of the United States. I am not going to take up anybody's time to mention what is stated therein, it is too well known, but in each colony the free men came together, the patriotic men, through voluntary associations for the purpose of consulting with each other and to sustain each other to redress their grievances.

Then these associations in the different colonies came together in a voluntary association of all the colonies. As a result you have in the American shield the words, "E Pluribus Unum." Where can you find an American worthy of his salt, either in the Revolutionary period, the Civil war period or in the last great war in which we became involved, who did not believe in his heart and who did not teach and practice the very principle of voluntary association of free men for the purpose of accomplishing collectively what they could not do individually?

If that is not America, then I made a mistake in becoming a citizen, because that is what made me become a citizen—my belief in human freedom, my belief in America as I see it in the Declaration of Independence, which contains the first Christian ideas of

human society that are to be found in any political document in the world.

The American Plan of employers was born in the latter part of the thirteenth century. In order to control the men on their estates they demanded and received power over the labor of their retainers. They insisted upon control and obtained it. As a result the guilds were destroyed and serfdom was established. Our large employers want absolute control. If they win we shall have industrial serfdom.

And here comes a lot of men who invent a system in which they destroy the creative faculty of men, in which they destroy craftsmanship, in which they destroy anything in the shape of real education, because education does not consist of learning how to read and write, it consists of learning to use all the faculties you have got, and any system such as is used in the automobile industry here can end but in one way, and that is the way Babylon and Assyria and Egypt and Rome and Greece went.

When the Nazarene came into the world seven per cent of the city of Syracuse were free men and ninety-three per cent were slaves; and that was about the average throughout the Roman Empire. What became of it? How much strength did it have against the Barbarians? None at all. What became of its institutions? Those of you who have gone to Rome have seen the ruins of them. Who is it that is leading our civilization in the same direction by destroying the creative faculty that God gave man? It is the business men of Detroit. Let them go on and Detroit will be forgotten. It will be at most a little village when they have succeeded.

Delegate Walker, President, Illinois State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I just want to call attention in the beginning to some of the language that is incorporated in this official statement sent out by the Detroit Board of Commerce. It says that "this is a part of the program of the American Federation of Labor to make Detroit a closed shop city."

I don't know that those men would deliberately say things that were not true and for that reason I am going to say that, so far as I know, this statement is untrue and made under a misapprehension or on the basis of false information. It says: "If the ministers of Detroit open their pulpits to men who are

admittedly attacking our government and our American plan of employment." According to this statement men who are included in this list are deliberately attacking our American form of government.

My name happens to be one of those that were included, and while I do not want to say they deliberately made a statement that is untrue, I think that every American who knows anything of our institutions and the psychology of our people feels that men should not make statements of that character about other men unless they have some information on which to base it. And when they make statements of that character and they have no information of that kind and when the facts of the case show just the opposite, when they speak of the disloyalty of labor men in their own personal record leaves the large preponderance of evidence that they are the ones that are disloyal, that they are the ones that are attacking our government, although they may do it in the name of the government.

It seems to me that men who are so charged have a right to resent it emphatically and, so far as I am concerned—and I don't want to pass judgment on my own patriotism—but insofar as I can understand and insofar as I can test, it means to be loyal to our form of government, to stand for it and to honestly feel it is the best government in the world, to be willing to do what I can to preserve and perpetuate it, I believe my record will bear favorable comparison with theirs.

There is one phrase in this statement that I think indicates what is responsible for their action. When men become obsessed with an idea, they become fanatic, they cannot reason, and perhaps that has something to do with the drafting of this statement. They say, "And our American plan of employment." I am under the impression that they have talked so much about their American plan of employment that they have it confused with our government, and instead of speaking really of our government they have gotten to the place where they believe their American Plan is the American government. I don't know how they got that impression unless it may be that at one time an official of the United States government did stand out and say that he would use the army and navy to preserve the American plan and the open shop plan. Harry M. Daugherty said that, and from the information I have of these gentlemen they seem to be

fit associates of Harry M. Daugherty. You will recall that Mr. Daugherty was compelled to resign from the official position he occupied when he became obsessed with this American Plan. He, too, seemed to think it was the American government.

There is no figure in the public record of high official position in American governmental life that the average citizen of our country feels is so black and rotten as the record of Daugherty. I feel from the information I have of these men in Detroit that he is a fit type for them to take as their example to represent the American Plan.

There is a rather sinister statement in the closing paragraph of that letter—"We ask you, as the supporters of these churches"—that is, the members they send their official journal to, which means the members of this Board of Directors and the members of the organizations that elected them, and that includes, not all, perhaps, but the great majority of the so-called open shop, or anti-union employers in Detroit—"We ask you as the supporters of these churches to weigh the matter carefully and fairly and advise your minister as to whether or not you wish to have your church deviate from the program for which it is maintained."

Those of you who know the methods of men engaged in big business and financial activities are aware that they do not use raw or extreme language; but there is the plain intimation that they are to take it up with their minister and if he doesn't agree that he will do what they say, it is pointed out to him that they are maintaining the institution and they will continue to maintain it.

Without doubt these men are simply saying: "If you want our money to continue this church you must permit us to use the church as we believe it should be used." I ask you whether if The Christ were to come to this earth and go among the people that are doing the thing He taught by His life work He believed should be done, that He commanded people to do, whether He would go to that Board of Directors or to the convention of the American Federation of Labor?

I understand that three members of that Board of Directors were indicted for profiteering during the war and some of them were compelled to disgorge large sums that they had stolen from the government when it was bat-

ting, not only for its own existence but for the civilization of the world; when the boys were in the trenches fighting and dying, experiencing everything that was horrible and terrible, not only for themselves but for those men who robbed the fathers and mothers of those boys in the trenches while they were dying.

I am not making any statement about them behind their backs that I haven't made to some of them personally when I say there is no man on earth so contemptible as the man who robbed the fathers and mothers and children and the men themselves who were dying for them at their request.

I served on the Mediation Commission of the United States government by direction of the President of the United States, a Democrat, at that time attempting to head off disputes in important industries that were needed for war purposes in the vital moment of our struggle. I served as a member of the State Council for National Defense during all the period of the war, appointed by the Governor of the State of Illinois, who was a Republican.

I think ours was the first large convention that was held in our country immediately after the declaration of war on the part of our government. There were 800 delegates in that meeting and by a vote of 794 to 6 we agreed to go the route with everything we had, our lives included, and we meant what we said and the men verified their intentions from that time until the end of the war.

I was associated with a man who later served on the War Labor Board, appointed by the President of the United States, the secretary of our Illinois State Federation of Labor. He is charged by these men in the circular sent out. I don't think there was a man in the trenches who suffered quite as much as Victor Olander did as a result of his services. He gave himself by inches until he broke down. That was quite a number of years ago, and he has fought the same kind of fight to get back his health, and he is not well yet. A former President of the United States, now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, William H. Taft—a man whom even these men in Detroit will not call a bolshevist—in a personal letter to me describes Olander's work and sacrifice as that of the highest type of a man and a patriot. Frank P.

Walsh, one of the outstanding attorneys of our country, said the same thing. An employer in the Middle West, who was chairman of the State Council for National Defense, in describing his services, wound up by saying: "I say to you nothing finer has ever been written about men than this labor movement did as a matter of everyday work." I venture the assertion that ninety-nine per cent of the membership of the trade union movement did what they could and in proportion to their opportunity made the same sort of sacrifice and took it as part of the day's work, feeling that they were not really decent men if they didn't do it.

I will confess I have spoken in some of those churches. I am a member of the Presbyterian kirk and that isn't supposed to be a bolshevik organization either; in fact, if it has any tendency it is in the opposite direction, and I have discovered that by actual experience. There is no use deceiving ourselves. No higher compliment could have been paid our President than that action on the part of those men. They know that he would represent real Christianity, the finest type of patriotism and the finest type of American citizenship, that he would present the case honestly and they would not be able to get away with their hypocrisy.

I believe the Nazarene would endorse our position in these matters and I know He would condemn the attitude of the men on the other side. I think perhaps more good would come out of this affair if we could have our President write a friendly invitation to these men and to their friends who feel like them to come here to this hall and discuss these problems with the clergymen present. If we do that we might change their attitude; and if not, we could make our case so strong that the jury would be so overwhelmingly against them that they would submit to the inevitable and do the thing that is right.

They have done us a real service by taking this matter up in the way they have done. They have brought it to the attention of more people than we could if we remained here six months and took it up every day. And when we get through, instead of their having done anything to prevent American progress, I am satisfied they will have contributed to our efforts in this community to make better citizens.

President Green: We are long past the hour of adjournment. I should think we could continue this discussion in the morning. However, Mr. Myers, Industrial and Field Secretary, Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, wants about three minutes of your time to clear up some facts.

MR. JAMES MYERS.

Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the Convention: I deeply appreciate this courtesy of organized labor in inviting a minister to speak before you. I hope the churches will take note and return the compliment in due form.

I feel some sympathy with Brother Green and Brother McCullough, because last winter I was denied the privilege of speaking in the same Y. M. C. A. that Brother McCullough was shut out of. The reason given was that no controversial subject was to be allowed within its walls. It seems to me the whole future of America depends upon a friendly discussion of controversial issues, and the people who are endangering American life more than any other are those who refuse to allow a discussion of controversial issues.

I represent the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, an organization of twenty-eight Protestant denominations, embracing twenty million people in this country. I do not presume to speak for the twenty million, but I do want to say that our Federal Council has a social creed which stands on the platform of the right to organize for labor as well as employers, decent hours, decent wages, the elimination of child labor, and many other things you stand for. We have been talking about it, and suffering about it somewhat, for a year. We have been putting speakers in every city in the United States and we intend to keep on doing it in spite of Detroit's inhospitable attitude.

Last year we placed President Green in the pulpit of St. John The Divine, of New York, and this year Spencer Miller of your Education Bureau. We combined with the Catholic Welfare conference and Father Ryan and Mr. Green in a meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York. I just want you to know that this incident here in Detroit is not representative of the great Christian forces of America. I want you to

know further that in co-operation with Brother Morrison, who is a member of our Commission, we have for two years past done this very thing in connection with your conventions in El Paso and Atlantic City, without any controversy and with perfect courtesy.

Much to our surprise, when we tried to do the same thing here we met with opposition. We want the men merely to present the idealism of this movement for humanity, to promote the shorter day, the elimination of child labor, the shorter work day for women and all those things which I am sure Jesus Christ stood for if His churches do not. If President Green and these other men on the list are not patriots and Christians, I don't want to be known as a patriot or a Christian.

Since this trouble began we have had the strongest backing from head-

quarters in New York, and I have fourteen speakers placed for speeches in the pulpits of this city, five of them labor men and the others social service people. Through the courtesy of Dr. Atkins and his board we have secured the Congregational Church for President Green to speak in Sunday afternoon. John P. Frey has been invited, through our auspices and through the local ministers' association, to address the ministers of Detroit next Monday morning, and I hope he will make the same speech to them that he made here.

I thank you enormously for this privilege, and I hope all of you will hear President Green Sunday afternoon.

At 6:45 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, Thursday, October 7th.

Fourth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Detroit, Michigan,
October 7, 1926.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Scott, Doheny, Morrin, O'Brien, Boyer, Lippold, Schulte, Goldberg, Hauser, Baer, Sullivan (J. W.), Gillot, Siemer, Regnier, Fljozdal, Lane, Moyer, Crough, Carey, Smith, Barry (E. P.), Hannah, Bell, Johnston (R.), Sullivan (H. R.), Strickland, Austin, Cone, Johnson, Bailey, Witt, Wade, Barry (J. L.), Hill, Studdart, Kutz, Mangan, Mueller, Wenger, Mullen, Alden, Augustino, Murphy (J. H.), Woodling, Murphy (J. H.), Frampton, Fagan, Coffelt, Herder, Bower, Tarbett, Johnson (A. C.), Shea, Elwell, Eckhardt, Keeny, Williams, McGregory, Ruben, Shaw, Purves, Darrington, Powers, Portway, Fuchs.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"William Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor,
"Detroit, Michigan.

"Venezuelan labor union sends fraternal greetings to convention. Hopes proletarian interest inspire decisions for good of workers of America. Success, best wishes.

"FLORES CABRERA, President."

"Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor Convention,
"Detroit, Michigan.

"Greetings. The joint council of Women's Auxiliaries of St. Louis, Missouri, sends its best wishes for a successful convention. We know the minds and hearts of this great gathering are assembled for the betterment of humanity and that your deliberations, as always, will be filled with a comprehensive understanding of the needs of America's workers. We stand ready and willing to serve the great American Federation of Labor in the task of training that great portion of women to whom labor is its mighty weapon, the purchasing power. Will you kindly recommend the formation of auxiliaries to all organized crafts, and that these auxiliaries counsel together as to the best method of training the women relatives of the trade union movement to help organize labor in its great cause?"

"Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries (St. Louis),

"MARY E. RYDER, President.

"MRS. R. E. McCLANAHAN, Sec'y."

"William Green, President,

"American Federation of Labor.

"Greetings. The Italian workers in the United States extend their sentiment and gratitude to the great American labor union that you represent. Your past stand against Fascism gives hope and courage to our brothers in Italy in their heroic struggle against the black hordes of tyranny. Today the reign of terror and oppression increases. The Black Shirts, under the command of the Judas Iscariot, Mussolini, are deporting thousands of agricultural workers and their families, children and venerable old people as well, around the provinces of Bologna and Modena. Fourteen thousand union men and women are suffering in the medieval dungeons of Italy. The agricultural city of Molinella, once the most advanced organized town of the country, is reduced to the most desolate, squalid spot of Italy. The working women of that farming district fought heroically with their husbands and children to keep the achievements of the past.

"A special cablegram in the Chicago Tribune, published Monday, October 4, tells part of the epic resistance, but they will be beaten and crushed with iron and blood if the glorious American labor movement does not protest more energetically. The United States bankers are lending hundreds of millions of dollars to the Fascist government. With that money Mussolini maintains his power and terror against the noble Italian working class. May the great convention of the American Federation of Labor intervene with its mighty power and stop the loans to the Fascist mercenaries and start a campaign among the Italo-American workers to line them up in the ranks of organized labor to fight the titanic battle for the freedom of the workers of Italy. Workers of America, help, help, help! Long live the American labor movement! Long live the international solidarity of the workers against Fascism.

"ANTONIO PRESI, Secretary of the Granite Cutters' Branch, Chicago, Granite Cutters' International Association of America."

Telegrams from the following persons and organizations, requesting that the next convention be held in Sacramento, California, were read: Charles W. Lyon, President Typographical Union No. 46; J. H. Johnson, President Laborers' Union No. 343; H. K. Johnson, Chairman of the Board of Supervisors of Sacramento; J. H. Stephens, President of the Sacramento Rotary Club; A. E. Goddard, Mayor of Sacramento; the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce. Mr. J. L. R. Marsh, a delegate representing the Sacramento Federated Trades Council, presented three communications of similar import, which were read to the convention, from the following: H. C. Bottorff, City Manager; E. C. Porter, Secretary - Manager of the Chamber of Commerce, and L. W. Hayes, Convention Manager of the Chamber of Commerce.

A telegram from Charles L. Bailey, Secretary of the Birmingham, Alabama Typographical Union, was read, urging that the 1927 convention be held in that city.

A similar invitation on behalf of St. Petersburg, Florida, was sent by the Mayor of that city, R. S. Pearce.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Mugavin, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your committee has examined the following credentials and recommends that the delegates be seated:

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—E. J. Tracy, 2 votes.

Tire Repairers and Rubber Workers' Union No. 17725, Chicago, Illinois—M. J. Powers, 1 vote.

Tire Repairers, Vulcanizers and Rubber Workers' Union No. 17825, Milwaukee, Wis.—Edw. Ryan, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary—Anna Fitzgerald.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of — substitute Rose Sullivan for Julia O'Connor Parker.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—J. L. Studdard, 1 vote.

Youngstown, O., United Labor Congress of Mahoning County—E. J. Tinney, 1 vote.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—substitute the name of Thomas A. Woods for T. M. Brandle.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Evans, Electrical Workers, announced that delegates from Chicago who desired to register in time for the ensuing election in that city might give their names to him, and he would forward them to the proper authorities.

Delegate Healy, Firemen and Oilers, made a brief statement regarding the coming election in New York and expressed the hope that all New York delegates would make a special effort to register before the final date, Saturday, October 9.

President Green: Last night when we adjourned Brother Swartz, of the Letter Carriers, was on the floor and I promised that I would recognize him this morning. The chair is now pleased to recognize Delegate Swartz.

Delegate Swartz, speaking on the matter before the convention at adjournment on the previous day, said in part:

As we adjourned yesterday we had a most magnificent array of speeches by men whose names will be remembered long after the officials of the Detroit Board of Commerce will be forgotten, men whose names will be engraven high on any statue of liberty or fairness or justice erected in the memory of the American nation, and I have nothing whatever to add to the particular lines that they followed in resenting this base and cowardly attack upon the American Federation of Labor and its President.

There is, however, a line of thought in connection therewith which it seems to me should be developed before the matter is allowed to drop. This attack was worse than a crime, it was a colossal blunder in many respects, it was a blunder in its evident purpose of defaming the American Federation of Labor by declaring it to be the enemy of the government of the United States—a slander most vile.

But that is not the phase which I desire to present at this moment. I desire rather to present the phase of the insult upon the intelligence of the church people of Detroit, who are not considered able to hear and judge for themselves as to the merits of our cause. Who appointed these men, the Manufacturers' Association and the Board of Commerce as wet nurses of the intellectual development of the worthy people of Detroit? Detroit is composed of as intelligent people as can be found anywhere. I am not a Detroit, and yet I honor many who are here. In these churches there are hundreds, yes, thousands of red-blood-

ed men who are not trades unionists and yet are fair minded and capable of judging for themselves, and it is to these men that the message of organized labor can be taken and will be taken in their churches. There are hundreds and thousands of devoted women, intelligent and capable of judging for themselves without any dictation from the commercial overlords of this city. And yet these people assume to say who shall stand in the churches and preach the gospel of the Holy Nazarene.

Now as to the particular phase of the denial of the Young Men's Christian Association of its hearing that had been arranged for President Green, no words of mine are needed to emphasize the high character and sterling ability of President Green, and yet, think of it—they admitted they were in a drive to secure a large amount of money that they feared would not be forthcoming unless they closed their doors to President Green.

I know the specious and fallacious arguments used in behalf of the misnamed American open shop plan. I am interested in an editorial in the Detroit Free Press this morning. Many of you have read it, perhaps. It has a semblance of fairness, I shan't criticize it at all; I shall assume that it means just what it says in saying that these petty, insignificant, deplorable acts of violence are in no sense chargeable to the great American Federation of Labor.

But one particular statement there drew my attention, and that is this: that in Detroit at the present time there is a very fair balance between organized and unorganized labor, working together in assumed harmony, of course. A very fair balance—that is on page 6 of the Detroit Free Press, but on page 2 of the same issue you will find a statement made yesterday, at the convention of the National Manufacturers' Association in New York City, by the president of the Employers' Association of this city that there were only three per cent of the working people of Detroit, subject, as he expresses it, to the domination of organized labor, and ninety-seven per cent of them are free workers. Of course we know those figures are ridiculous, we know they are false, just as the propaganda issued by the Manufacturers' Association is always false when directed against organized labor, but for the moment assuming them to be truthful, we might then get the capitalist's idea of a fair bal-

ance as expressed in the editorial—three per cent union, ninety-seven per cent non-union.

But the thought uppermost in my mind was simply this: The people of Detroit, through their churches, have the right to hear the truth next Sunday. While this colossal blunder was aimed at us, it is in reality far more of an affront to the thinking people of the churches. For every pulpit closed in the city of Detroit next Sunday there will be a thousand pulpits opened throughout the year in the United States. Truth crushed to earth shall rise again.

President Green: It is the opinion of the chair, as I think it is the opinion of practically all our delegates, that the matter under discussion since the inquiry was directed by Delegate Frey has been quite completely covered, and I think in a most satisfactory way from the American Federation of Labor viewpoint. I think we can well afford to leave the matter rest just as it is. The American Federation of Labor has not been hurt by the incident. We can feel that if there is anybody that will suffer it will be those who were responsible for the incident. I think we can leave the publicity that they have gained as a result of the action taken with them and let them coin it to whatever advantage they may feel it can be used. We are willing to leave it alone, and if there are no objections that course will be pursued.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers: In the addresses that were delivered yesterday this communication that was sent out broadcast was quoted in part. It is my understanding that the names of ten or twelve of the prominent men in this convention were recorded in that communication and it does not appear in the proceedings. I think this will be a historical matter that will be referred to in years to come, and I would like to suggest that that document be made a matter of record in every detail.

Secretary Morrison: It was the intention to publish the document in full, and if it was omitted it is due to an oversight.

President Green: The addresses delivered yesterday and the document read by Delegate Frey will appear in the printed proceedings.

The communication in full, parts of which were quoted by Delegate Frey in his address to the convention on the

previous day, is as follows:

"THE DETROITER
Sept. 27, 1926.

"Official Publication of the Detroit
Board of Commerce.

"Page 6 The Detroit-
er.—To Detroit Church Men:

"Detroit ministers have been offered labor speakers to appear in their pulpits Sunday, October 10th. This is a part of the program of the American Federation of Labor to make Detroit a Closed Shop city, as you will realize when you read the following list of speakers submitted:

"George L. Berry, Pres. International Pressman's Union.

"Otto S. Beyer, Mechanical Engineer.

"John Brophy, Director Workers' Education Bureau.

"Dr. Worth M. Tippy, New York City.

"Albert F. Coyle, Editorial Board, Locomotive Engineers Journal.

"Hugh Frayne, General Organizer, American Federation of Labor.

"Dr. James Meyers, New York City.

"John P. Frey, President Ohio Federation of Labor.

"Rev. Arthur F. Polt, Chicago Theological Seminary.

"Gilbert E. Hyatt, Washington, D. C.

"Collis Lovely, President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

"Max Hayes, Editor Cleveland Citizen.

"Rev. John S. Lowe, Boston, Mass.

"Rev. James M. Mullen, Philadelphia, Pa.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation Labor.

"John H. Walker, President, Illinois Federation of Labor.

"Rev. John McDowell, New York City.

"James Wilson, President Pattern Makers' League.

"Matthew Woll, President International Photo-Engravers.

"Phil Ziegler, Editor.

Rev. H. C. Heering, Boston, Mass.

"A. J. Muste, Dean Brookwood Labor College.

"Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, New York City.

"Walter M. Short, Editor, Union Advocate.

"Rev. Alva W. Taylor, Indianapolis, Ind.

"W. H. Howard, representing the Typographical Union.

"Ellis Searles, Editor United Mine Workers' Journal.

"Spencer Miller, Jr., Director, Workers' Education Bureau.

"Oscar Ameringer, Editor, Illinois

Journal.

"The citizens of Detroit are keen in their appreciation of the freedom of speech, but they realize that this fundamental principle of our republic implies thorough discussion of both sides of any question. If the ministers of Detroit open their pulpits to men who are admittedly attacking our government and our American Plan of employment, it is certain that they will submit to our request to furnish speakers on the following Sunday—Detroit speakers who will be happy to show that our city has outstripped all of her rivals simply because she has been unfettered by labor organizations.

"The industrial leaders of Detroit did not initiate this movement to bring their labor fight into Detroit's churches. We join with them in doubting the wisdom of making our churches debating grounds for such a subject. However, we are eager to answer Labor's assertions, no matter where they are made.

"We ask you, as the supporters of these churches, to weigh the matter carefully and fairly, and advise your minister as to whether or not you wish to have your church deviate from the program for which it is maintained."

"Respectfully submitted, Detroit
Board of Commerce."

Delegate Martel, Detroit Federation of Labor: I have here this morning a list of the Board of Directors of the Detroit Y. M. C. A. In the list is Howard A. Coffin, who you all remember was investigated by the United States government after the war was over. He was one of the dollar-a-year men and he was forced to make some kind of a settlement. Another is Paul King, who was indicted in the Newberry scandal in the city of Grand Rapids. In addition there is Charles B. Warren, special representative of the United States Steel Trust and the Michigan Sugar Beet Trust of our state, who was turned down by the United States Senate as Attorney-General. Another is Chester B. Culver, general manager of the Employers' Association of Detroit.

Delegate Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Would it be proper to suggest that this document also go into the record?

President Green: The statement made by Delegate Martel and the list he referred to will become part of the proceedings.

The list furnished by Delegate Martel, containing the names of the Board

of Directors of the Detroit Y. M. C. A., is as follows:

C. B. Van Dusen, President.
 Dr. A. G. Studer, General Secretary.
 A. R. Ewing, Treasurer.
 Frank H. Alfred.
 George R. Cook.
 Walter Brooks.
 John A. Bryant.
 W. B. Campbell.
 Howard A. Coffin.
 George W. Brennan.
 C. E. Flanders.
 F. C. Gilbert.
 Clarence C. Green.
 C. M. Harmon.
 Paul H. King.
 T. T. Leete, Jr.
 Andrew L. Mallotte.
 H. Lynn Pierson.
 H. L. Wilton.
 Richard H. Webber.
 Harvey E. Wallace.
 C. B. Warren.
 Chester B. Culver.
 William Robert Wilson.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: I would like to make a motion that an invitation be extended by the American Federation of Labor to the Board of Trustees of the Y. M. C. A. of Detroit to appear before this convention and explain their action. I would like to hear their side of the story.

President Green: There is a standing invitation to all of the citizens of Detroit who care to listen to the proceedings of our convention to come and be present, and of course, we would welcome the directors of the Detroit Young Men's Christian Association, we would be glad to have them come and sit with us. There does not seem to be any general desire that they come here for the purpose of defending themselves. I can't imagine what kind of a defense they would make. If there is no objection we will consider the matter closed at this time and proceed to the regular order of business.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Conboy, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Organization Progress

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 19 and 20, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee agrees with the Execu-

tive Council that the work of organizing must always be kept in the forefront and for that purpose a large staff of organizers is necessary. We commend them for the good work they have done during the past year and recommend that city central and state bodies be called upon to co-operate with and assist them in the future, not only in organizing work, but in the settlement of difficult and knotty problems arising from time to time.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Special Organization Campaign for Women Workers

A special campaign to increase the percentage of organization among women wage earners was begun in New Jersey in March. Some national and international unions have participated in this undertaking through organizers and contributions. Results thus far have not been what they should, due to indifference among those directly appealed to and due to the fact that we lacked an adequate organizing force through which we could carry forward an aggressive campaign.

The problem of organizing women wage earners involves difficult elements growing out of the newness of the employment of women in large numbers in industries. That these problems must be met is evident from records showing that women are more and more seeking employment in industrial establishments. There is need for continuation of this special campaign and for increasing emphasis in all organizing work for organizing women as well as men.

Special organizing literature for women was prepared for the New Jersey campaign which is available for all national and international and central bodies.

Your committee recommended at former conventions of the American Federation of Labor the organizing of women wage workers. Much good work has been accomplished in that direction. We recommend that this work be continued during the coming year and that the special organizing literature referred to by the Executive Council be supplied all national and international unions, city central and state bodies, as well as organizers, in continuation of the work under way to

organize the women wage workers.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Organization and Education Campaign

A special educational and organizing campaign was conducted during the past year by the Union Label Trades Department. This campaign laid special emphasis on trade union history and union labels. Moving pictures were used to good effect. The campaign lasted seven months; the labor film was sent into 36 states and provinces, and shown in 529 meetings in 396 cities.

This campaign was planned to serve as a revival agency. No interest remains constant unless it is nourished. Reminders of the struggles and achievements of organized labor, and the inspiration of its ideals together with the suggestion of new possibilities, has served to rouse the membership of our unions to renewed vigor and action. This has served to strengthen the cohesive forces that bind our movement together.

The necessary and potential central factors in all such organizing campaigns are the central labor unions and the state federations of labor. These bodies cannot make their full contribution to the labor movement unless all local unions that should be affiliated to them, join hands for mutual support, progress and reciprocal benefits.

Many local unions are following the selfish policy of remaining aloof from local central labor unions and state federations. This is ill-advised saving for the help and moral support of the organized groups are of much greater value than the small costs of affiliation. When trouble comes to the local union it must turn to the local organized group for co-operation. Each local union should bear a share of the expense of these organizations which if active and progressive, serve as protection against attacks and wrongs that are visited upon more helpless groups. We urge therefore, that national and international unions direct their local unions to establish and maintain the custom of affiliation to central labor unions and state federations of labor. One hundred per cent affiliation where affiliation is possible will mean one hundred per cent efficiency for the organized labor movement.

Not only do we need to strengthen our organization from within but we

need to extend our lines by organizing those still unorganized. We hope each central labor body will plan and carry through a labor forward movement during the coming year.

Your committee gave considerable time to this part of the Executive Council's report, and as the Union Label Trades Department is referred to we asked Secretary Manning, of that Department, to appear before us. He gave us much valuable information and supplied us with the following report made to the Nineteenth Annual Convention of the Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, held in this city a few days ago, which we believe should be in the hands of the delegates to this convention:

Report of Moving Picture Campaign

At a conference called by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on May 6, 1925, a plan for a country-wide Campaign Organization, Education and Publicity was presented by the Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department, and was unanimously approved by the 91 representatives of the 63 National and International Unions in attendance.

This plan provided for the division of the United States and Canada into five sections, each to be covered by a Unit of four persons, consisting of a lecturer, entertainer, motion picture operator and advance agent. A budget of \$125,000.00 was also included in this plan in order that it might be successfully conducted. In fact, the success of the campaign depended largely upon the finances secured.

When we realized that our finances were to be considerably curtailed, it was necessary to curtail other details. An appeal was made to several National and International Unions for lecturers to be furnished without cost and a splendid response was made.

It was also necessary to dispense with the advance agents. Officials of State Federations of Labor were requested to arrange the itinerary for their respective states. Compliance with this request was very gratifying.

It had originally been planned to hold meetings in cities where Central Bodies existed, this assuring us at least 817 meetings in the United States and Canada. When it is known that in 30 states 591 meetings were held, with an attendance estimated at 479,500, the wonderful

co-operation rendered by the State Federation officials in arranging meetings will be fully appreciated. In many of the states an official of the State Federation of Labor accompanied the Unit.

Appreciation of the good accomplished by the Campaign in arousing interest in the Labor Movement and in the work being done by State Federations of Labor, has been expressed by State Federation officials in arranging meetings have also expressed the opinion that the work of organization and education through the medium of the motion picture should be continued.

A vast amount of data as to the possibilities of organization and the non-affiliation to State and Central Bodies was collected, but not nearly as much as would have been secured had we been able to carry out our original plans. Curtailment of plans necessarily curtailed opportunity to gather complete data in each city visited.

However, this data, furnished by officials of Central Labor Unions indicates the great need for a strenuous and sustained Campaign of organization.

In 107 cities in ten of the states visited, it was reported that 377 Unions need assistance. In 189 cities in 16 states visited, there was reported a possibility of organizing 1,155 Unions, and this information has been forwarded to the various International Unions at interest.

The information secured as to the non-affiliation of Local Unions with State Federations of Labor was startling. This data was furnished by State Federation of Labor officials and was communicated to the International Unions by President Green.

The campaign was officially launched on October 30, 1925, by President Green in Washington, D. C., whose address was broadcast through the courtesy of the Radio Corporation of America. This was followed by the first public showing of our motion picture, Labor's Reward.

On November 15, the real work of the Campaign was started in California, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Illinois. The reports from the lecturers were very encouraging as they stated that great interest was being displayed by the workers, as indicated by the good attendance at practically all meetings held. From these states the Units were moved as dates were arranged, into the following states where meetings were held: Oregon, Washington, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Iowa, Missouri, Oklahoma, Kansas, Indiana, Arkansas, Louisiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Ten-

nessee, Alabama, Michigan, New York, Massachusetts, Toronto, Ont., Canada; New Jersey, Maryland, West Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Virginia, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Maine.

Labor's Reward was also shown at mass meetings in Erie, Pa.; Grand Forks, N. D.; Quakertown, Pa.; Durham, N. C. (5 meetings); Charleston, S. C.; Andrews, S. C.; Anniston, Ala., and Shenandoah, Pa.

There remains to be visited the States of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Rhode Island and Vermont. The State Federation officials of Mississippi, South Carolina and Delaware advise arrangements for a Campaign cannot be successfully made.

As stated, it was originally planned to have five Units on the road, but the demand was so great in several states to have Labor's Reward shown, that it was necessary to organize another Unit.

Those not actively engaged in the Campaign cannot realize the enormous amount of work necessary to its successful conduct. In addition to getting out the necessary publicity to make the meetings successful, constant communication was held by headquarters with the officials of the various State Federations of Labor and the six Units on the road.

We are pleased to be able to report that there were no cancellations of meetings caused by the non-arrival of any Unit on the date specified. Our men never disappointed in this respect, nor failed to make any city on their schedule. To make all meetings scheduled, many obstacles were met and overcome, and in many instances these were trying. Many methods of transportation of equipment were utilized on account of heavy snowstorms and bad roads and our men encountered and endured many hardships in order to show Labor's Reward in the different cities scheduled.

Inability of International Unions to furnish lecturers when called upon was a cause of embarrassment to those in charge of the Campaign. In some instances State Federation officials assumed this work voluntarily, while in others these officials were paid for their services. During the month of May, it was necessary to take the three paid representatives of the Union Label Trade Department from their regular duties and send them out to lecture with Labor's Reward, other lecturers not being available.

Considering that a Campaign of such magnitude had never before been undertaken by our Movement, it can be readily realized that some criticism was forthcoming. But despite this, there is no doubt that the Campaign was successful.

Appreciation is herewith expressed for services rendered during the Campaign to the following Organizations for furnishing lecturers free of cost:

American Federation of Labor, four in the States of Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey, Colorado and Utah.

Union Label Trades Department, three in the States of Wyoming, Kansas, part of Michigan, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia and the District of Columbia.

Cigarmakers International Union, two in California, Oregon, Washington, Montana and Pennsylvania.

United Garment Workers of America, two in Wisconsin, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Florida and part of West Virginia.

United Hatters of North America, one in Michigan.

Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, one in Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, one in Minnesota, Iowa and Missouri.

International Typographical Union, one in Illinois and Indiana.

And thanks and appreciation is herewith extended to those lecturers for the good work accomplished during the campaign.

Appreciation is also expressed for service rendered by the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the U. S. and Canada for the highly skilled and capable operators furnished. These men displayed the true union spirit and at all times co-operated in a whole-hearted manner and no small part of the success of the campaign is due directly to their efforts.

The members of local committees also rendered wonderful service in the arranging of meetings and their successful conduct.

Not much data was secured relative to the sale of union label goods. Nearly all of the lecturers reported on this phase of the campaign in a general way, but some of them stated in occasional reports that demands for the union label in some particular locality was good. Others stated that in localities visited by them no union labeled goods could be found. All of them, however, expressed the belief

that the campaign would not only stimulate organization but would aid materially in creating a better demand for union made goods.

There can be no doubt that campaigns such as have been conducted in the states mentioned have revived interest in our movement. That they should be continued must be apparent to all.

The experience gained by those directing the campaigns as well as those who co-operated in the several states, is valuable beyond estimation. In addition to the experience gained, there is on hand a first-class and complete equipment of six motion picture machines, 12 prints of Labor's Reward, and a balance of \$10,686.12, with which to initiate another campaign.

This financial balance exists because of the care that was taken in eliminating all unnecessary expense. All of the correspondence relative to affiliations with State Federations of Labor and circular letters issued, was conducted by the regular office staff of the American Federation of Labor. All of the correspondence with State Federations of Labor officials to arrange meetings and all matters incidental to the campaign, correspondence with the lecturers, motion picture operators, Central Bodies and furnishing data to International Unions as to where local unions needed assistance and where there were opportunities to form local unions, was taken care of by the regular staff of the Union Label Trades Department.

The affiliated unions that assume their share of the financial burden incident to the showing of the Label, Card and Button of their Union are deserving of the highest commendation.

This display not only added considerable interest to the motion picture, Labor's Reward, but it was of a highly educational character, in that it informed a large number of unionists and non-unionists of the character of these emblems and that for which they stand.

In many reports of the lecturers they emphasized the apparent deep interest taken in this display and practically all of them urged that if future campaigns were to be conducted, that this feature be continued on an enlarged scale.

As a whole, and considering the many handicaps which had to be met and overcome, we believe this campaign was productive of much good. All pioneer efforts are but experiments into un-

known fields, and now that we have some knowledge of the possibilities of organizing and educational work through the motion picture, let us hope that in the not distant future we will again endeavor to increase the knowledge of our own members and the general public as to that for which the labor movement and the Union Label stand, through this medium.

It is to be regretted that some local unions are not affiliated with city central and state bodies. If the labor movement is to be a success we must stand solidly and unitedly together. For that purpose we strenuously urge all national and international officers to see to it that their local unions become part and parcel of their city central and state bodies and take an active part in the work of these bodies. At the same time we call upon all city central and state bodies to co-operate with the International officers in bringing about this long desired affiliation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department: I presume it is only right that I make a few brief remarks to indicate what the report referred to by the committee carries.

In this campaign we held 591 meetings, arranged directly through State Federation officers, with an estimated attendance of 479,000 people. Bear in mind the major portion of this campaign was carried on during the most severe part of the winter, but in many instances two and three meetings were required in a city to accommodate the people who desired to attend.

We realize more fully than those who have assisted us by substantial criticism the shortcomings of that picture. We also realize that, plain as it was, without any elaboration, it did convey in a very large measure to the people of our country the story we are now trying to get before the people of Detroit. We found, with our limitation of power, that we could not carry out the program complete. We did learn that in ten states, from the reports of our representatives, there were six hundred and some odd unions reported as needing the assistance of their International Unions. In sixteen states we found that in eleven hundred cities of those states there was a possibility of 1,152 organizations being formed. That information was conveyed to the Unions at interest.

We also found a startling condition in relation to the affiliation of local

unions to State Federations and city central bodies. That information was turned over to President Green's department and the national officers know that he has corresponded with them on that.

I want to say here and now that in addition to the wonderful work done by the State Federations of Labor, no one worked harder, no one gave more of their time and effort to make this campaign a success than the President of the American Federation of Labor. In season and out of season he was always ready and willing to do his share of the work.

By the curtailment of our funds, we necessarily had to curtail the plan, and I am convinced from my experience that if for no other reason than the knowledge that we gathered, the experience that we gained, the campaign was an unbounded success, limited as we were. We have a few thousand dollars left which I am hopeful will be the nucleus of another campaign on broader lines.

I have no right to say what our Department will do. We are having a meeting of our executive board tomorrow afternoon and that will be one of the questions that will be taken up. If we do make some decision we will report it to this convention. If we want to run another campaign we are going to ask your co-operation. We believe we ought to have one, and I think I am safe in saying that one hundred per cent of the officials of State Federations of Labor where these meetings were held will agree with me when I say that much good was done and more good can be done by continuance of this method of organization.

Delegate Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor, commenting on the committee's report from the standpoint of an official of a State Federation of Labor, said, in part:

When this picture opened in the state of Minnesota in November and continued until a week before Christmas, we reached about 80,000 people. Possibly we could have reached more. We distributed many thousands of pieces of literature, representing all of the International Unions represented here. We spent something like five or six hundred dollars of the Federation's money to make this program a success. We did that in spite of the fact that we have in Minnesota, as in all other states, several hundred local organizations that are not affiliated with the Federation. We could have done a

great deal more work if we had had the affiliation of these local organizations. We have tried to get it.

I recognize the fact that international officers on the floor of this convention have suggested to their local unions to affiliate with our Federation. I also know from our experience that there are various methods of suggesting things, and it seems to me that the International Unions who put their money into this campaign could add to the benefits derived from the expenditure of that money by urging a little more strongly upon their local organizations the necessity, the fairness and the honesty of co-operating with the State labor movements in carrying out the desires of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate O'Hanlon, New York State Federation of Labor, testified to the effectiveness of the work carried on through the medium of the motion picture campaign. He said, in part:

As a result of that campaign we in New York gained numerous new affiliations with the New York State Federation of Labor. Our last convention was the largest ever held in the history of the State Federation. Following the convention there was a meeting of delegates representing the label trades, and in that meeting there was set up a State Label Conference, and into that conference went delegates representing trades without labels, with the result that there is now being continued in the State of New York in an organized way a healthy label agitation.

At this time, Mr. President, we want to thank the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Presidents of the International Unions who, by their letters, contributed so much to the increase in affiliations to the New York State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Marquardt, Atlanta Federation of Trades, stated that the educational feature of the picture resulted in great good in the localities where it was shown in the State of Georgia. Referring to the decline in the membership of the Georgia State Federation of Labor, he said:

It seems we have not been able to get the proper co-operation from the international organizations of labor, as well as the American Federation of Labor. We have appealed for that help, but our appeal seems to have fallen on deaf ears.

I am not unmindful of the fact that we have a condition in our State, particularly in the textile industry, that is

a hard proposition to handle, and I want to say in behalf of the Textile Workers' organization that they have done splendid work and have spent lots of money and lots of energy, with mighty discouraging results. There is a condition in that respect that is going to require more thought, more work and more energy along other lines, I think, before we will be able to break through the trust that has been formed in the textile industry. The other trades, the blacksmiths, the electrical workers, the carpenters, the tailors, of which I am a member, and others are in default in doing work to build up the State organization and the city central bodies.

I would like to appeal to the International officers here and ask them to contribute a little more in the future to the upbuilding of not only Georgia, but it will apply likewise to Alabama, to Florida, to Mississippi, to Louisiana, and to Tennessee.

Delegate Baker, Barbers, stated that at one time his International Union had in its constitution a section making it compulsory on local unions to affiliate with city central and State Federations, but that the law had been repealed at the last convention and that he felt the repeal of the law had worked harm to his organization and to the labor movement generally. He spoke in commendatory terms of the value of the picture that was shown in various sections of the country and expressed the hope that, in the interests of future progress, a greater interest be shown in the State Federations and central bodies.

Delegate Walker, Illinois State Federation of Labor, stated that fifty-two meetings at which the picture was shown were held in his state, and that wherever the picture was presented there was evidence of a better general understanding of the value of the labor movement than obtained prior to that time. Referring directly to the value of the picture he said:

When the fifty-two meetings were over, I think we could have arranged five hundred other meetings for that picture, but because the number of pictures, the number of men and the financial resources were limited, it had to be taken away from the state and given to other industrial centers throughout the country. Men who won't read papers, men that you can't talk to for any length of time will go to see that picture, and when they get through they are better trades unionists, they understand the situation better, they

take a more active interest, and they do better work amongst their fellows thereafter. I believe that the picture is just the beginning of that kind of work that can be done in the interest of our locals. I don't know of anything that can be more helpful in our general work than a campaign of education of that kind. We ought to reach every center of our organization with that picture that is already prepared, and I don't believe it is necessary to have a new picture. If we can have enough pictures of this kind to reach every community in seasonable time and we can develop the ownership and operation of radio broadcasting stations to work in conjunction with that, I feel quite sure we can meet the opposition effectively and successfully.

Vice-President Duffy, chairman of the committee: I have been coming to conventions of the American Federation of Labor for years and have listened to arguments being put up to make the International officers compel their local unions to become affiliated with city central and state bodies. Compulsion is repulsive to the American Federation of Labor. It is a voluntary organization. You have, however, from time to time directed that international officers instruct their local unions to become affiliated with city central and state bodies. In all these years I have seldom heard an international officer get on the floor and defend himself. He thought it wasn't necessary, because he carried out the instructions or directions of the convention, he carried out the law.

I am free to admit that there are representatives of city central or state bodies on the floor of this convention who will tell you, if they want to get on the floor, that the international officers have co-operated with them, they have helped them, they have ordered their local unions to become affiliated. I know the officers of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, that I represent, have given instructions, I know I have given instructions, but let me ask, is the other fellow quite innocent? Is there not some fault with the city central and state bodies. Some city central bodies, some central labor unions will not admit local unions of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. That is the case in Indianapolis at the present time.

At this point Chairman Duffy went into detail in reference to the Indianapolis case, pointing out that quite

a number of unions affiliated to Internationals were outside the Central labor union, and that though they had made repeated efforts to again affiliate these efforts had not been successful.

Continuing, he said: "As an international officer, I realize the necessity of local unions being affiliated with city central and state bodies, and I will do everything I possibly can to have them become affiliated, but when I do my best and then the central body of the state body won't admit the local union of carpenters, then you can't expect me to be very zealous in the future in asking local unions of the carpenters in other cities to become affiliated. As one international officer, I am doing my part."

Delegate Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor, spoke briefly in commendation of the support he had received from the Brotherhood of Carpenters in the matter of bringing about the affiliation of their Minnesota locals with the State Federation and with city central bodies.

Delegate Hart, Scranton Central Labor Union, spoke of the great benefit that the State Federations have been in the direction of securing remedial legislation for the workers. He stated that in the city of Scranton there were approximately 10,000 members of organized labor not represented in the Central Labor Union, and that it was his purpose to confer with the International officers representing those organizations and enlist their support towards bringing about the desired affiliation.

Delegate Horn, Blacksmiths, in discussing the report, said in part: My organization is mentioned, and that is the reason I am on the floor. If any state federation or central body writes to our international organization we will do everything we can to get our local unions to affiliate. Remember that some of us have been delegates to both state federations and city central bodies for years and we have been advocating that very thing all our lives. We do all we can to get our local unions to affiliate with the state federations and city central bodies as they should. No one has to get up and tell us the value of affiliations there, because we know that it is the state federations that get laws passed. In Illinois they recently succeeded in defeating a bill to put the Cossacks, as we have them in Pennsylvania, into that state.

I will do everything I can at all times

to get any of our local unions to affiliate with state and central bodies. We cannot always tell our fellows to get in there and then get a letter back telling us they have gone in. I suppose this applies to all organizations, that sometimes some of them want to get out rather than get in. I don't want you to believe the international officers are always the culprits.

Delegate Fox, Wyoming, said in part: I want to rise at this time to bear testimony to the fact that with a majority of the national and international unions we have had splendid co-operation in securing the affiliation of their local unions in the state and central bodies. Particularly is that true of the Carpenters, the Mine Workers, the Printers, and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees. Unfortunately, however, and this may not be attributable to any misinformation they get from their international unions, I say this in justice to these officers—we have never found it possible to secure the affiliation of any local unions of the Bricklayers with any central bodies or with the Wyoming State Federation of Labor since it was founded sixteen years ago. Time after time we were told on the floor of the Bricklayers' Union by responsible officers of their union that it was contrary to the laws of their international to so affiliate. Within a year and a half a committee from the Cheyenne Central Labor Union was told it was in contravention to the laws of their international to join. We know that is not the case, but as long as locals believe that it is impossible to secure their affiliation.

There are other locals that, so far as their co-operation is concerned, are at fault. In a great many instances, in fact, in a majority of the towns, the locals of musicians are not affiliated with either the city central bodies or with the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

In previous conventions I have had a great many arguments regarding affiliation of local unions. I found as time went on and we brought the matter on the floor of the American Federation of Labor, regardless of how unpopular it might be, it produced results. National and international organizations wrote their local unions and they became affiliated. I just make the suggestion at this time that the splendid efforts so far carried on by national and international officers regarding affiliations be continued and that

they offer their co-operation by writing to their local unions and pointing out to them their duty.

Delegate Quinlan, Cambridge, C. L. U.: I come from a city in Massachusetts of about 130,000 people. It is a small city but has a large labor movement. With the exception of two locals, all the organizations are affiliated with the central body. There is such a thing as the central labor body going out and getting these locals to affiliate. That is what we have to do in Cambridge in order to strengthen our central labor body. I believe we will get results if there is more of that sort of co-operation on the part of the central labor body. We don't keep organizations out, we invite them in, and we have all the international officers, such as the Barbers' Union, to affiliate their locals in Cambridge. I think a great deal could be done by international officers visiting the cities and getting their unions to affiliate.

Delegate Shanessy, Barbers: President Green has done a great deal in writing to the different national and international officers and asking them to help get their locals affiliated with the state federations and city central bodies. If every international officer would do his duty in that respect and urge the locals, not only to affiliate but to take an active part, our movement would be stronger and we would not be meeting with such opposition as we have had since we arrived in the city of Detroit.

In our last convention I recommended in my report and made a fight on the floor for it, to even go so far as to revoke the charter of a local union that would refuse to affiliate with a city central body or a State Federation of Labor. I was not successful in having that placed in our law; it was modified to recommend that we try to secure their affiliation. I hope in our next convention to see a law passed compelling them to affiliate.

I am sure that if we all do our bit and carry out suggestions that have been offered for some time past by President Green by having our locals affiliate we will grow by leaps and bounds and there will be greater demand for union made articles. Our organization is in hearty accord, and I wish we could compel every local union to do its part and affiliate with state federations and local central bodies.

Delegate Hirshberg, Philadelphia, said in part: I desire to take advantage

of this opportunity to voice my opinion in behalf of strenuous co-operation to develop central labor unions and State Federations as they should be developed. I am from a city that is presumed to be a laggard city in the labor movement, and yet if you will look back into Monday's proceedings and read Resolution 16, you will realize that the Central Labor Union and the Label Trades of Philadelphia are perhaps more awake than any central body in this country, in spite of the fact that we have many locals in that jurisdiction that do not belong to the Central Labor Union.

I have the honor to be President of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and I know whereof I speak when I say that a central body is 'a most effective instrument in behalf of organized labor when it is properly attended to and when all labor organizations participate. We have had occasion within the last few months to place Philadelphia on the map from a labor point of view, so to speak. We were opportunists, but we took advantage of the opportunity to assist in the celebration of the Sesqui-Centennial of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Organized labor was taken notice of, because our day was the biggest day the Sesqui-Centennial had in its history, and it was due to the efforts of the Central Labor Union and to the extraordinary activities of our organizer, Joseph M. Richie, who is here today as a representative of that Central Labor Union.

It is very unfortunate that there cannot be some means of securing the affiliation of local unions to central labor bodies. Don't forget that the few who do affiliate are bringing about conditions that the others are benefitted by and they do not contribute in any way to that result.

Delegate Buzzell, Los Angeles: I am Secretary of a central labor body, and I am sure any attempt on the part of an international to force affiliation will do more harm than it can possibly do good. One reason for locals not affiliating is on account of factional fights in the locals and the other is indifference on the part of the organizations. Our experience has shown us that every time we have attempted to use force to correct the first evil we have made our factional fights harder to settle finally and often we have never settled them at all.

Delegate Martel, Detroit, said in part: Inasmuch as the city of Detroit has

had considerable mention in this convention, so there will be no misunderstanding of the status of the labor movement in our city, I want to assure the delegates that the Detroit Federation of Labor has possibly the highest proportion of affiliations of local unions of any central body in the United States. We have not to exceed six or eight locals that are not affiliated. I will not embarrass the international officials representing the unions whose locals are not affiliated by mentioning their names, but I want to direct your attention to the fight between the open shop employers and the trade union movement, and leave it to your judgment to say to your local union while you are in the city of Detroit that their place is in the Central Labor Union.

The opposition is telling you of the prosperity of Detroit, of the contentment and happiness of the workers employed under the open shop system, but they do not tell you that they collect five million dollars every year in the form of a community fund to cover up the sore spots in the city of Detroit that exist as a result of the open shop system. I hope your international officers while here will find out if your local unions are affiliated, and if they are not, insist that they go into the central body. Either the system of issuing charters to central bodies is wrong or it is right. If it is wrong, central bodies should be abolished; if it is right, it should be the duty of this organization to encourage every local union to affiliate to the central body to which it belongs.

President Green: I am sure that we are all in thorough accord and agreement upon the wisdom and the necessity of having all local unions affiliated with the city central bodies and state federations of labor; in fact, our whole efforts are directed toward that end. We have found it the most practical way in following a policy of voluntary action, of persuasion, of appealing to the local unions to affiliate. I think it is the crystalized opinion of the organized labor movement that if we depart from our policy of persuasion and appeal to that of force and coercion we will encounter greater difficulties than we now meet.

It has been my experience since I have been President of the American Federation of Labor that practically all of the international unions respond with alacrity to our request that they communicate with their local unions

and urge them to affiliate with city central bodies and state federations.

And now may I say a word about the splendid service rendered by the city bodies and the state federations of labor. I never fully appreciated the great service these organizations rendered until I became president of the American Federation of Labor, and during the time I have been privileged to serve you I have been so deeply impressed with the value of these organizations and the service they have rendered that I now regard them as an indispensable part of our great American labor movement. In the cities and in the states, in the halls of the legislatures, in civic undertakings and in the common councils of the cities and villages they are the voice of labor, they speak for labor, they press labor's cause and labor's point of view, and just in proportion as we strengthen them through affiliation and through support we strengthen their voice and help them in their work.

The men representing these organizations give service day and night. I know of many instances of how, in season and out of season, these men give service to the labor movement of which very few of us know until it is brought to our attention. So I would like to join with the committee in voicing my urgent and sincere request that the local unions in every city and in every state affiliate with the central bodies and state federations of labor.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Proposing the Establishment of a Labor Chautauqua to Assist Organizing Work in the South.

Resolution No. 4. — By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara Conboy, George Creech and Arthur McDonnell, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, the workers in the south are showing a desire for organization under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, the men and women now organized believe that the unorganized could be more speedily brought into the various international unions through the starting of a Labor Chautauqua; and

WHEREAS, the cost of a Labor Chautauqua would be large; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the officers and

Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor call together during the Convention period the International and National representatives who would be interested in such Chautauqua, for the purpose of discussing the benefits to the South of such a course, and devise ways and means to carry this proposition out, providing a sufficient number of International and National unions consent to take part in such a program.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

American Federation of Labor to Continue Assistance of Organized Labor Movement in Porto Rico

Resolution No. 13.—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Porto Rico Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has never been felt more badly than at the present the necessity of inaugurating, carrying out and maintaining indefinitely a vigorous, intensive and systematic campaign of education, and organization amongst the working people of Porto Rico for the reconstruction of our local unions and to bring in new members so as to enable ourselves to regain and retain all that which was practically destroyed by the open shoppers and reactionary forces of opposition; and

WHEREAS, The special and economic task which is still necessary to carry on for a long time in Porto Rico to better local conditions as a question of humanity—if not for other reasons—and even as a matter of protection for the workers of the mainland against unfair competition of labor, for there are in Porto Rico many facilities for employers of a certain number of industries to go there and get cheap labor—cannot be left to local organized labor alone, on account of its too limited financial means and lack of opportunities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor propose as it has been done in the past, to continue to lend its worthy and unquestioned co-operation, influence, moral aid and all financial help possible to the working masses of Porto Rico as represented by the "Free Federation of Workingmen in Porto Rico" and to the people of that island in general, in their efforts to

better conditions, to establish a decent scale of wages, a reasonable number of working hours, living conditions in harmony with civilization, the promotion of social legislation and the exercise of all their civil rights free from industrial or political tyrants.

Secretary Conboy: After hearing Santiago Iglesias, the proposer of the resolution, explain the conditions under which the workers of Porto Rico have

to work and live, your committee concurs in the resolution and refers it to the Executive Council for such assistance in organizing the wage workers of Porto Rico as the funds may permit.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

At 12:00 o'clock, noon, the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

Fourth Day--Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees:

Boyer, Quesse, David, Lippold, Schulte, Coulter, Hauser, Rosemund, Steward, Gillot, Siemer, Duncan, Bruck, Lane, Kelly, Crough, Smith, Barry (E. P.), Hannah, Berry, O'Donnell, Johnston (R.), Burke, Sullivan, Collins, Clark (W. W.), Conway, Austin, Cone, Canavan, Ryan, Mitchell, Linville, Hoage, McBrayer, Lewis, O'Donnell (M. J.), Wade, Barry (J. L.), Hill, Steward, Studdard, Fox, Kutz, Ryan, Doll, Riley, Wenger, Mullen, Augustino, Alden, Murphy (J. H.), Chamberlain, Woodling, Murphy (J. H.), Frampton, Fagan, Coffelt, Bower, Tarbett, Johnson (A. C.), Elwell, Eckhardt, Walker, Woodmansee, Fitzpatrick, Keeny, McGeary, Bender, Bohm, Ruben, Polakoff, Shaw, Flynn, Purves, Darrington, Powers, Portway, Fuchs.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Philadelphia, Penn., Oct. 6, 1926.

"William Green,

"President American Federation Labor,

"Convention Headquarters,

"Detroit, Mich.

"As National Commander of the American Legion it is my privilege to send this word of greeting to the members of the American Federation of Labor assembled at their annual gathering. Were it not that our own national convention comes on approximately the same dates as your own I would cast everything else I might have arranged aside and accept your kind invitation to be present and speak a personal word of greeting and extend our good wishes to you. I know you will understand why at this particular time it is impossible, but I sincerely hope you will convey to the delegates and friends in attendance at your con-

vention the warmest thanks of the American Legion for all the American Federation of Labor has done and is doing to promulgate those things which tend toward a greater and more peaceful citizenship and which we so mutually endorse. May the years to come see the bonds of friendship between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion grow stronger and stronger.

"JOHN R. McQUIGG,
"National Commander the American Legion."

President Green: The telegram will be received and made part of the printed proceedings of the convention. The President of the American Federation of Labor responded to an invitation to attend a convention of the American Legion by sending a message explaining that it was impossible for the representatives of the American Federation of Labor to be in attendance at their convention for the purpose of delivering an address. We expressed our regret and assured them of our friendly co-operation in all matters upon which we could agree.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Secretary Conboy: The following three resolutions all bear on the same subject, and therefore, the committee treated them as one:

Proposing District Organizing Campaigns.

Resolution No. 44.—By Morris Sigman, Isadore Nagler, Louis Pinkofsky, Philip Oretzky, Abraham Snyder, Basilio Desti, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, a considerable portion of the workers in the large and small industrial centers of the United States

remain unorganized and thus constitute a menace to the standards won for themselves by the organized workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor encourage joint organizing efforts on the part of various unions in a given district, with the aid of the central labor body in that district, to reach the large body of unorganized workers through joint campaigns.

Urging Continuance of Efforts to Organize the Unorganized.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate E. D. Barry of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The open shoppers, under the leadership of various associated interests of employers have been especially active during the last year in their efforts to weaken and destroy the Trade Unions of Pennsylvania; and

WHEREAS, These open shoppers, in order to further their ends, are organizing dual and company unions; and

WHEREAS, This situation makes it necessary for continued and renewed effort to organize the unorganized workers of this state and to counteract the spread of dual and company unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to present this resolution to the American Federation of Labor Convention, and to support all resolutions pertaining to organization of the workers throughout the country.

Proposing an Organization Drive in All Industries.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Ben T. Oglesby of the Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union, No. 17769, Kansas City Missouri.

WHEREAS, Only a small percentage of the great working masses are as yet members of the trade unions, great numbers being still unorganized in nearly all industries; and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs not only militates against the unorganized who are helpless, but against the organized as well, who find themselves severely handicapped in the struggle for better conditions by the ever present army of unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The inevitable industrial crisis makes it all the more imperative that we bring these unorganized masses

into the unions and thus enormously strengthen our ranks against the bitter onslaughts that are bound to come from the "open shop" drive of the employers as soon as this industrial crisis becomes general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon all its affiliated international organizations to unite for a great organization drive in all localities and industries, in order to finally bring within the protecting folds of organized labor the masses that still remain on the outside.

The question of organizing all classes of workers, skilled and unskilled, has always been and now is the paramount issue with the American Federation of Labor. Your committee concurs in these resolutions and refers them to the Executive Council for advice, encouragement and co-operation, to the end that the proposed organizing drives or campaigns may be successful, and we move the adoption of the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen's Union, said in part: There is a phase of this organization question and of the open shop question that I desire to call to the attention of the convention, and, incidentally, to the attention of the Executive Council. I have had occasion to look into the new name that is bestowed on the open shop and the non-union shop and what really lies behind them, and in doing that I ran up against a situation that existed in the past and practically closed the period of the Guild Movement throughout Europe.

In those days land was the only thing out of which profit could be obtained—of course, outside the sea, in the way of fish, etc.—and the control of the land had arrived at a condition in which the feudal magnates controlled it. They had arrived at that situation through the voluntary arrangement between the bigger magnates, the smaller ones and the freeholders. Each one felt he needed some assistance and through a voluntary arrangement there had been developed a condition in which the holders of the freeholds and of smaller pieces of land voluntarily went under the protection of those who had larger pieces of land and therefore could better defend themselves.

This voluntary arrangement had developed throughout about two hundred years. When, however, landed propri-

etors had come to a certain phase of the development they notified the world and the governments such as they had at that time that they could not make the land profitable unless they could get the absolute power of life and death over those who lived on their land.

I think you can find some comparison in that with the present condition of the forces of nature which, through machinery and metals, have been placed in the hands of our present great employers. And those who hold those forces of nature in their hand have come to the conclusion that they want full and absolute control over their employees. The fact that feudal magnates were given absolute control over the men on the land resulted in the serfdom which came into every country of Europe outside of Norway, and it would have come there but for the fact that there wasn't enough land in big holdings to make it worth while.

Now the big employers, such as the Steel Trust and others of the same kind, are telling the world that the machinery could employ much more and that they could sell it cheaper if they had control over their employees, if they could tie the men to the mine, to the factory, to the railroad and to the shop and establish—under another name, possibly, but still establish—an industrial serfdom that will accomplish just the thing the feudal magnates accomplish. The American Plan is nothing but that very movement of the feudal magnates. It was two hundred years old when America was discovered, and the purpose for which it was used then, which was the destruction of the Guilds and the creating of serfdom on the lands, is the purpose for which it is used now. I therefore would like to suggest an amendment to the report, that the Executive Council provide some leaflets that can have general distribution throughout the country which will warn the working people of the United States against the thing that is now being done.

President Green announced that the suggestion made by Delegate Furuseth was taken care of in the report of the committee, that a resolution had already been introduced dealing with the subject and authorizing the Executive Council to make a survey of the whole question and inform the membership regarding its effect, its policy and its consequences.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Urging Demand For Union Labelled Brooms to Assist Campaign Against Convict Labor Products

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Will R. Boyer of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.

WHEREAS, The International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union have, during the past several years, spent thousands of dollars and a great amount of effort to combat the ever increasing competition of convict labor without result, and regret to report that during the past eighteen months our organization has lost a large number of members although the number of label shops has increased, due to the increase in the number of prisons either granting contracts or establishing broom plants under the State Account system. In some cases these contracts have been let in violation or evasion of the law, Oklahoma having granted a contract to the Oklahoma Broom Company under which they manufacture more than three hundred dozen prison made brooms at a price that is less than the cost of manufacture in a factory employing free labor; and

WHEREAS, Manufacturers employing union labor in their broom plants have lost business and were forced to reduce their output and discharge men, due to this unfair competition of prison labor. Many non-union plants being forced to quit the business; and

WHEREAS, The International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, due to the replacement of members by convicts is compelled to seek the aid of organized labor in our efforts to stop the further encroachment of prison shops; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledge themselves to aid in these efforts to abolish the manufacture of brooms and other commodities in penal and reformatory institutions, for sale on the open market and to make special effort to educate their membership to demand and insist on getting union label brooms as the only method of avoiding taking into their homes the filthy products of prison shops; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to write all State Federations and City Central Bodies to assist the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union in their efforts to organize the broom industry and to persuade jobbers

and wholesale dealers in brooms to refuse to handle prison brooms and to instruct all salaried organizers to aid in this work.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Proposing the Inauguration of a General Organizing Campaign in the Automobile Industry

Resolution No. 35.—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, there are employed in the automobile industry many thousands of working people eligible to membership in the American Federation of Labor, the industry as a whole, however, being without organization at this time, except in some instances, so-called "Shop" or "Company" organizations; and

WHEREAS, the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. having had under consideration for some time, the question of bringing about the organization of the working people in the automobile industry, but the task being so great that only through united action, led by the American Federation of Labor, can we succeed in bringing about the desired results; and

WHEREAS, all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are interested, directly or indirectly, in the organization of this industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized and instructed to inaugurate a general organizing campaign in the automobile industry at the earliest possible date and that the President of the A. F. of L. call a conference of the officers of all national or international organizations for the purpose of working out the details so that questions of jurisdiction may for the time being be eliminated to the end that all employed in the automobile industry may be brought into membership in the American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Conboy: Your committee recommends that the resolve be changed to read:

"That the President of the American Federation of Labor call a conference of all national and international organizations interested in the automobile industry for the purpose of work-

ing out details to inaugurate a general organizing campaign among the workers of that industry; and that the question of jurisdiction be suspended for the time being, so that the desired result sought for in the resolution may be accomplished."

With this change your committee concurs in the resolution and moves its adoption.

Delegate O'Connell, President of the Metal Trades Department, said in part: I rise to support the recommendation of the committee and to occupy your time for a few minutes in calling your attention to the importance of the proposition. The automobile industry is the third largest industry in the United States; it employs in the manufacture of automobiles more than one million workers, which does not include the people employed in the maintenance of automobiles in garages, etc., nor the people employed in the distribution of automobiles.

The industry has been without any general effort towards organization. It has grown by leaps and bounds and is now the dominant factor in the so-called non-union and American Plan shops. It is the dominant factor in the city where we are now holding our convention. It is the most highly specialized industry in existence; it is the most highly developed industry leading toward mass production. Its employees are specialized atoms in the production of automobiles. Every individual in the industry, with the exception of a very few who are employed in the maintenance of tools used in this industry, is a mere specialist in the highest sense of the term. Men and women are employed in this industry to do a particular thing, regardless of how small that particular thing may be, and that is his or her occupation, day in and day out, year in and year out.

Can you imagine an individual occupied constantly every hour of his or her life repeating one single operation over and over and over? Can you imagine the state of mind of the individual who is occupied in screwing a nut on a bolt his entire life time? Can you imagine the state of mind of that individual when he has left the shop for the day or the night?

This industry, so highly specialized, so tremendously developed requires, not the efforts of an individual organization nor the efforts of an individual department of an organization, but

the tremendous strength and influence of this great body to approach this undertaking. It cannot be done in any other way and the question of how they shall be organized, whether in our regular trades organizations or in some other kind of organization within our organization is a matter that must be worked out and decided by the men that may be called together by the President of the American Federation of Labor to sit down and give the matter careful consideration and work out some plan to bring this great industry into a state of organization.

I have attempted in the last year to make some little investigation, to do a little research work to ascertain if there is a possible way in which this industry could be approached so that the tens of thousands of workers outside the industry, and some inside, riding around in automobiles, besides wearing union made clothes and shoes and suspenders, might also ride around in union automobiles.

And so we come to you today with the problem of this third largest industry of our country almost completely unorganized. Some of our metal trades have some members, but the numbers are small; some of our organizations have made some success in organizing the garages, but the great proposition has not been penetrated. These millions of working people, growing all the time, compared to the miscellaneous efforts made to organize them here and there in spots, these people, notwithstanding what the employer says, notwithstanding what the public press says, are not satisfied, they are wholly and heartily dissatisfied, but their occupations are such, their surroundings are such that to lose their job means that there may not be another place where they can get the same kind of work.

No task confronting us in this country in organization is equal to the task I ask you to face in the organization of the automobile industry, and if we get the hearty support and the united co-operation of the international officers of the trades interested in this work, by the next convention we may be able to report to you that this problem has been at least penetrated to the extent of plans being made and work being done that will bring hope, happiness and prosperity to the millions of people employed in the industry.

Delegate McCullough, International Typographical Union, said in part: There is a phase of this that ought to

have some little consideration in connection with the matter under discussion. I presume that you all read in the papers the interview given out in New York City by the president of the American Plan Association of Detroit in which he stated that the prosperity of this great city has been brought to its present high peak by reason of the American plan—as arrogant an assumption as it is possible for a small mind to make.

The progress of America has been made in epochs that are distinctly marked, and each of these epochs depended upon the transportation facilities. In the beginning, when the thirteen colonies were driven to revolt against the oppression that was put upon them by an over-seas government, there were seven million people scattered along the Atlantic coast. They had scarcely penetrated two hundred miles into the interior. After the Revolution there was some little migration into the west across the mountains, but it amounted to very little until the invasion of the steam boats made transportation possible. Following the steam boat that great region was populated and developed. Following the steam boat came the railroad and then there was a greater wave to the west. After the Civil War the great trans-Mississippi region was opened up and inhabited, all due to transportation.

Prior to the World War the automobile had come into use, but not nearly to the extent that it is being used now, and the people of the United States saw another era dawn, the era of the internal combustion engine, and they began to build and prepare for that. Since the war this industry has developed at a rate that even those who were engaged in it could not conceive.

Now, I submit to you, if this has been the result of the American Plan, what does this American Plan of employment have to do with the development I have spoken of? To assume that the millions of automobiles that are traveling the highways and streets of the United States, are being so generally used by the people because of the American Plan is so absurd that it scarcely needs to be discussed, and yet, I feel that you should take consideration of that fact.

Judge Elbert H. Gary, the head of the United States Steel Corporation, said that Henry Ford's five-day week is economically impossible and unsound.

In answer to Judge Gary we have only to turn back to yesterday when we found Judge Gary asserting that the eight-hour shift was economically unsound and impracticable and that the only way the steel industry could exist was by the twelve-hour day. Judge Gary is no more abreast of the times, no more cognizant of what is going on in the country right under his nose than is the president of the American Plan of Detroit when he says the prosperity of Detroit has been the outcome of the so-called American Plan of employment.

The automobile industry did not develop because of the open shop, it did not develop because of any system or scheme that has for its purpose the absolute control of its men. Delegate Furuseth said yesterday that this system they employ here in Detroit is destroying whatever there is of God in man by destroying the creative faculty. Conditions should be such that when a man leaves one plant he can go into another and earn a living for his wife and children, and he cannot do that under the American Plan.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Conboy: This completes the work assigned to the committee on organization and is signed:

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman.
SARA A. CONBOY, Secretary.
THOMAS S. FARRELL.
CHARLES H. MOYER.
E. J. MANION.
JOHN P. BURKE.
MARTIN JOYCE.
I. M. ORNBURN.
GERTRUDE McNALLY.
D. W. HELT.
PHILIP BOCK.
E. E. MILLIMAN.
ROE B. BAKER.
C. J. GOLDEN.
ANNA NEARY.
M. J. KELLY.

Committee on Organization.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted unanimously.

President Green: I desire at this time to present to the delegates the secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau. For years we have heard from him with a great deal of profit and received valuable information that has helped us in our work. I am sure we

have all appreciated the splendid addresses he has delivered to us, and I know you want to hear him this afternoon.

ADDRESS BY MR. SPENCER MILLER, JUNIOR.

Secretary of The Workers' Education Bureau.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention:

The invitation of your President to have me address your convention each year on the subject of Education, must produce in those of you who attend these gatherings regularly something of the feeling as expressed in the refrain of the old gospel hymn which begins:

"Tell me the old, old story."

The subject of Education is an old, old story. It was an old story when Socrates gathered his fellow Greeks together in the market places of Athens over 2,000 years ago. It is a story which has its beginning with civilization itself. In is the story, in a word, of the effort of the human race to possess the world by understanding it.

If Socrates were to come among us again he would be struck, I have no doubt, by the vast additions that man has made to the store of human knowledge, by the incredible manner in which our modern scientists take ultra-microscopic atoms apart and measure universes millions of light-years distant from our earth. But above all he would have marvelled at the contrast in the staid and static society of the Fifth century Greece of the pre-Christian era and our modern dynamic and changing world. Nothing stands still; all is change. Even the very rocks of our mountains represent intermolecular action of crystals. We do further know that if we look out upon a green tree and turn away our gaze for so short a period as one minute and then look at the same tree again, and three fundamental changes have taken place—the light has changed; the tree has changed; we have changed.

Since change is the law of life, and growth the law of our being, man must continue to learn if he is to continue to live. Man must indeed learn to live as must he live to learn. To say we need to know no more is to fool ourselves alone. To say we are too old to learn is to confess that which we should resent if made by another. It is the purpose of the adult educational movement to dispel the melancholy belief that grown men and women are too old

to learn. It is the function of this movement to make education a continuous process throughout life.

Because of the character of our modern world and the continuous need of knowledge and understanding for all of our people the educational efforts which are being put forth by our adult working men and women are so significant and intertwined with the welfare of America. For it has been truly said that the multitude of the wise is the welfare of the world.

The adult educational movement has an important part in our whole educational system; it is equally important in the solution of many of our most complex problems. In discussing certain of these problems we are told repeatedly that we cannot solve these problems; that they can only be properly solved by the youth of our land. This is a fundamental fallacy. The younger generation can never solve our problems. We must do this for ourselves. We ourselves must become the object of education. In a word, adult education is re-education.

But more than this. If we bring up our youth on terms of our own repression and disabilities, they themselves will be handicapped. The adult community must not only solve its own problems, but also set its own standard of values and determine the kind of educational influences that are to surround our youth. Therein resides the reason for labor's desire to serve upon the Boards of Education and Boards of Trustees of our public schools and municipal universities.

Each year my address to this convention constitutes an annual summary of the progress made in the development of American Workers' Education to which you have given your wholehearted co-operation and your financial support. It is an accounting of our stewardship.

During the twelve months since we last met at Atlantic City, there have been several developments which may properly constitute a record of educational progress. In the first place there has been a measureable increase in the number and the geographic distribution of our educational centers which indicates both the essential soundness of our program and the recognition of its value by wage-earners. A conservative estimate would add 5,000 to those adult workers enrolled in systematic class instruction, making a total of upwards

of 40,000. Through such mediums of mass education as the Labor Chautauqua, Open Forums, and public debates, it is fair to say that the message of workers' education has been carried to tens of thousands who have not hitherto heard it.

Certainly this is true—the message of education and its importance to labor has never had a wider extension than during the past year.

In the second place there has been a response upon the part of the State Federations of Labor to make education a functional part of their activity that stands out as one of the conspicuous and impressive parts of the record of the year. You will recall that as early as 1923 the Portland Convention of the Federation of Labor adopted unanimously the recommendation of the Committee on Education of which William Green was chairman, for the creation of an Educational Department in each State Federation of Labor and for the appointment of Educational Directors to provide for a leadership and continuation of this program of adult workers' education throughout the country. A number of states where this educational work had already made some headway, were the first to put this plan into operation. Other states followed. During the year 1926 the leadership in this direction by the State Federations has been one of the most important developments. President Green himself as he became more impressed with the importance of this educational service to the Trade Union movement wrote all the State Federations urging the creation of such Educational Departments and the appointment of Educational Directors. This added supporting word has wrought affirmative responses from one state after the other. In the states of Arkansas, Colorado, California, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming, provisions have been made for such educational departments or for committees of investigation to work out some such programs. In a large number, educational directors have been designated and in others such men have been employed on full time under the direction of the State Federations of Labor. The significance of this action will be apparent to you all. It means that to the legislative function of each State Federation there is added

that of education. Both education and legislation should profit by this combination under the State Federations.

During the past summer I attended a number of state and national conventions upon request and conferred with their members and executive officers about systematizing this whole educational effort. In every case during my trip of nearly 8,000 miles, I found a response and an enthusiasm which was as stimulating as it was sincere. Again and again representatives of Labor came to me to say that this educational service was the hope of our American labor movement.

And may I add in this connection that during some of my trip in the west, I enjoyed the pleasure of being with the President of the Federation. We were invited to address a number of the same conventions. Modesty would certainly prevent him from saying it, but I should like to affirm here in your presence that no man could more completely and more effectively proclaim the ideals and policies of labor than did William Green during these weeks this summer. Everywhere he went, whether before labor, business, university or religious groups, he raised up the cause of labor to a new level of human aspiration. He compelled attention because of his transparent honesty and earnestness.

In the third place there has been a marked increase in the development of Workers' Education Summer Schools and Labor Institutes during the past summer. In Colorado, Pennsylvania, New York and Wisconsin there has been five such summer schools in session for working men and women where ample provisions have been made for such educational work. At Brookwood, three institutes were held on Textiles, Giant Power and the Transportation Industry under the respective auspices of the Textile Workers, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Standard railroad organizations. Two week-end conferences have been called by one Labor College during the year to discuss Workmen's Compensation, Old Age Pension and similar problems. The purpose of these summer schools, labor institutes and week-end conferences is to give continuity to educational work, and to provide these informal gatherings of labor and technicians for the discussion of those problems which are of utmost concern to industry, and inform labor on its responsibility in the solution of these problems. In another ten years I predict we shall have upwards of a hun-

dred of these summer schools and institutes and week-end conferences about this country for the discussion of labor's problems.

In the fourth place, we have developed at the headquarters of our Bureau in response to an original request of President Green a Research Department to serve the growing needs of labor for research not only in the field of workers' education but in the field of industrial relations as well. One of the first tasks to which our research department set itself was the question of historical studies of the different unions. From many sides we received the definite statement that one of the things which was most needed was some brief history of each Union which could be put in the hands of all new members, and to a certain extent, older members, so that the entire membership would be informed about the aims and policies of the Unions. We have already begun the research on these and have issued the first of these studies for the textile workers. This brief history has already proved to be useful and we are at work on a series of others.

We have under consideration, in addition, studies of the various industries to assist workers in understanding more fully the problems that confront their industry. It would seem to be self-evident that labor's constructive part in the management of industry, will depend in large measure upon its understanding of industrial problems. The time has arrived when labor must begin a more serious study of industry and the organization of business if it is going to discharge its full industrial responsibility and contribute to industry what it alone can contribute. The power of labor in those industries which are fully unionized carries with it responsibility for the stability and prosperity of the industry. Constructive policies must replace obstructive policies. The example of the railroad organizations in assuming obligations for production standard and certain managerial functions indicate one way in which the direction of American labor policy is developing and of its genuine need for research. It is our hope that this convention may give some consideration to ways in which our research services may be expanded most effectively and distributed to the members of organized labor. Our Research Department has also been preparing each month, a Review Service of the more important books that ap-

pear which deal with labor and social problems. This service is supplied each month to the "American Federationist," and a number of other labor journals.

In the fifth place, we discovered during the year that our books and pamphlets had become such an important part of our service and received such universal approval, that we have incorporated our Workers' Education Bureau Press under the laws of New York state, to give permanence in law as well as in fact to our publications. One of the most important additions to our pamphlet series has been "Workmen's Compensation" by Thomas Donnelly. A volume entitled "Readings in Trade Unionism" by David Saposs has been added to our bookshelf. In addition we have published upon request in our reprint series, "The Tragedy Waste" by Stuart Chase; "The Miner's Freedom" by Carter Goodrich, and we will issue in a few days in the same series, an important contribution to labor literature by W. E. Walling entitled "American Labor and American Democracy." Included among our fall books in the workers' bookshelf will be an "Economic History of the United States" by Harold Faulkner, a volume on "The Constitution in Practice" by Howard Lee McBain and "Our Economic Institutions" by Willard Thorpe. Other pamphlets and research studies will also appear.

What, you may properly ask, is the net result of this educational work, and what of its service to American wage earners? Five years are hardly a sufficiently long time to determine the ultimate service of an educational movement of this kind. Yet already there are indications a plenty that your venture of faith in this adult educational movement has not been unjustified.

In one industrial center a local union found great difficulty in securing men who would serve as officers of the local. They accordingly selected six likely young men and sent them to the local workers' college to learn something of labor problems, parliamentary law and English. After a year, three of these men were elected to office and conducted the affairs of the union with marked efficiency. In another city all the recent appointments for business agents and local officials have been drawn from their students at the local Trade Union College. The respective unions found that the training these men received in their classes was indispensable for effective service. The first

women ever to appear in behalf of protective legislation for women in a southern state legislature were graduates of one of our summer schools for working women. In another city, a group of electrical workers in a course in shop economics had so mastered financial and economic details of the industry that they presented an unanswerable brief to their employers for a wage increase. And so I might enumerate example after example of the great practical value of education to wage earners. But more than all else this educational movement has given to American wage earners a sense of the meaning of life that they never had before. The Workers' Education Bureau which President Green described last year as a "new arm of the Federation," has during the year become a stronger arm because of constant use and increasing service.

Let me conclude this address by again recalling to your consideration the great importance of this movement of Workers' Education to which you have given your generous support. Within the last twenty years the standard working week has been shortened by nearly 20 per cent in this country. When the working hours of 17,000,000 industrial workers have been reduced from ten to eight, 34,000,000 leisure hours are added to the life of the nation. This new leisure is a challenge to our intelligence for its wise use. Potentially if these hours could be directed and labor could develop a program collectively, it would become the basis of a significant cultural movement in this country. What a revolution has taken place in our attitude on this whole question of leisure? In 1791 Alexander Hamilton, the Father of American Manufacture, was urging the establishment of manufactures for the employment of leisure time of women and children. Today we regard child labor as a denial of the child's right to education. We conceive of leisure not as a period of idleness but as the opportunity for education and recreation so that men and women may share to the full in an abundant life. Education must prepare men for life's leisure as well as life's work. If labor can develop steadily a creative, cultural activity for its leisure time, it will be in the vanguard of our national life.

There is a second aspect of this alliance between labor and education which is of the greatest import to the future of our industrial civilization.

"If it is proper to speak of our

civilization as essentially industrial then it does follow that the education appropriate to these conditions will turn on industry by which civilization lives, and in which it has its being. An education which teaches mankind about all else but leaves untouched a discussion of industry which is the breath of its nostrils is inappropriate to industrial civilization. If such a civilization is to be educated it must be in and through its industry."

It follows, then, that the reunion of labor and education, of industry and culture which have tended to drift apart under the laws of industrialism is of the first imperative. The separation of labor and education has tended to make of labor a dehumanized drudgery and of culture an external and artificial product. For, no labor which is uninformed by some cultural aspects, is worthy of human activity, and no culture which does not arise out of labor has genuine vitality. For back of all great art, and great literature, is great work.

I know of no better way to sum up what I believe to be the great service of Workers' Education to the future of our industrial civilization by bringing together in alliance labor and education, than to quote you the inspired words of Dr. L. P. Jacks, Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, who proclaims a truth which is universal.

"It is only as a laborer that man is either capable of education or worthy of it. The men of science, the artists, the poets, the philosophers, the heroes, the saints, the captains of industry, the captains of civilization—what are they in the last analysis, but highly educated laborers, found most frequently in the communities where culture and labor are working in alliance, least frequently where they have drifted apart, as alas! they have drifted apart in these days? The great task of our times, once more, is to reunite these separated elements."

Men of labor, the great task of our times is indeed your task. You have before you the great opportunity to serve not only the economic and industrial needs of our civilization, but also its cultural and spiritual needs. You can shape the destiny of industrial America this next quarter of a century as perhaps no other group. You have the heart and the will for this great service; you will need the education as well.

It was said of Abraham Lincoln that clothed with absolute power he never

abused it save in the cause of mercy. May it be said of American labor that possessed with great power that it never abused it save in the cause of justice and mercy.

President Green expressed appreciation of Mr. Miller's address, as well as the work he is doing as secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau. Referring more particularly to the Bureau, President Green said:

I recall that I stated one year ago that this Workers' Education Bureau was an arm of the American labor movement. I want to emphasize that statement by saying that I regard it as a strong arm of the American Federation of Labor. We have come to understand more and more the value of knowledge and education in our work. We realize that now, since we have reached the point where we must assume responsibility and where we must deal with difficult problems that arise through the processes of collective bargaining, we must be educated so that we can present the facts and present our case in such a way as to convince the other side that our cause is just and our case is well made.

Then again, we can get much out of life through education, through understanding and through knowledge. Our lives can be made fuller and more complete. Who is it that will carry this education to our workers in the simple way that we are carrying it to them now; except the organized labor movement? We understand their language, we know their heart beats, we know their longings, we know their environment, we know their hopes and their aspirations. We must be an educational movement as well as an economic movement, and we must have our own educational movement developed in accordance with our economic processes, fully and completely under the control of the American Federation of Labor.

It is for that reason that I appreciate, as you must appreciate, what a strong arm this Workers' Education Bureau is to the American Federation of Labor. The development of adult study classes, the work that is being done in local unions, much of it unnoticed and some of it unknown, is of tremendous value. It is through this movement that we have awakened in the hearts and minds of many workers the ambition to rise higher and higher. Through this Bureau we have brought to working men and women a new vision, a broadened vision of life, and we have enabled them

to live as they never lived before, and I think if we can carry on this work, humbly as it is now being carried on, but in a broader way, as I hope it may be in the near future, we will serve this great American labor movement and the people of our land with this strong arm in such a way as to develop our creative ability and develop a higher standard of citizenship, and to bring into the lives of men and women brightness and sunshine.

President Green introduced to the convention Dr. Sherwood Eddy, a representative of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Dr. Eddy addressed the convention. He stated that he was secretary for Asia for the Young Men's Christian Association, but did not appear before the convention in any official capacity. During the course of his statement he gave information in regard to conditions as he saw them in Russia, France, Ger-

many and England, during a visit to those countries last summer.

Chairman Martel, of the local entertainment committee, announced that arrangements had been completed for the visit of the delegates to the Ford Motor plant Friday afternoon, cars leaving the convention hall at 12:30 p. m. and returning about 3:30 p. m. He suggested that no afternoon session be held on Friday, in order that the delegates might take advantage of this opportunity.

Chairman Martel also announced a meeting of the representatives of the City Central and State Federations of Labor on Thursday evening in the Tuller Hotel, under the auspices of the Workers' Education Bureau.

At 5:30 p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, October 8.

Fifth Day—Friday Morning Session

Detroit, Michigan, October 8, 1926.
The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m. by President Green.

Absentees:

Schulte, Coulter, Hauser, Rosemund, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Baer, Sullivan, Gillot, Hannah, Burke, Sullivan (H. W.), Barry (J. L.), Baringer, Gorman, Hill, Studdard, Kutz, Ryan (Jere), Doll, Hammer, Wenger, O'Dell, Mullen, Alden, Henley, Augustino, Murphy (J. H.), Chamberlain, Woodling, Murphy (J. H.), Framp-ton, Fagan, McCrann, Coffelt, Herder, Bower, Tarbett, Johnson, Shea, Elwell, Eckhardt, Walker, Hart, Woodmansee, Wood, Fitzpatrick, Keeny, McGeory, Tinney, Bender, Bohn, Ruben, Shaw, Flynn, Purves, Darrington, Powers, Ryan, Portway, Fuchs.

The Committee on Credentials recom-mended the seating of B. J. McCauley, Central Labor Union, Sarasota, Florida, with one vote. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the follow-ing telegrams:

"St. Paul, Minn., Oct. 7, 1926.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor.

"Convention Hall, Detroit, Mich.

"I am sending you today to the Wash-ington office check for eight hundred dollars for the benefit of the striking miners of Great Britain. This money was raised by a tag day in Minneapolis, Saturday, October second, and the com-mittee suggests that the convention recom-mend throughout the nation tag days be inaugurated in behalf of the British miners and their families.

With best wishes for a successful convention, I am,

"Yours fraternally,

"E. G. HALL."

"Sacramento, Calif., Oct. 7, 1926.

"J. L. R. Marsh, Hotel Norton,
Detroit, Mich.

"First Congregational Church heartily joins in invitation for great convention of labor forces at Sacramento in nineteen twenty-seven and will help to make it a success.

"HARLEY H. GILL."

Invitations were received from St. Petersburg, Florida, to hold the 1927 convention in that city, from the fol-lowing organizations and individuals:

T. P. O'Connor, Secretary, Chamber of Commerce; John Wallace, President, Lion's Club; W. L. Tillinghast, Retail Merchants' Association; Bayard S. Cook, President, Rotary Club; Ray Latham, President, Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers; and W. E. Smith, President, Carpenters' Union No. 531, representing 1,600 members.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Secretary Mugavin read the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of The American Federation of Labor:

Your auditing Committee, consisting of three delegates duly appointed by their respective International Presi-dents, at the request of President Green, in accordance with Section 4, Article 3 of the Constitution, herewith submit for your consideration and action the following report:

We have carefully examined and au-dited the books and records of the American Federation of Labor covering all fiscal transactions for the twelve (12) months beginning September 1st, 1925, and ending August 31st, 1926, and found same to be correct in every respect.

The total receipts and disbursements for the respective accounts are as fol-lows:

Receipts

Balance on hand August 31,	
1925	\$213,053.80
Per capita tax	360,207.74
American Federationist	86,641.77
Defense fund for local trade and Federal Labor Unions:	
Per capita tax from locals	32,980.07
Initiation fees	15,233.05
Reinstatement fees	316.75
Supplies	6,328.99
Interest:	
Bank deposits	\$4,918.71
U. S. Liberty Bonds	1,600.00
Canadian Victory Loans	825.00
	7,343.71
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L.	7,896.98
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters	

not issued.....	1,502.43
	<u>\$518,451.49</u>
Total receipts	\$731,505.29
Expenses	
General	\$383,458.42
American Federationist.....	86,959.73
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local	
trade and federal labor	
unions	41,913.66
Premiums on bonds of officers	
of affiliated unions.....	6,781.52
Total expenses.....	<u>\$519,113.33</u>
Balance of funds on hand,	
August 31, 1926.....	\$212,391.96
Recapitulation	
In General fund	\$ 19,296.18
In defense fund for local	
trade and federal labor un-	
ions	193,095.78
Balance of funds on hand,	
August 31st, 1926.....	<u>\$212,391.96</u>
Where Funds Are Deposited and Invested	
The bank balances of the secretary and treasurer were confirmed by statements from the respective depositories.	
We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be deposited as follows:	
Certificates of deposit by	
Treasurer Tobin in the Un-	
ion Trust Company, Indian-	
apolis, Ind., interest	
bearing certificates.....	\$100,000.00
On deposit in the Indiana	
National Bank, subject to	
check	55,391.96
Interest bearing certificates	
in the Federation Bank and	
Trust Co., New York, N. Y.	40,000.00
Canadian Victory Bonds.....	15,000.00
On deposit in Riggs	
National Bank,	
Washington, D. C.,	
subject to check	
of Secretary Mor-	
risson	\$15,193.03
Outstanding checks..	13,193.03
	<u>2,000.00</u>
Total	<u>\$212,391.96</u>

Following the precedent established by the Atlantic City, 1925 American Federation of Labor Convention, in accordance with the instructions of the El Paso 1924 American Federation of Labor Convention, the Executive Coun-

cil of the American Federation of Labor authorized the appointment of a Committee consisting of Frank Duffy, Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, and General Secretary United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; Thomas L. Hughes, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and James C. Shanessy, President of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union, to examine the bond, holdings and cash on deposit in Indianapolis, Ind., whose sworn report is herewith attached and which agrees with our examination of the financial records of the American Federation of Labor at Washington, D. C., and is herewith made part of this report.

Indianapolis, Ind.,

Sept. 28, 1926

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In accordance with the instructions of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the undersigned examined the accounts of Treasurer Daniel J. Tobin of the A. F. of L., at Indianapolis, Ind., on September 28, 1926, for the year ending August 31, 1926, and certify to the following:

Certificates of Deposit

4 certificates, \$5,000.00 each,	
Union Trust Co., Indian-	
apolis, Ind.....	\$ 20,000.00
8 certificates, \$10,000.00 each,	
Union Trust Co., Indian-	
apolis, Ind.....	80,000.00
4 certificates, \$5,000.00 each,	
Union Trust Co., Indian-	
apolis, Ind.....	20,000.00
4 certificates, \$5,000.00 each,	
Federation Bank and Trust	
Co., New York.....	20,000.00
2 certificates, \$10,000.00 each,	
Federation Bank and Trust	
Co., New York.....	20,000.00

Canadian Victory Bonds

3 Canadian Victory Bonds,	
\$5,000.00 each.....	15,000.00

Checking Account

Indiana National Bank, In-	
dianapolis, Ind., subject to	
check	55,391.96

Recapitulation

Certificates of deposit.....	\$140,000.00
Canadian Victory Bonds.....	15,000.00
Checking account, Indiana	

National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind..... 55,391.96

Total\$210,391.96

Respectfully, submitted,

Signed, FRANK DUFFY, Second Vice-President, A. F. of L., Gen. Sec. United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Signed, THOMAS L. HUGHES, Secretary - Treasurer, International Brotherhood Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablenmen and Helpers of America.

Signed, JAMES C. SHANESSY, President, Journeymen Barbers' International Union.

State of Indiana,
County of Marion—ss

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of September, 1926.

My Commission expires Jan. 25, 1928.

(Signed) JOSEPH O. CARSON,
Notary Public.

Education Fund

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing co-operation upon the plan of the Rochdale Co-operative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including August 31, 1926, \$4,430.52, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to and including August 31, 1926, \$3,331.92, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1926, amounting to \$1,098.60, which is deposited in the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C. The name of Fund for Promoting and Advancing Co-operation was changed by order of the Executive Council to Education Fund.

Recapitulation

Total donations, April 1, 1918,	
to August 31, 1926.....	\$ 4,430.52
Total expenses, February 6,	
1919 to August 31, 1926.....	3,331.92

Balance on hand, August	
31, 1926.....	\$ 1,098.60

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to April 30, 1920, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Since 1920 no contributions have been received, except interest which amounts to \$206.94, and the only expenses paid amount to \$1,243.30. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Woodrow Wilson Memorial Building Fund

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions of the El Paso convention, to all affiliated organizations for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College, to be used for such education developments as may be determined upon by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late President of the United States. Woodrow Wilson.

Contributions received from August 12, 1925, to August 31, 1926, and interest amount to \$1,574.61. This fund is deposited in the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Geneva, Switzerland, Labor Office Room Fund

On June 15, 1925, an appeal was issued for contributions to furnish a room in the newly erected International Labor Office Building, Geneva, Switzerland. This appeal was authorized by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its February, 1925, meeting, and President Green directed to proceed to collect the necessary funds, the amount to be not less than \$1,000.00. Contributions and interest received from June 18, 1925, to August 31, 1926, amounted to \$1,660.68. A check for the total of this fund, \$1,660.68, was drawn, payable to American Federation of Labor Fraternal Delegate to Great Britain, Frank Farrington, who in turn, while in Europe, presented this check for \$1,660.68 to the International Labor Office at Geneva, securing a receipt for same.

Recapitulation

Total donations and interest,	
June 18, 1925, to August	
31, 1926.....	\$ 1,660.68
Total turned over to International Labor Office by A. F. of L. Delegate, Frank Farrington	\$ 1,660.68

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid has been mailed to each contributor and addi-

tional copies may be obtained by application to headquarters.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Anthracite Miners' Appeal

Contributions in response to the appeals issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, under date of December 22, 1925, and January 18, 1926, to the affiliated organizations, for contributions to meet the urgent needs of the Anthracite Coal Miners, showed receipts from December 22, 1925, to and including June 19, 1926, \$200,710.67, and total forwarded to Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, \$200,710.67.

Recapitulation

Total contributions from December 22, 1925, to June 19, 1926.....\$200,710.67
Total amount forwarded to Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Kennedy.....\$200,710.67
We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

British Miners' Appeal

Contributions in response to the appeal issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor under date of July 6th, 1926, to the affiliated organization, to aid the families of the striking miners of Great Britain in their fight in resisting a substantial reduction in their living standards, showed receipts from July 6th, 1926, to and including August 31st, 1926, \$31,438.32 and total forwarded to A. J. Cook, Secretary, Miners' Federation of Great Britain, \$31,438.32. This fund is not closed on the ending of our fiscal year, August 31st, 1926, and these figures are as of August 31, 1926.

Recapitulation

Total contributions from July 6th, to and including August 31, 1926.....\$ 31,438.32
Total amount forwarded to Secretary A. J. Cook.....\$ 31,438.32

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported in accordance with the records of the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C. It is further noted that this

fund has been materially increased since the close of the fiscal year, August 31st, 1926, to the date of this audit.

Flag Fund

Receipts up to August 31, 1926\$ 526.64

This fund is deposited in the Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Gompers' Memorial Fund

Receipts up to August 31, 1926\$ 98.50

This fund is deposited in the Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

American Federation of Labor Building Fund

Balance on hand, August 31, 1925\$ 12,841.42
Receipts 28,670.62

Total receipts.....\$ 41,512.04
Expenses 22,980.69

Balance on hand, August 31, 1926\$ 18,531.35

(See page 36, Executive Council's report, for itemized statement of receipts and expenses.)

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

We find the balance, \$18,531.35, invested and deposited as follows:

Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., interest bearing certificates at 4 per cent\$ 12,500.00
Federal Farm Loan Certificates bearing interest at 4½ per cent..... 5,000.00
Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., at 3 per cent interest, subject to check.....\$1,141.42
Outstanding checks.... 110.07

1,031.35
Total\$ 18,531.35

We also personally inspected and counted the Federal Farm Loan Certificates in the safe deposit vaults of the Mount Vernon Savings Bank of

Washington, D. C., amounting to \$5,000.00, and the \$12,500.00 certificates of deposit and bank book showing balance of \$1,141.42, and found them correct.

We note with pleasure that the balance in the Trustee Fund at the end of this fiscal year, amounting to \$18,531.35, is \$5,689.93 more than last year, which is a material increase.

We approve of the construction and maintenance of a building in Washington, entirely paid for by the funds of the American Federation of Labor. We approve of the maintenance of the American Federation of Labor Building in an economical manner and we further approve of the continuance of the policy that maintains a distinctive building in the capital of the United States, where Labor may meet and gather to give expression to the ideas and conditions existing throughout the various parts of our country.

We desire to call attention to the General Fund, which shows an increase of \$8,271.75 over last year. We also desire to note that the American Federationist shows a steady growth and is in a healthy financial condition.

We wish to express our appreciation of the heartfelt co-operation extended to your Auditing Committee by everyone connected with the office of the American Federation of Labor, which reflects great credit upon President Green and Secretary Morrison in their selection of able and competent employees to assist them in the conduct of this most wonderful movement.

Respectfully submitted,
WALTER SNOW, Chairman.
FRANK HUGHES.
JOHN T. MUGAVIN, Secretary.

Delegate Mugavin moved the adoption of the report of the Auditing Committee. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green asked for reports of committees. Receiving the information that none of the committees were ready to report, President Green announced that two fraternal delegates would address the convention while awaiting committee reports.

In introducing Miss Anna Fitzgerald, President Green said: It is hardly necessary for me to refer to Fraternal Delegate Fitzgerald in presenting her to you this morning. She has been attending our conventions for many years as the representative of the Woman's Label League. We appreciate her devotion and her loyalty to the principles

and the causes of our great movement. With great patience, in the face of difficulties, she continues to serve our great organization and she is always true to its ideals and aspirations.

ADDRESS BY MISS ANNA FITZGERALD.

(Fraternal Delegate Woman's International Union Label League).

Mr. President and Delegates: In coming to your convention I do not bring you a new message, I come with that same old story that I have told you before. That is, if the organized labor movement is going to make the union label all that it hopes for it is absolutely necessary that we interest the women. It is true, as your President has said, that I have been working patiently along this line for a number of years, but at no time have I felt the need of greater activity along this line than I do at the present time. I listened to reports of committees and to speakers who addressed this convention, and each one had the same message, that organized labor must sustain and support organized labor in every activity. When I listened to the address with regard to the situation of the Bakers' organization, the thought came to me, "How can we hope to do anything for that organization against the powerful trust that is trying to crush it out of existence unless we enlist the women in this great movement, the women who do the buying, the women in the homes, who in their everyday life can say whether the Bakers' organization shall prosper or die.

You do not take this line of activity as seriously as you should. Many of you do not talk about it in your homes as I think you should. That is a matter of education, however, and it will require many more years before organized labor will see the need of this as many of you have seen it for years. Yesterday you adopted a resolution dealing with the Broom Makers, an organization that is being put out of existence because of the competition of convict labor. It is the women who use the brooms.

I feel the Woman's International Union Label League is necessary, it must go on and we must make greater strides than we have in the past. We are constantly organizing women, either into auxiliaries of the various crafts or into locals of the League. In communities where our organization is in

existence we find much less difficulty in discouraging the purchase of prison-made products than we do where we have no organizations of women.

I hope when you go to your homes you will take up this matter seriously and try to interest your women in this movement. If there was nothing to be gained by adopting the union label in various crafts I doubt that you would have done it, but now that we have the label we find it necessary to teach the people who spend the money something about it.

More than a year ago in my home city the printers made a special drive for the union label. The women gathered up all kinds of non-union articles that came to their homes in the way of advertising and other printed matter. The printers made the campaign and were successful in organizing many of the job printing houses. The women helped them in that campaign. There is no limit to the work the women can do if they only know how.

The Woman's International Label League has worked along with the central bodies, the state federations of labor and the American Federation of Labor. I would like to have the representatives of the central bodies gather the women together in their communities and teach them the lesson of trade unionism. Let them know they have a certain obligation to the American Federation of Labor and that it is their duty to help to carry on the work they are organized for. I think if you do this we will come back with greater activity of our organizations to report to you and you will not regret the time and money you spend in this direction.

I am grateful for the opportunity to say these few words. I do not attempt to tell you what you should do, because you know your work, but I do urge you to try to interest the women. I find that appearing here year after year, I reach some representatives of central bodies who go home and take up this work. I want this organization of women to be one you can be a part of. It is no expense to you and it is an asset.

I want to bring the greetings of the Woman's International Union Label League to you and to pledge our aid to the movement represented by the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Most of the delegates attending the convention know Miss Rose Schneidermann and the position she occupies in the National Women's

Trade Union League. Many of you come in contact with her work in behalf of this organization and in behalf of our movement. We appreciate very much the service this organization renders. We would like to make it stronger and bigger and better so that it might co-operate with us in a broader way. I know you will be glad to hear from Miss Schneidermann.

ADDRESS OF MISS ROSE SCHNEIDERMANN.

(Fraternal Delegate, National Women's Trade Union League).

Worthy President and Delegates to the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: I extend to you our most cordial greetings and best wishes. All of us who are in the labor movement know that the three fields we must fight on are Organization, Education and Legislation. The National Women's Trade Union League follows in the same line. I feel that though you may know of the work we are doing in certain localities, I will give you a short summary of our activities for the past year. With your permission, I will read these activities, because I am afraid I would miss some of them, and they are very important.

We are confident that your deliberations will bring to the millions of men and women wage-earners an added measure of happiness and well-being. We, who are members of the trade union movement, know that our fight is threefold—Organization, Education and Legislation. The activities of the National Women's Trade Union League are along the same lines, only our activities are restricted to women workers.

I realize that a goodly number of the delegates present know of our work. Nevertheless, I feel that because of the special attention the American Federation of Labor is giving to the organization of women wage-earners, that you will be interested in a summarized report of the year's activities of our National and local Leagues. As you know, we do not initiate organization, we nurse and mother it when called upon. A local League, when it is equipped at all, will help in the following ways: will distribute circulars at factory doors; address meetings of all kinds; help on the picket lines and do other strike service; draw up letters and circulars and render such clerical assistance as is necessary to help the small and struggling union. Nor are

our activities limited to women. Sometimes we are even called upon to help men's organizations as well. I am therefore glad to report that in the last year our local Leagues have helped in all of these ways to a larger or lesser degree the following organizations: Bakers, Bindery, Building Service Employees, Candy and Confectionery Workers, Carpenters, Chauffeurs, Cigar Makers, Cleaners and Dyers, Cloak Operators, Clothing Workers, Cooks, Costume Dress Makers, Culinary Workers, Department Store Workers, Electrical Workers, Elevator Constructors, Elevator Operators, Embroidery Workers, Engineers (Locomotive, Marine Stationary, Steam Shovel), Flower and Feather Workers, Fur Workers, Garment Workers, Glove Workers, Gold Leaf Cutters, Hat and Cap Makers, Housewives Hosiery Knitters, Hospital Employees, Hotel Maids, Jacquard Loom Fixers, Janitresses, Jewelry, Laundry Workers, Lithographers, Masons (stone), Metal Polishers, Millinery Workers, Mine Workers, Musicians, Neckwear Workers, Painters, Paper Box Makers, Plasterers, Plumbers, Pocketbook Workers, Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, Sheet Metal Workers, Steam Fitters, Street Car Men, Teachers, Textile Workers, Theatrical Stage Employees, Typographical Workers, Upholsterers, Waitresses, Waterproof Garment Workers, Watch Factory Workers.

I am happy to state that the outstanding service for the year was the co-operation we were able to give to the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor in their 40 weeks' organization campaign. The National League, gladly and with profit we hope, assigned one of our organizers for that period, and according to the reports we have had, we know that she has given splendid service.

I wish that we were able to report that in the past year we were instrumental in bringing into the trade union movement at least a million women workers, but unfortunately, this is not so. But you who are actively engaged in organization work know how hard the work is and how meagre are the results. Organizing women shows very slow results because women work largely in the unskilled trades. They are the lowest paid and the most exploited. The working woman is not only a wage-earner, she is also a home-maker. If she is not already married, she expects to be married and therefore pays little attention to her working conditions and

her living standards. There is the older woman and the young girl, the so-called flapper, who present a problem which is not easy to solve. One asks little from life and the other is hungry for romance and beauty.

The married woman in industry further complicates the problem of organization. The 1920 census shows us that there are two million married women gainfully employed. For instance, while the increase of women in the textile industry from 1910 to 1920 was 20 per cent, the increase in married women employed in the textile industry for the same period was 60 per cent. I am sure you will agree with me that the great majority of these women are not working for pin money, as some employers would like us to believe. They work either because upon them depends the lives and well-being of dependent children or because the earnings of the husband are insufficient to keep the family in reasonable comfort. These facts are brought out in a study made by the Women's Bureau in Manchester, New Hampshire. Of the 119 families investigated, in 85 per cent of these families the husband earned less than \$1,500 a year. What can the wife do but put her shoulder to the wheel and help make ends meet? Truly the married woman in industry presents a grave problem to us as a nation, both from an economic and social point of view. We cannot afford to be discouraged, however.

These new problems in the organization of women are a challenge to us all. They call for a new approach and a new technique. Towards this end the National League Convention (held in Kansas City last June) devoted a full day to the discussion of organization methods, old and new. Many questions were raised to which the answers are yet to be found. A few suggestions made during the discussion will no doubt be very profitable to all of us interested in the organization of women wage-earners. One was to make the meeting rooms more attractive. Another, to have a recreation program. If it is good business for the employers to develop basketball teams, football teams and tennis tournaments, why should it not be good business for us to go in for such recreation? After all, we can all stand a bit of fun once in a while. Speaking of fun, I want to tell you a little story, a true story at that—A debate was staged by the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce at which a vice-president of

the New York State Federation of Labor and a Senator who had introduced the bill, defended forty-eight hour legislation for New York State women workers. They were opposed by members of the Woman's Party, whose attitude astonished the many working women present. The moment the debate ended a group of these girls rushed up to the Senator. Said one, "Mr. Senator, we ain't got no bum husbands to support, nor no kids, but we girls want that law because we wanta have some fun—we wanta go to parties once in a while and we don't wanta be all tired out." The Senator thought that remark summed up the case better than all the arguments made on the floor, and I think we can all agree with him.

Still another suggestion made at the institute was that the labor movement redouble its efforts for wider publicity. If we were able to put our side of every issue before the public, we would secure the understanding and sympathy of the average man and woman and would thereby create a favorable public opinion toward our cause which indirectly would help our organization work. Another suggestion was the need of educating the wives and daughters of trade unionists to the ideals and aspirations of the labor movement. After all a vast number of the young women workers come from trade union families and if our good brothers would carry the message of organization into their homes, the American girl would respond much more quickly to the appeal for unionization. I am not going to take up your time with the many other suggestions brought out in the discussion. We hope soon to publish the facts and that you will find the reading of them worth while.

Then there is the matter of necessary legislation. Nearly all of our local Leagues actively carry forward a legislative program, thereby supplementing our national legislative activities. Everywhere we work hand in hand with our State Federations of Labor. Good compensation laws are perhaps more important than any other kind of legislation for women who work. One of our Leagues has a Compensation Bureau and through that service we have been able to see at first hand the disastrous effects on nerves and minds of women workers who have been injured. Women undoubtedly possess a more sensitive nervous system than men, and particularly mutilations of hands or face affect women very, very seriously, in fact, very often out of all propor-

tion to the accident itself.

Our Leagues have actively participated in promoting workers' education, some by taking the initiative in building up workers' classes where there is no labor college and others by co-operating with the local trade union colleges. I know you will be interested in a decision made at the Kansas City Convention in June. The Convention recommended that the National Women's Trade Union League do its utmost to support educational work in the Southern industrial districts. The way into the South will undoubtedly be through education and the time seems ripe, for the young women workers of the South are not yet accustomed to the tremendous speed of machinery and will, we hope, more quickly respond to appeals to work for the betterment of their own conditions. A recent study of the New York State Women's Bureau gives an idea of the tremendous speed of machinery on which women work. For instance, in sewing trades:

1. For heavy material a machine does 600 stitches a minute.

2. Sewing something like hats, a machine does 750 stitches a minute.

3. Sewing on thin material, the machine does 1,200 stitches a minute.

Punch Presses:

At processes which do continuous punching, which is what women are mostly employed on, punch presses do from 60 to 75 revolutions a minute.

Laundries:

1. In laundries a mangle does from 60 to 75 revolutions a minute.

2. The ironing machines do about 25 revolutions a minute.

These machines in particular are cited, as they are machines on which women are employed in large numbers and are typical of the speed in industry.

In closing, I wish to assure you that we will continue to co-operate to the best of our ability in every way possible with the American Federation of Labor and its subsidiary unions. We place at your disposal all that we have. The trade union movement is the hope of the American worker. Towards the realization of its highest ideals we pledge our unqualified support.

President Green: I am sure we all appreciate very deeply the instructing and inspiring addresses of Miss Fitzgerald and Miss Schneidemann this morning. We are glad to have them here and to be benefitted by the addresses they delivered.

President Green introduced to the convention for a short address Jeff

Davis, King of the Hoboes.

The speaker briefly reviewed his connection with organized labor since the year 1913, when he first addressed the American Federation of Labor in convention at Seattle. He stated that he held honorary memberships in quite a number of unions and that he was proud of that fact. He told of numerous instances where he had assisted labor in times of trouble, and expressed his appreciation of the support and encouragement that labor had given in turn to the itinerant workers.

The privilege of the floor was extended to Delegate Connors, Switchmen's Union, to impart some information to the delegates.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I have some information here this morning that I thought might be of interest to you. In the beginning I want to say that some time ago there were laws passed in the State of Arkansas known as full crew laws. Those laws provided for a sufficient number of men to be placed on trains and in all switching crews to safely protect the lives and limbs of the public and to save the destruction of property.

The railroad companies, after the law was passed, through the Rock Island Railroad, assaulted the law and it went to the Supreme Court of the State of Arkansas, and the court declared the law to be valid—a safety law that was necessary in all cases in protecting the lives and limbs of the traveling public. The Rock Island, not being satisfied with the decision of the Arkansas Supreme Court, took it up to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States also declared the law to be valid and found according to the decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Arkansas, so the companies were then forced to put the required number of men in the crew.

Since that time they have been attempting through the legislature to have the law repealed, but they got only twelve votes in the Senate for the repeal of the law. Recently there has been an initiative and referendum law passed in the State of Arkansas. The railroads have taken advantage of that and they went out and circulated petitions to have the matter placed upon the ballot at the general election this year, which took place on Tuesday last.

I was sent down to Arkansas to start a campaign in opposition to the carriers in their attempt to repeal the

law, and when I arrived in Little Rock I went directly to the officers of the Arkansas State Federation of Labor, and H. M. Thackrey, who is Secretary-Treasurer of that body, joined with me and together we worked for the preservation of the full crew law. We made every town of importance in the State of Arkansas in the four months I was down there and explained the merits of the full crew law.

As a last resort we appealed to Ed Keating, manager of "Labor," the paper that you see before you this morning, to give us a special edition in Arkansas, and that edition was sent down into the State on the 23rd of September, about 300,000 copies of it, and it was freely circulated among the farmers and workers of that State, and yesterday I received a telegram which reads:

"Vote of 487 precincts on full crew law, for repeal, 23,748; against repeal, 35,143. Looks safe. H. M. Thackrey."

This morning I received a telegram from Mr. Keating in which he said that apparently we had won in Arkansas. Now that law has apparently been saved to the workers and to the public of the State of Arkansas, and I want to impress you with this thought, that it was the valiant work of the trade union movement, the American Federation of Labor movement, together with the work that was done by this publication known as "Labor," that saved that law. I want to say, too, that "Labor" is one of the greatest assets you can possibly conceive of in any kind of a political fight, whether it is for the repeal of full crew laws or for electing men to the Congress.

I thought I would make this statement so that the delegates would know that while Arkansas is practically isolated and there are not over eight or ten thousand members affiliated with the State organization, still they are alive and working, and this man Thackrey is doing all he can to try to build up the movement in that State.

Delegate O'Connell, Metal Trades Department, announced that a special service for the delegates and visitors would be held at 10:30 o'clock Sunday morning, October 10, at St. Aloysius Roman Catholic Church, on Washington boulevard. He stated that an augmented choir of male voices would give a special musical program and that it was

expected that the sermon would be delivered by the Rev. Dr. John A. Ryan, of the Catholic University. He announced further the center aisle of the church would be reserved for the delegates.

Chairman Martel, of the local entertainment committee, made an announcement regarding the trip to the Ford Motor plant and stated that the automobiles which would take the delegates to the plant were all driven by members of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs' Union.

He also extended an invitation to the

delegates to visit the printing plant and building owned by the Detroit Federation of Labor at 274 East High street.

No committee reports were in readiness for presentation to the convention, and no further business was presented. Delegate Connors, Switchmen, moved that the rules be suspended and that the convention adjourn to 9:30 o'clock Saturday morning, October 9.

The motion was seconded and carried and the convention adjourned at 12:15 p. m.

Sixth Day—Saturday Morning Session

Detroit, Michigan,
October 9, 1926.

The convention was called to order
at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees:

Boyer, Quesse, David, Schulte, Coulter, Hauser, Rosemund, Balbach, Baer, Sullivan (D. J.), Gillot, Barry (G. L.), Burke, Sullivan (H. W.), Collins, Strickland, Helt, Austin, Cone, Mitchell (M. W.), Barry (J. L.), Gorman, Hill, Kutz, Ryan (Jere), Malley, Wenger, O'Dell, Mullen, Alden, Henley, Augustino, Murphy (J. H.), Chamberlain, Woodling, Cofelt, Buzzell, Murphy (J. H.), Frampton, Cofelt, Herder, Bower, Tarbett, Johnson (A. C.), Shea, Elwell, Eckhart, Walker, Doyle, Woodmansee, Wood, Trimmer, Hope, Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Kenny, McGeory, Tinney, Bender, Rohn, Ruben, Shiplacoff, Shaw, Flynn, Purves, Darrington, Powers, Ryan (Edw.), Portway.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"Wilkes Barre, Pa.,
"Oct. 8, 1926.

"Frank Morrison,
"Secretary American Federation of
Labor Convention, Detroit, Mich.

"In behalf of the newly organized Bakery and Confectionery Workers of the anthracite region, kindly convey to the officers, delegates and friends of your convention our whole-hearted appreciation and thanks for what you have accomplished in saving us from despotism and bondage of the bread trust, commonly known as the Ward Baking Company. May your deliberations redound to the greatest success of those who are compelled to toil for a livelihood, inclusive of your and our movement and may the bonds of brotherhood between the bona fide organized labor movement, its friends and the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union ever grow onward stronger and stronger.

"CHRIS A. KERKER,
"General Organizer."

"Mexico City,
"Oct. 5, 1926.

"Honorable William Green,
Convention American Federation of
Labor,
"Detroit, Mich.

"The President of the Republic, General Plutarco Elias Calles, requests me to send expressions of good will to the delegates of the honorable Convention

of the American Federation of Labor, and through your dignified President to express to your convention his best wishes that your labors and deliberations on the important and most humane problems will meet with the greatest success. Affectionately,

"LUIS N. MORONES,
"Secretary of Industry, Commerce and
Labor."

Invitations were received for the 1927 convention of the American Federation of Labor from St. Petersburg, Florida, by Floyd Robinson, President Painters' Union 233; Glenn Miller, President, Optimist Club; C. R. Dean, President, Machinists' Union No. 50; A. D. Nelson, Secretary, Brickmasons' Union No. 5; C. B. Dixon, Secretary, Engineers' Local No. 883; G. Scott Dalgeish, Secretary Builders' Exchange, and Herman M. Craig, President, Advertising Club.

Invitations from Sacramento, California, were received from Chester Harshner, Secretary, Labor Temple Association; George W. Stokel, Secretary, Teamsters' Local 5885; Archer C. Sullivan, President, Federated Trades Council; W. L. Rickett, Secretary, Sacramento District Council of Carpenters; A. Ferguson, Secretary, Plumbers' and Steamfitters' Local No. 447.

Arthur J. O'Keefe, Mayor of New Orleans, Louisiana, extended the invitation for that city, and Frank L. Johnson, President, and George J. Green, Secretary, Central Labor Council, extended the invitation for Los Angeles, California.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Delegate Weaver, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Union Label Products Store Management
Agreement Adopted by Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Adolph Hirschberg, of the American Federation of Musicians.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor very wisely has made it mandatory for every member thereof to purchase Union labelled products, realizing that if complied with conscientiously would result in the much desired organizing of the unorganized; and

WHEREAS, It is conceded that due to

the lack of easily accessible stores in which good Union labelled articles can be purchased at reasonable prices, makes it difficult to comply with the above mentioned principle; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union and Label Trades Department at Philadelphia, Pa., has devised and adopted a plan in the form of an agreement, a facsimile of which is herewith attached for your persual and consideration, so that if acceptable it may be copied and adopted in other localities in a like or similar manner as follows:

Through the expansion of opportunity presented to you to consistently reciprocate in your demands by purchasing in a store where nothing but Union labelled products are sold, that compare well in quality and price with any store in the city; a store that will expand through your co-operation by adding departments from time to time until it has grown into a complete department store of Union labelled products.

To bring about the above desirable results, the following shall be complied with:

The Sampson Company, No. 60 North Twelfth street, Philadelphia, Pa., party of the first part, and Organized Labor of Philadelphia, and vicinity, party of the second part:

WITNESSETH AND AGREE, that:

1. The party of the first part (The Sampson Company) guarantees to build and sell clothes made to measure in quality and price satisfactory to all, with union label attached to each garment.

2. The party of the second part (members of organized labor) agrees to give the party of the first part (The Sampson Company) the opportunity to execute the above by ordering one union labelled garment, and if satisfactory, further agrees to continue to purchase from The Sampson Company, so long as the quality and price remains satisfactory, and further agrees to recommend to others to do likewise.

3. The party of the first part (The Sampson Company) agrees to apply the profits, which shall be nominal, to the expansion of the aforementioned store, by adding such departments of available union labelled products from time to time, as the earnings will permit, until

the aforementioned store grows into a department store of Union made products of all necessities.

4. The party of the first part (The Sampson Company) further agrees to be guided by an advisory committee appointed by Organized Labor, composed of:

HORACE WILKINSON,
Hosiery Workers, Local No. 696.

A. L. McCLOW,
Bricklayer, Local No. 1.

THOS. DREW,
Printing Pressmen, No. 4,
I. P. P. U. of N. A.

HAROLD HENRIQUES,
Machinist, Local No. 690.

JAMES McELROY,
Hotel and Restaurant Employees,
No. 115.

They shall co-operate in procuring for labor the best products available at reasonable prices, commensurate with the union wage and conditions, and assist in unionizing those shops whose products are desirable.

5. All interested parties further agree to co-operate to the fullest extent to bring about conditions as outlined above so that Organized Labor will realize its Ideals, Aims and Purposes for which it is striving, and which are necessary and essential for its existence.

Endorsed by:

Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and vicinity, and

The Union Label Trades Department of Philadelphia.

Signed and attested to in the presence of our Conscience and the Allegiance we owe the American Federation of Labor.

THE SAMPSON COMPANY.

CENTRAL LABOR UNION,
LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT.

Labor's Department Store (Organized Labor's purchasing center) will focus the eyes of all the manufacturers upon it who will endeavor to sell their products to Organized Labor, and as a result will be obliged to Unionize. Other stores, in their endeavor to cater to organized labor, will then be obliged to demand union labelled products. The benefits YOU will derive will be manifold and endless. Therefore, place

your shoulder to the wheel, of which you are a part and without whom we cannot attain to the realization of ORGANIZED LABOR'S GOAL. HELP YOURSELF AND YOUR CO-OPERATORS! IT COSTS YOU NOTHING TO DO YOUR DUTY!



JOIN THE UNION LABEL CLUB!

And,

WHEREAS, It has already proven itself to have the merits of practicability as well as the necessary qualifications for arousing the members of organized labor in the interest of the label and the principle involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention here assembled, concur in the plan as indicated above and adopted in Philadelphia, Pa., and recommend same for adoption in all localities in the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Weaver: The Committee has made some slight alterations in the resolution. After the third, whereas they eliminate the word "dream" and introduce "expansion of opportunity." They also suggest the elimination of the signature of the American Federation of Labor and substitute the Central Labor Union and Label Trades Department in place thereof. With these changes, the committee recommends the adoption of the resolution, and makes the following recommendations:

We commend the trade unionists of Philadelphia as represented in the Central Labor Union and Label Trades Department for their activity in securing merchants to handle supplies and commodities bearing the union label, and suggest to affiliated organizations throughout the country that they study and investigate the plan adopted in Philadelphia and any other plan which may come to their notice that has proven successful in other localities.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The Label Committee offers the following statement and recommendations:

We have heard much about the so-called "American Plan" of employers of labor who are hostile to any movement which has for its object the organization of the workers into Trade Unions and the subsequent education of them as to their right singly and collectively and the inculcation into them of a truly Democratic spirit.

The methods used by these so-called leading citizens and representatives of big business in subduing their employes into a condition very closely approaching vassalage is so reprehensible and cowardly as to deserve the most severe condemnation.

The fact that these advocates of suppression reserve to themselves the right of organization while denying this right to those in their employ is the best possible evidence that their plans and methods are a danger and a menace to our Democratic institutions and all that they stand for. No band of pirates that ever cut a throat or scuttled a ship was more ruthless than this aggregation of self-ordained guardians of the people.

Indeed, there is this striking difference between the two. The pirate did openly and speedily what their present day prototypes are attempting to do in an indirect, slow, cowardly but equally effective manner. As a choice between the two methods the average man would choose the piratical course.

In striking contrast to either of these methods, and in keeping with the policy and tradition of the American Federation of Labor, which always has been to promote real Democratic organization and to foster education, unmeasurable progress has been made in the social, economic and industrial life of the toiling masses.

One of the educational features employed by the American Federation of Labor, and many of its affiliated unions, is the union label. It had been in use by some unions several years

before the American Federation of Labor was organized. Indeed, the union label has been productive of so much good to the workers that the wonder is its use has not developed and kept progress with the advance of the general labor movement.

The union label idea is distinctly American in that it found birth in America, was developed in America, and America is the only country in the world whose workers use this symbol to guarantee that the products upon which it appears are made by skilled mechanics, under fair conditions of employment, in which they have a full voice through the use of the trade agreement.

In contradistinction to the misnamed "American Plan" of our enemies which thrives only on secrecy of methods and duplicity of purpose the real American Plan, the union label, seeks and desires the widest possible publicity of its object, the fullest and most complete investigation of its purpose, and that co-operation from our members, friends and sympathizers which will constantly and continually bring more sunshine, happiness and pleasure into the lives of our people.

The mission of the union label is educational. In its silent and impressive way it is a constant reminder to a trade unionist of his duty to his fellows and a guide-post to the road of duty and co-operation.

In its mute appeal it tells you of the sacrifices made by the pioneers in our movement and the burdens they bore voluntarily in order that our pathway through life would be made easier than theirs. It tells you of the many wrongs righted for and the abuses removed from the thousands of women in industry.

It points the finger of accusation at the exploiter of child labor, whether it be the employer, the avaricious parent who sees nothing but the commercial value of the child, or the man or woman who wilfully or unwittingly

buys the product of child labor.

The union label tells in unmistakable language of the shorter workday and the shorter work week; of improved sanitary conditions in home and factory; of the abolition of night work for women and children; of children taken from exploiting employers and placed in free public schools to learn from free text books as the result of the efforts of our great movement.

The union label is constantly pleading to all trade unionists to give preference to commodities upon which it appears, and through our power of purchase to aid in redressing many of the evils of which we yet complain.

The most effective way to reach the brain and the heart of the "Open Shoppers" and the "Un-American planners" is through their pocketbooks or bank accounts. So far as the welfare of those who toil for and make their millions for them is concerned, the blood of the "leading citizens" usually runs to red or green in color.

Diminish the flow of this yellow and green blood as represented by the coin of the realm to them and keeping eternally at this good work, it will be surprising what a great change will bring about in their attitude towards humankind in general and especially to those whom they employ.

The line of cleavage is clearly drawn. There is no middle ground and no compromise is possible with the system these men are attempting to establish.

The organized workers of America and their sympathizers must thoroughly organize and solidify their purchasing power to the end that not one cent of money earned under union conditions shall knowingly go into the coffers of those who have attempted to arrogate to themselves the right to determine the destinies and lives of thousands of workers.

A choice must be made and none but we can make that choice. We must either align ourselves whole-heartedly

and actively with the forces of progress and democracy as represented by the American Federation of Labor or be found in the camp of those who would deliberately and ruthlessly destroy our labor movement and all that it stands for.

Your committee, knowing something of the struggles made in the past to maintain and carry forward the organized labor movement have the fullest confidence that in this struggle our courage will not be found wanting and that the cherished traditions and heritage transmitted to us by our predecessors will not only remain untarnished but will be maintained at all hazards.

As a powerful means to accomplish this worthy object we suggest and recommend that all affiliated National and International Unions constantly keep before their members the urgent need for spending money earned under union conditions only for the product of union labor and to always demand the union label when making purchases of any kind.

We also suggest and recommend to and urge the affiliated State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and the Woman's Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary to correspond frequently and co-operate with the Union Label Trades Department in initiating and conducting organization and union label campaigns whenever and wherever possible.

This concludes the report of the committee, which is signed:

JOHN MANNING, Chairman.

CHAUNCEY A. WEAVER,

Secretary.

THOMAS SWEENEY,

MAX S. HAYES,

MAX ZUCKERMAN,

H. LINDEMAN,

JOSEPH OBERGFELL,

R. S. SEXTON,

ABRAHAM SNYDER,

JACOB GOLDSTONE,

JOHN J. RILEY,

FELIX BELAIR,

ISRAEL BLOME,

HERMAN J. FINKELSTEIN,

P. J. RYAN,

Committee on Labels.

The report and recommendation were

adopted by unanimous vote, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LAW.

Treasurer Tobin, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Proposing That Women's Label Leagues Shall Have Equal Representation With Trade Unions in Central Bodies.

Resolution No. 15.—By Delegate T. P. Hollcraft, Olympia, Wash., Trades Council.

Amend Section 11, Article 11, Constitution American Federation of Labor, by adding at end of said section the following: "Women's Union Label Leagues, Chartered by the Women's International Union Label League, Shall have representation in central bodies and State Federations, on an equality with local unions."

Your committee gave the subject matter of this resolution serious consideration, also listened to the introducer of the resolution for some time, and your committee is of the opinion that in its judgment it would not be to the best interests of the trade union movement to make any change in the constitution which would admit as delegates to the Central Bodies and State Branches of the American Federation of Labor any persons who are not members of bona fide trade union organizations.

Your committee therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution Increasing Per Capita Tax Payable by Directly Affiliated Unions.

Resolution No. 70.—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Fred R. Ballbach, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

Amend Section 1, of Article X, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, by substituting for the words "twenty-five cents" in the eighth line of that section the requirement of "thirty-five cents" and by striking out in the same section the words "Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less

than eighteen (18) years of age, five cents per member per month," making the amended section to read:

ARTICLE X—Revenue.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lock-out; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

Your committee concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution Increasing Maximum Initiation Fee for Directly Affiliated Local Unions

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Fred R. Ballbach, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

Amend Section 14, of Article XIII, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, by substituting the figures \$25.00 for \$10.00 in the fourth line of that section; and by substituting for the words "25 cents" in the last line of that section the requirement of "one dollar," making the entire section to read:

Section 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$25.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those

initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of One Dollar for reinstatements.

Your Committee believes that placing a maximum of Twenty-five Dollars initiation fee for directly affiliated Local Unions would not be conducive to helping all those interested in such organizations. Your Committee, however, believes that there are some of those locals that can raise their initiation fee in certain districts to their advantage, and we therefore desire to amend the resolution by substituting for the words "Twenty-five Dollars," "Fifteen Dollars."

Your committee concurs in the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Laws Committee submitted the following amendment:

Amend Section 12, of Article XIII, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, by substituting the words and figures of One Dollar (\$1.00) for "Seventy-five Cents (75c)" in the fourth line of that section, making the amended section to read:

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than One Dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McCullough, International Typographical Union, said in part: For a great many years this convention has been urging the organization of the unskilled, the casual and the migratory laborers, and on a number of occasions

it has advocated on the floor of the convention that the matter of collecting the dues from this class of workmen would be one that would be governed liberally, if not loosely; that it was not so much the desire for revenue from that class of workers as it was to have them brought under union influences so that the local workers would receive whatever benefit there might come from having and holding the migratory workers to the local workers.

Part of the inducement that has always been held out to the man belonging to any organization of labor is that he will receive support in time of trouble. It is just as true that support must come from the contributions of the members of organized labor; but it seems to me that it would be unwise now or at any other time to set that figure at a point so high that these men we have been reaching for these many, many years will say, "It is too big a hurdle for me to go over."

Don't get the idea from what I am saying that I am a low dues man; I am not; I belong to a high dues organization. We realize that a man values what he possesses in direct ratio to what it costs him, but I am always in favor of the sum of money necessary to carry on business, and carry it on correctly. However, I feel the per capita tax of one dollar to qualify for the receipt of the benefits of the strike fund that is maintained by these directly affiliated unions is too high.

Delegate Walker, Illinois S. F. of L., said in part: I recognize the element of virtue in Delegate McCullough's position on this matter, but it is only those who have the experience from day to day of dealing with disputes in which federal local unions are engaged who know that in our day, with the cost of living what it is, that the present revenue is utterly inadequate to do anything substantial at all in the way of assisting those men when they are in a struggle. If the dues could be doubled and those men influenced to pay them, I think it would be much better than the recommendation of the committee. I know it is difficult to get those men in when the dues are high, but the present resources are rather inadequate in the work of this organization when they have serious disputes.

Chairman Tobin: The constitution is exactly the same as it was before, with the exception that we are changing 75 cents to \$1.00. There is less than

twenty per cent of the local unions now affiliated that are paying less than \$1.00 a month dues. We find that over fifty per cent of these local unions are charging over \$1.00 per month. We are simply proposing to raise the minimum from 75 cents to \$1.00 a month.

We are making this change in order to help the few locals who say they cannot raise their dues unless the Federation embodies that in the constitution. We discussed this with the representatives of some of those locals and with the officers of the Federation. All the men serving on the committee have had experience and they believe it is absolutely necessary to raise the minimum. We feel there will be no serious hardship created by the adoption of this amendment to the constitution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Chairman Tobin: This completes the committee's report, which is signed:

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman.
DENNIS LANE,
WILLIAM QUINLAN,
A. J. KUGLER,
THOMAS McMAHON,
CHARLES ANDERSON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
FRANK DOYLE,
GEORGE JONES,
WILLIAM TRACY,
CHARLES W. FREY,
JOHN M. O'HANLON,
PATRICK O'BRIEN,
HARRY BELL,
J. REX ANDERSON,

Committee on Laws.

Chairman Tobin: I now move the adoption of the constitution as a whole as amended.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote, the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY.

Delegate Keough, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Urging War and Navy Departments to Put Into Effect 44-Hour Work Week in All Navy Yards, Arsenals and Industrial Plants.

Resolution No. 39.—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, Daniel P. Haggerty, Robt. Fechner, Fred Hewitt and Chas. F. Wills, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The forty-four hour week

is becoming increasingly prevalent throughout the country in well managed and successful industries; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has always favored the shortening of the hours of labor whenever the best interests of the workers and the country can be served thereby; and

WHEREAS, The constantly increasing productivity of the industries of our country justifies both increased earnings and shorter hours of labor for the worker; and

WHEREAS, We favor the policy that our government should be a model employer in matters concerning conditions of employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, strongly urge the Secretary of Navy and the Secretary of War to put into effect at the earliest practicable date a forty-four hour work week in all of the navy yards, arsenals, and other industrial establishments within their respective departments; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to lay before the proper officials of the government this proposal at the earliest opportunity; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hedrick, Painters and Decorators: Our organization has had the five-day week in operation for the last six or seven years, gradually adding more cities to the list. Out of our membership of approximately 125,000 we now have 35,000 that are working the five-day week. New York and its surroundings, Boston and its surroundings, and many other cities have had it in operation for a long time, and in any city where we have it in operation you cannot find a single employer desirous of going back to the five and one-half day week.

If the work of the world can be done in five days, why work six? The same opinion that used to be expressed when we were trying to inaugurate the eight-hour day, that it would give the workers more time to go to the saloons and get drunk, cannot be used

under prohibition, except, perhaps, in the city of Detroit.

Our International Union, which I believe was the first to adopt this five-day week, did so largely because the ingredients we use in our business is dangerous to the health of our members and this gives our members two days' time to throw off the poisons they inhale in their occupation. Not only that, but it provides work for more of our members; in fact, it has been beneficial to us in every way and will be beneficial to all the workers of this country if we finally adopt it, as we did the eight-hour work day some years ago. I hope the report of the committee will be adopted.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Favoring Extension of Saturday Half Holiday for Government Workers.

Resolution No. 61 — By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lip-pold, Harry R. Meyers, Wm. Radtke, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. E. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Lee R. Whitney, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The Saturday half holiday observance, which wage earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power, has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employees and employers; and

WHEREAS, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly period of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in state and municipal governments, and in private industrial pursuits—in a number of notable instances the five-day working week has been established; and

WHEREAS, In some instances encouraging progress has recently been made in applying the principles of a more extended weekly period of rest in Federal activities, with resultant benefits to the public and the employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, At this forty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the importance of

the United States Government establishing and maintaining advanced employment standards, instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of government employes for the purpose of having the Saturday half holiday observance and principle extended in government establishments to benefit every possible worker.

The committee recommended the adoption of Resolution No. 61.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Favoring 40-Hour Work Week in All Industries.

Resolution No. 52.—By Delegates I. H. Goldberg and Percy Ginsberg of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Under present methods of modern machine industry, the workers are continually subject to the strain of mechanized processes which sap their vitality; and

WHEREAS, If compelled to work for long hours under modern processes of production, the vitality, health and very life of the workers is put in serious jeopardy; and

WHEREAS, The ever increasing productive capacity of modern industry is so great that it has become one of the causes of over-production which is greatly detrimental and dangerous to industry in general and to the workers in particular; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring the shortening of working hours in all industries to 40 hours a week; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is herewith instructed to inaugurate a vigorous campaign in every industry throughout the country for the introduction of the five-day and forty-hour week.

Your committee recommends the amending of the resolution by striking out the last whereas and the two resolves and substituting in their place the following:

Favoring 40-Hour Work Week in All Industries.

Resolution No. 52.—By Delegates I. H. Goldberg and Percy Ginsberg of the

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Under present methods of modern machine industry, the workers are continually subject to the strain of mechanized processes which sap their vitality; and

WHEREAS, If compelled to work for long hours under modern processes of production, the vitality, health and very life of the workers is put in serious jeopardy;

RESOLVED, That this convention place itself on record as favoring a progressive shortening of the hours of labor and the days per week and that the Executive Council be requested to inaugurate a campaign of education and organization to the end that the purpose of this resolution shall be placed into effect.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Zuckerman: In some of the industries the five-day week is already in existence. In the Ford plant here in Detroit the five-day week has been inaugurated, and I see no reason why the American Federation of Labor should not go on record in favor of it.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Committee on Shorter Work Day Submitted the following statement:

In addition to the report upon the resolutions which were referred to it your committee feels compelled to present some statement upon the social and economic influence of the period during which wage earners shall be employed.

The American trade union movement devoted its early effort to a shortening of the work day until finally its original goal, the eight-hour day, had been established.

Since the American Federation of Labor at the time of its birth declared for an eight-hour day, an astounding change has taken place in methods of production. Power plants generate energy in almost inconceivable volume. This power is applied to machinery which has revolutionized man's power to produce. A new science has developed—the chemical, the mechanical and the production engineer have joined hands and developed a directing control of power, machinery and the management of production which has greatly increased the production capacity of our industrial plants.

On every hand there is evidence that we are at the beginning of methods of production which will rapidly increase man's present power to produce.

But already a condition has developed which gives concern to every thinking man, to every investor and manufacturer, as well as to the wage earners.

So great is the present capacity of our industrial establishments to turn out manufactured goods that many of them are compelled to close their doors many weeks each year. The reports of the United States Government tell us that several of our basic industries if operated at full capacity for six months each year, would produce more than their present annual output.

There is one feature connected with the problem being considered which has already been covered by the wage policy adopted by the American Federation of Labor. It is a fact that man's power to produce has at a rapidly increasing rate outstripped the real wage paid. There must be a market which can purchase the product of our industries, and that market is regulated by one basic strength, the real wage received by the workers.

But your committee is dealing with but one phase of the problem, the number of hours which should be established in our industries. At first our movement devoted itself to shortening the hours of labor, but modern methods of production, the high tension of machine operation, the specialization which forces thousands to perform the same meaningless operation thousands of times per day has placed a strain upon the worker's nervous system which is more enervating, more conducive to physical and mental fatigue than many more hours of labor would be where the work called for the constant use of the worker's creative power. Modern methods of production more and more tend to make a machine of men. For this reason, in addition to many others, it is essential that not only should the daily hours of labor be reduced, but in addition, that the number of days per week should also be shortened. For social reasons, as well as those of an economic character the American Federation of Labor is justified in declaring for a shorter work week as energetically as it did in the past for the establishment of the eight-hour day.

Employers and investors accused our movement of endeavoring to limit production by reducing the hours of labor.

We listened to these accusations when we established the ten-hour day. They were made when the nine and the eight-hour day were established, yet today the proof that our economics were sound, is found in the fact that the volume of production per capita is many fold greater than when the ten-hour day was the rule.

For economic as well as humanitarian reasons the time has arrived when the number of days worked per week should be reduced.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to begin a campaign of education upon the subject of shorter hours of labor and a shorter work week, and that every effort be made to present the facts to the public.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Frey, Molders: I rise to support the report of the committee and to express my pleasure that in that report the distinction is drawn between the reasons why wages should be paid and the reasons why labor is entitled to relaxation, rest and recreation.

Last year the convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a policy relative to a basis for wages which has had a considerable bearing upon the question of production. The action taken in the Atlantic City convention led to a new departure on the part of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics. For many, many years our movement has relied upon that department for statistics indicating fluctuations in the cost of living. The convention's action last year led the Department of Labor to begin the gathering of data indicating the per capita production, giving us some knowledge of the increased volume of production per man in the industry. Some of the information which has been gathered during the last year is of such a valuable character that I feel justified in briefly referring to it.

We are all familiar with the story of the plumber who, in the joke book, is the laziest mechanic in the building trades, the man who does the least amount of work for the highest wages. Last month I picked up the Scientific American and read of the erection of a building in Athens, Greece, in connection with an American school. It is a very large building, it is designed along the lines of an old Greek

temple, it was designed by an American architect and the building erected under the supervision of an American superintendent of construction, but the marble was quarried in the marbles that furnished the materials for the wonderful buildings of Greece. All of the work in connection with the cutting of the stone and the putting of it in place was done by Greek workmen.

When they investigated the Greek plumbers they found they were working for \$2.00 a day, but the American architect was not quite confident as to the skill of these plumbers, and so an American plumber was imported. His wages were fixed at \$16.00 per day, plus his board and transportation, and when the building was completed and the cost of installing the plumbing estimated, it was discovered that the American plumber, working for \$16 a day, had put the plumbing in that building for one-half less than the bids of the plumbers in Athens where they worked for \$2.00 a day.

It has been necessary, Mr. Chairman, that some consideration should be given to the mining of coal, and the statistics for Europe for the last quarter of 1925 tell us that in one of the European countries the average amount of coal mined per day per miner was nine-tenths of a ton. In a country where the miners produced the largest amount of coal per day in Europe it amounted to 1.10 tons per day. Our statistics indicate that in the United States the average during the same quarter was 4.56 tons. I computed the wage rates as paid in Europe, compared them with the wages paid here, and if the American miner was to receive the same wage rate per ton of coal mined in the United States as is now being paid in Europe he would have to be given a 25 per cent advance immediately.

I want to be certain, Mr. Chairman, that I am accurate in the statements I am making. A few weeks ago General Motors declared a stock dividend of 50 per cent. There were several reasons for that—one, a matter of production. In 1919, or six years ago, General Motors had 85,980 employees. Last year they had 83,274 employees, or 2,702 employees less than during 1919, but in 1919 General Motors produced 391,938 automobiles, while last year they produced 835,902 automobiles, or, stating it in another way, last year the workers employed by General Motors produced over two au-

tomobiles for each one produced by the workers in 1919. The output per man was more than doubled. I find that statement is supported by the statistics of the United States Bureau of Statistics.

They tell us, since they have established this new department, that since 1914 the per capita production of automobiles is a little over 200 per cent, or that the men in the automobile industry today per man produce three automobiles where they only produced one in 1914.

We have read in the papers, Mr. Chairman, that President Gary of the Steel Trust is alarmed over a five-day week. The statistics of the Department of Labor proves that since 1914 the per capita production in the steel industry has increased fifty per cent, and during that period the eight-hour day has replaced the twelve hour day for over one-third of the employees of that corporation.

We have no conception, until we begin to delve, of the enormous increase there is in production. Taking some figures which were published recently by the Pollock Foundation, we are told that in some departments of the steel industry two men are now doing the work formerly done by twenty men, that two men, working with a machine, have replaced fourteen others, that in the handling of pig iron seven men now are doing the work which formerly required 128. We are told by the statistics collected by our own government that the output per capita of our employees in the textile industry is fifty times as great as it was in our grandfathers' days.

And so we might go on and merely burden the record. The fact is that the wage earners in this country are not only producing at a rapidly increasing volume, sometimes doubling their output per man in a year, but the American workman, Mr. Chairman, because of this fact, is working for a lower wage rate for what he produces than the workmen in the so-called low wage countries of Europe.

I am calling attention to this because more and more we must keep in touch with these developments in industry which indicate what is taking place, so that we will be fortified with better arguments, more logical arguments, arguments that are economically and socially sound, in our efforts to shorten the hours of labor and shorten

the days per week during which we will be employed.

Vice-President Duncan: I rise to amend the report of the committee by striking out the word "begin" in the last two lines of the report and inserting in lieu thereof the word "continue." (Amendment seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan (continuing): I am surprised that my friend Frey would say that the American Federation of Labor should begin a campaign to do the things which the committee has recommended. He should have said that they continue to do the things the committee recommends. I was present at the organization of the American Federation of Labor in 1886 and they then declared for the very things the committee now reports, only that the committee says that the American Federation of Labor be instructed to begin to do the things they have been doing for forty or fifty years.

One of the most wonderful things in connection with our great movement has happened in the last two months. This so-called wonderful man who is at the head of the Bethlehem Steel Company, announced, in a statement the other day, that he subscribed for his company—and it is the first time that it has been so subscribed—to the policies of our great labor movement as being correct in so far as high wages and shorter hours of labor are concerned. I am getting old, and I scarcely thought I would live long enough to hear a representative of the Bethlehem Steel Company say that the policy of the American Federation of Labor in contending for higher wages and shorter hours is the greatest preventative of panics and the other adverse things that effect our movement.

I am wondering now whether the President of the Woolen Company in Lawrence, Massachusetts, will assert the same thing. The two most highly protected industries in our country, under our tariff laws, Bethlehem and Lawrence, pay the lowest wages that are paid in the country.

I don't care to go into criticism of the committee's report except to bring to your attention the fact that the committee reports that this American Federation of Labor shall begin to do those things which we have been doing for fifty years. That's the reason, Mr. President, I offered the amendment to strike out the word "begin" and insert the word "continue."

Delegate Frey, Molders: I rise

again, Mr. Chairman, for the purpose of correcting the record. As I listened to my friend, Vice-President Duncan, at whose feet I have gladly sat for many years to gather knowledge concerning our movement, I realize that I have failed to make myself as clear as I should while on the floor. I had reference, not to the shorter work day in particular, but to the question of the ever-increasing per capita production in this country, and my reference was to the necessity of our securing all possible information upon this one subject. If I inadvertently used the word "begin," it was not with the thought in mind that this American Federation of Labor from the beginning had not been teaching the truths concerning the shorter work day, but rather than a new element had entered in—increased per capita production—and that we should begin to study that.

Delegate Harding, International Typographical Union: As one member of the committee I see no objection to adopting the amendment offered by Delegate Duncan. We all know it is simply a work of continuation, although, as Brother Frey has just stated, the developments of the last few years do call for almost a beginning of a campaign of education along these lines.

I don't know how many of you read an interview, recently published in the American press, with that liberal minded churchman, the Episcopal Bishop of London, who is now traveling through the United States. He was asked as to his opinion as to the introduction of the five-day week in the Ford plant, and I am sorry to say that a man with the experience that the Bishop has had in London should have answered that question in exactly the same way the employers in the printing industry used to answer years ago. He said he did not know what the conditions were in America, but so far as England was concerned he was afraid that more leisure would be simply giving the working men more time to spend in the pubs, or public houses, or as we used to call them in our country, the saloons. I am sorry that a man of his eminence and his experience should have shown himself so ignorant of the developments that have taken place on account of the shorter work-day as to make reply in such a manner.

Speaking as a printer, I very well remember the day when we used to work,

not only nine and ten hours, but frequently twelve hours a day, when the old-time printer, after having put in twelve hours' work in the twenty-four felt in need of relaxation, and the only place he could afford to get it was in the saloon.

So far as printing is concerned, the introduction of the shorter work-day and improved methods in that industry have certainly made the average printer a much more sober individual than he used to be, and I am sure that in industry generally the shortening of the hours and the increasing of the wages has that effect. It gives men more leisure, and they use it almost invariably in the advancement of themselves educationally, in the betterment of their families and the betterment of society at large.

I believe it would be a good thing to adopt this report and instruct the Executive Council to continue this work of education in order that the American Plan advocates may be brought to realize that the day is coming when we will have, not only the eight-hour day and the five-day week, but when in a very short time—and I hope to see my friend Duncan live to that time—we will have the four-hour day and the four-day week.

Delegate Lynch, Typographical Union: I arise, Mr. President, to the assumption that there will be no objection on the part of the committee to substituting the word "continue" for the word "begin," and at the same time to express admiration for the report of the committee, in that it reaffirms the doctrine adopted at the Atlantic City convention in the declaration for a continued reduction in the number of hours making up the working day.

We have had here in connection with a resolution that was discussed, denunciation of the repetitive processes in industry, with a special reference to the repetition that occurs on the part of the wage earner in the automobile industry. One of my colleagues participated in that denunciation when the question before the house was the organization of these unorganized workers. Now I don't believe that the delegate who offered the resolution, or my colleague, in participating in the denunciation of the processes of the worker, had any idea that the organization of these workers into unions would eliminate the repetitive processes in the automobile industry. I don't believe

that Henry Ford himself could eliminate these processes that have grown up in this industry, the continuous performance by the same individual of the same task.

But the committee has indicated the remedy for the fatigue and atrophy that follows the repetitive processes in industry, and that is a lessening of the number of days that make up the work week and a lessening of the number of hours that make up the work day. It may be that in connection with Mr. Ford's recent action the denunciation or criticism is in part directed at him, because of his alleged hostility to labor unions, but the fact remains that so far as I know in the automobile industry, he is the only employer who has actually applied the remedy for this fatigue that results from these continued processes on the part of one wage earner, and to that extent at least he has attracted the attention of the entire continent to this remedy as applied, mentioning specifically the evil in this industry, and in other industries.

I presume, Mr. President, that in the various factories throughout the United States and Canada there are hundreds and thousands of wage earners employed on machines, wage earners employed on the same machines and doing the same thing day out, week out and month out, and many of them doing it for nine and ten hours a day. The committee, as I say, has also recommended the reduction of the number of hours in those industries in which the repetitive processes dominate.

I am pleased with the report of the committee because it reaffirms that doctrine of Atlantic City. I have no quarrel with what Delegate Frey has said, no quarrel with his figures, because I imagine that they have been arrived at by him only after intensive study on that part of the subject on which he has spoken today and on which he spoke last year at Atlantic City. But I am for this committee report because I firmly believe that giving the wage earner time to think and time to educate himself, time to absorb some of the culture of the community in which he lives, giving him the shorter work day and the shorter work week, as recommended by this committee, he will very promptly take care of the question of wages.

It is true, and it is not subject to dispute, that in all the industries where shorter hours prevail, with a less number of hours making up the work day,

the employees in that industry have the higher wage. I am most heartily in favor of the report of the committee as amended by Delegate Duncan, which I assume the committee will accept, and I know the report will have the unanimous endorsement of the delegates to this convention.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: It may be of some value, Mr. Chairman, to the members of the convention to recite some little of the experiences of the seamen in this matter. We had on the Pacific Coast an organization, the purpose of which was to liberate the men as far as it could be done, to reduce the hours of labor as far as it could reasonably be done, and to increase the wages at least to the extent that it might be possible for the man to clothe himself. It is a long time since the men who worked at sea got enough wages to think of marrying, so we didn't talk about that.

Now we worked recently in those directions. When we began there was a wonderful humanitarian society out there. True, it was made up of good men and women, no doubt. They had organized for the purpose of assisting those who could not assist themselves, or something similar to that, or those who had fallen so low in the scale of human society that they were supposed to be beyond help. And they met one January many years ago and reported that they had done wonderfully good work among prostitutes, criminals and seamen.

Now I tell you that story just to indicate the status that existed. Now, then, after twenty years of serious work for the reduction of hours and the increasing of wages and the improvement in general conditions, we sent out a small freight steamer from the Pacific to the Atlantic for the purpose of doing as we did out there, the same kind of work on the Atlantic as we did on the Pacific. As soon as they used the methods we used on the Pacific and used the same men they reduced the cost per thousand feet per mile carried by about thirty per cent. The development of skill, the development of systematic work had been of such a nature as to make that possible, but it was not possible any longer than a short time on the Atlantic, because when the men on board were tired and left they could not furnish other men and they had to give up the system.

Dealing with the question as to what this influence had upon the social con-

duct of the men, I want to say that we had amongst the sailors 4,500 men. Out of that there were less than fifty men who were known as drunks. A man might come ashore and have a drink or two, and that was all there was to it. Drunkenness became almost unknown among them. We lived, of course, under a condition in which it was possible for us to select men and to throw out the element that wouldn't learn and that wouldn't adopt the methods and the conduct that we had established and were constantly improving. We lived under a condition of that agreement with our employers, and we did everything that we could to raise the scale in efficiency of those employees, so that we would return faithful and efficient labor for the wages and conditions that we asked.

When the war began we had on the Pacific Coast amongst the seamen some couple of thousand men who became officers of the new merchant marine of the United States. If that is an indication that what the American Federation of Labor is trying to inculcate among the American people is a good system, I think it might become the system among the rest.

During the war we did everything we could to assist in every way that was possible, at the expense of our own regulations and our own rules. Then in 1920 the ship owners came before the Committee on Commerce of the United States Senate and asked that the United States undertake to educate seamen for them and give them an entirely new body of men, because the body of men they had was so saturated with unionism that they become useless. In 1921 the government, that is, the Shipping Board, the national and international ship owners and the I. W. W., set to work to destroy what we had done. I want to tell you now—and I regret to say it, but I think it is my duty—that since they succeeded in tearing the Seamen's organization to pieces and destroying the effectiveness of its policy, the skill has been so reduced that the cost of operation is constantly mounting and the safety has vanished. If you can travel on the railroad, don't go on a ship. The kind of men that the ship owners have dug up from somewhere are of such an inefficient class that they could not do what is necessary for a seaman to do in the hours of danger.

Now, having said that, I want to close by saying that it is my conviction that

unless you do everything you possibly can in every direction you will meet with the same thing we met with.

Delegate Keough, Chairman of the Committee: I wish to say that the changing of a word here and there in this report does not matter much, and we are perfectly willing to accept the amendment offered by Vice-President Duncan. I wish to say, however, that our committee feels that this is the most important question that has come or will come before this convention, because of this specializing is in effect not only in the automobile shops, it is in effect in most every other industry. I know we have it in the foundry, where it is the one thing over and over again, and as this report states, that is a very great strain on the workers, and your committee feels that the time has arrived when greater effort, greater agitation, and greater education should be put forth in order to impress upon the minds of the workers the necessity of shortening not only the work day, but the work week.

On behalf of the committee, Mr. Chairman, we will accept the amendment.

Delegate Gainer, Letter Carriers: As a member of the committee I am heartily in accord with every word of this report. I feel that we employ our time to good advantage when we receive testimony from any quarter regarding our viewpoint on a problem which I now consider to be of paramount importance to our country.

It is true that the word "continue" might be properly used, but I say that it was in the declaration of the Atlantic City convention that a new concept regarding prosperity, regarding equity and regarding industrial progress was set forth. Let us not forget that in our copy books and at our fathers' knees we were taught the doctrine that the success of our country and of ourselves individually depended upon applying ourselves, being industrious, working long hours, saving money, being exceedingly economical, and thus would we prosper and our country and society would feel the same result of those actions.

That was true when we sowed wheat by hand and cut it with a sickle, but within recent years, a revolution so profound that we could scarcely conceive of it has taken place in industry. According to eminent statisticians, since the days of the discovery of steam one man could do a hundred and fifty times as much as a man could do in

those days. Consequently, production has been increased so greatly that if you were to call the roll today of every key industry in the United States, whether it is cotton or coal or copper, you will find that you are confronted with a problem of abundance, and when we talk of the forty-hour week remember that there are many gathered around who can testify that some of their constituents would be glad to have a thirty-hour week because of the unemployment in industry.

Before there is a wage problem and before there is an hours of labor problem, men must have jobs, and the greatest menace that can confront any industry is for the men to walk the streets in idleness. Those times have come in the past, as they will come in the future, when by virtue of our own productivity and by virtue of the absence of consuming and purchasing power on the part of the workers, men will be walking the streets in idleness. Thus we find this thing in remarkable contradistinction to the old concept made by Henry Ford that he recommended the five-day week to promote American prosperity, that in that way and in that way alone could we consume our production.

The same view has been taken by President Grace, of the Bethlehem Steel Company, and contributors to our magazines have been dealing with the subject of how we can perpetuate American prosperity. And so this declaration lays down the doctrine that there is no way to perpetuate American prosperity but to have wages continue to rise in proportion to man's increasing efficiency, and to have the hours of labor decline accordingly. Thus this problem is not only economically sound, as voiced there, but it is of such prime interest to all the people of the country that you should have their co-operation in putting it into effect.

Vice-President Wilson: I would not rise at this time, after the discussion upon this question, if it were not for the fact that in this morning's paper we read upon the first page a statement from one of the great industrial leaders of our country, in which he takes issue with the proposition that is contained in the report of this committee. This gentleman who makes the criticism of shorter hours, or the five-day work week, upon the occasion of his eightieth birthday, as he is interviewed by the press, takes occasion not only to criticize the five-day week,

but he believes that the interference of the labor union, as he terms it, with men's employment, is an economic sin. This is the same gentleman who, just a few years ago contended that it was an economic impossibility to establish the eight-hour day in the steel industry of this country, and since he was compelled by the force of public opinion, brought forth by the great labor movement of our country, to institute that eight-hour work day, in a speech before the Steel Institute of this country, he made the declaration that is in accordance with the declaration of our movement, that the eight-hour day had increased production and brought betterment to the men in the steel industry.

I am reminded this morning, as I read his statement, of the old woman who stood at the wharf as Fulton's steamboat was getting up steam, and as she looked at this new thing she said, "It will never go, it will never go." And as it gradually pulled away from the wharf she ran up the wharf and said, "It will never stop, it will never stop!" And so it is, Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention, that the policies that the labor movement of our country have adopted, criticized and opposed though they may be, and the statements made that they are unsound and uneconomic and that our movement is un-American and everything else that they can think of, yet this movement of labor is a movement in the interests of our people, and it will never stop until it has achieved the purposes that it has set out to achieve.

Delegate McCullough, International Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman, while I am in hearty accord with the report of the committee and in entire agreement with almost all of what has been said in discussing the report, I feel that it has been approached so far from a single angle and that the broader, the deeper meaning has been entirely overlooked.

We have come face to face with the greatest problem that has ever presented itself to the human race for consideration and solution, that is, the problem of the purpose of our civilization. Are all the achievements of man from the beginning to the present time to be construed in an atmosphere of materialism, or are we to give some consideration to the spiritual phase of the question. Is the object of our civilization entirely to create material wealth, to pile up the wealth that is

tangible, the wealth that can be stored, the wealth that can pass from hand to hand? If that is the purpose of our civilization, we are on the right track; but I hold in my rather old-fashioned views that our civilization has a higher and a better purpose. It is to create human happiness, to make the world a better place in which to live, not only by means of higher wages, not only by means of shorter toil offering greater opportunities for workers to enjoy.

And I want to digress just a moment to a declaration made in Atlantic City in 1919 by our good friend, Bill Wilson, then the Secretary of Labor, when he said the object of production is division, that the more we produce the more there is to divide, that when nothing is produced there is nothing to provide. That is a truism, and it is equally true that this division should be made, not for the purpose of increasing the production to tangible wealth, but to give the worker an opportunity to so improve himself that he will enjoy a greater benefit from the toil that he gives to the production he achieves. The object of production is not only to eat, drink and be merry; there are other things in life, and the greater part of life, in my conception, that has any justification whatever is the enjoyment that comes from the intangible things that are stored up within yourselves. I heard William Jennings Bryan say, years ago, when he was discussing this problem before an assemblage of union men that it is impossible for a man to do this when he is driven from work to sleep and from sleep to work by the long hours of labor.

What I would like to see, perhaps not written into our policy, but at least adopted as a definite purpose is that we approve and do our utmost to carry into effect a statement of the Declaration of Independence, "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The declaration does not undertake to determine what is the pursuit of happiness, but it is included as one of our inalienable rights, along with life and liberty, and both life and liberty are jeopardized under the modern industrial conditions because, as was stated on the floor of the convention here in one of the earlier days of the session, industrial accidents are increasing at an enormous rate, more

than 23,000 victims of industrial accidents dying every year. That involves the life. The liberty is involved in the so-called American Plan, in which the individual worker is required to abjure what should be his deepest personal right, that of association with his fellows, men of common mind and common thought and purpose undertaking to achieve a common and thorough association together for the purpose of achieving a legitimate result.

Delegate Walker, Illinois S. F. of L.: I would not take up the time of the convention but there is one phase of this question that has not been presented by the other speakers which I feel is apropos to this matter. In very recent years the farmers of our country, while still feeling that other sections of our membership have come to the conclusion that the organized trades unionists of our country are not necessarily their enemies, and a considerable number, and that number is growing, who have investigated the matter, have reached the conclusion that our interests are practically mutual and that there is not necessarily any conflict so far as our interests are concerned.

Those who have been reading the press of our country, know that it is not only agreed upon among themselves, but even among their enemies, that their main difficulty is a surplus of the products of labor. That has been the subject of rather general and earnest consideration during the past four or five years. Practically every element outside of the organized workers has advised the farmers that the trouble with them is that there are too many farmers and they should leave the farms and go into other positions.

At a farmers' convention a year ago I heard the professor of economics of one of the great universities of our country say to the farmers that they could not be relieved by legislation or by any sort of process expect leave the farms and go into other industries. He said there are two farmers for every one that is needed, and continued, with sarcasm in his voice and a sneer on his face, "I don't see the trade unionists of this country organizing a reception committee to receive you when you come off the farm and induct you into the better jobs with the higher salaries."

I listened to that statement in the midst of a state where about thirty-

five per cent of the mine workers were able to eke out an existence in the mines, where idleness was prevalent everywhere, and this gentleman who was supposed to teach the young men and women true economics was advising the farmers to go into other industries that were almost as much overcrowded as farming was.

The farmers are beginning to understand, and a great many of them are doing the best they can to have this matter solved in such a way as to not only serve their best interests, but to solve the problem for others. A great many of them are of the opinion that the work day on the farm could be shortened with profit to themselves and perhaps no injury to other people. In the past, the farmer, during the producing season, has usually worked from fourteen to sixteen hours a day. And so when we tried to shorten the work day he has been poisoned against us and it was easy to persuade him that if we did not want to work as long hours as he was working it was perhaps due to the fact that we were lazy. He was opposed to it because of these things. Now a reaction has set in, and we should help him to see the light.

I believe if the farmers were able to get a shorter work day, so that they could see these larger problems and give time to their study, they would be able to see all these problems in a larger way, and that great influence could work with us for a proper solution of them.

President Green: May the Chair request that the delegates bear with me for a moment while I say just a word or two upon this very important question. I am in hearty accord with the report of the committee. It seems to me that this committee has touched upon one of the vital questions of the American Federation of Labor, a question that involves within it the social life of the working people of our country, the great masses of the people, their educational life, their economic life — it touches every activity of the lives of the working people of our country.

It is gratifying to observe that more and more the great masses of our people are coming to understand and appreciate the necessity of dealing with facts, economic facts as they exist. It is true, as some of our speakers have said, that we are passing through a period of wonderful industrial development. We are living in a mechanical

age. Silently, unnoticed, perhaps, there are certain economic forces at work that are bringing about this transition, and, of course, it is but logical and proper that the great economic movement of our country would, first of all, grasp these facts and suggest a policy to be pursued by industry in conforming and adjusting itself to these facts. This is a day of standardization, a day of specialization, and of mass production. We realize that as an economic fact, as an industrial fact. We would not go back to the old times if we could, but we are adjusting ourselves to the new, and as we look upon a modern factory with its mass production, with its specialization and with its standardization, we realize that we, vitally affected by all of this, must point the way by which we can adjust ourselves to this new industrial order.

What are we going to do about it? Well, American labor suggests that as the productivity of the individual worker is increased and as his efficiency is raised higher and higher through the operation of these economic forces, his wages, first of all, must increase in proportion with his productivity and his efficiency.

Second, that there must be a progressive reduction in the hours of labor, so that industry and men and women may adjust themselves to this change that is taking place. If we are going to do the work of the world in this way then there must be opportunity for recuperation, for readjustment, for leisure and for increased efficiency on the part of the machinery and on the part of the workers.

There is involved in this, my friends, more than materialism, as Delegate McCullough has well said, more than material progress, for after all the working people of our country are human beings just the same as other people, possessed of a heart and soul, a body and a mind. They must have opportunity for cultural and spiritual development, they must have an opportunity to enlarge their vision and live, and that implies a great deal. And they cannot do it if, in this day and age, their minds and their bodies, their nervous systems are to be wrecked by the mechanical processes with which their daily lives are associated.

How can the cultural life of a man or woman, how can the spiritual life be promoted to that higher standard

that the Creator intended it should reach if the body is to be given in ceaseless toil in the whirl and noise and strain of a modern factory? That is the reason why we sense the necessity of this change. There are some very good people who are accepting our philosophy, men and women outside the ranks of labor who are beginning to appreciate more and more that labor is offering a practical solution for the economic problems confronting industry, and they have been expressing some apprehension as to what working men and women will do with their leisure time when the shorter work week and the shorter work day is established in industry. Well, that may present to us a problem, but a problem that will not be so difficult of solution as these economic problems with which we are confronted. I have no apprehension on that score, I have no fear about the use of the leisure time on the part of the workers.

Give them the leisure time, give them the opportunity to rebuild, to renew their strength, their spiritual, moral and physical strength, give them an opportunity to give attention to their souls welfare, and the working people of this country will do the balance in a better citizenship and a better nation.

Then there is involved in this economic philosophy of the American Federation of Labor the purchasing power and the distribution of the wealth of the nation. There are some industries in America that are economically unsound. They have not yet recovered from the effects of the late war. Under the spur of expansion they reached out and developed beyond the needs of normal times, and in the readjustment that has come they have not yet settled down to the point where they are serving the normal needs of society. What are we going to do with them? We must still continue to educate and enlighten the people, so that we can bring about a proper economic equilibrium. There must be a balance of the consuming and purchasing power of the workers. The working people of the world, of America, constitute the great market for the manufactured things of industry, and if we are to maintain that proper balance, if we are to maintain prosperity, we must make it possible, through the establishment of an economic policy for the great masses of the workers to buy and use the things

that their hands and brains produce.

So we are thinking about that problem in connection with the wages and hours of employment. There is so much in it all, it is such a big subject, it inspires us when we think and talk about it, we cannot even begin to cover it at a session like this, but this is on my heart and mind, I have been talking about it, I have been thinking about it, I have been preaching this doctrine, and it is gratifying to know that this philosophy of ours is taking hold of the hearts and minds of the progressive, forward-looking people of our country.

Who is it that has offered a solution for employment? Does it come from the manufacturers? Does it come from the advocates of the so-called—and a misuse of the name—American Plan? Do they offer any solution for unemployment, that gaunt specter that walks abroad in the land occasionally? Well, our solution, or partial solution—I won't claim that it is a complete solution—is to reduce the hours of labor so that the consuming needs of the people of America will more nearly correspond with the productive capacity of our industry.

We offer that—the American labor movement offers that in all sincerity and honesty to industry and to the nation. Let us apply ourselves diligently to this task, let us carry on our campaign of education and agitation. We have established the shorter work week in many industries. It is growing. You would be surprised if you would make a survey of the situation and find out how many workers in America are really enjoying the benefits and the blessings of the shorter work week. We want to extend it, not in a revolutionary manner, because we realize that cannot be done, but it must be extended in a progressive way, as industry is prepared to extend it and the workers are prepared to use it and accept it, and it is in that practical, progressive way that we can bring about the acceptance of the wage and economic philosophy of the American Federation of Labor.

I understand that the committee accepts the amendment offered by Vice-President Duncan and is willing that it be incorporated in the committee's report. Hearing no objection, the suggestion of Vice-President Duncan will become a part of the committee's report.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Chairman Keough: This completes the

report of the Committee on Shorter Work Day, which is submitted and signed:

M. J. KEOUGH, Chairman;
JOHN C. HARDING, Secretary;
J. ALDRIGE,
E. J. GAINOR,
THOMAS P. HYLAND,
JOHN B. SCHULTE,
PHILIP ORETSKY,
PETER BEISEL,
CHARLES F. SCOTT,
LEE HALL,
E. P. BARRY,
THEODORE LIPPOLD,
CLARA KATZOR,
ROSCOE H. JOHNSON,
JAMES P. MEEHAN,

Committee on Shorter Work Day.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted, upon motion by Chairman Keough, and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Vice-President Duncan moved that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be heard as a special order of business on Monday afternoon, October 11, at 2:30 o'clock, providing that no other committee was before the convention at that hour with its report, in which event the report of the Committee on Resolutions would be deferred until the completion of the previous report. The motion was seconded and carried.

Vice-President Duncan requested the members of the Executive Council and all persons interested in the resolution dealing with the Horse Shoers and their affiliation with the Chicago Federation of Labor to meet with the committee on the platform immediately upon adjournment to hear some additional information that had been furnished to the committee.

President Green: Secretary Morrison will read, in response to a request made by a representative of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the names of the churches, the location, and the names of the labor representatives who will speak in those churches tomorrow. The Federal Council of Churches, not the Ministerial Association of this city, seems to have arranged for some special meetings tomorrow, and I am sure the delegates will be glad to learn from this announcement the churches in which the labor representatives will speak.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

First Congregational Church, under auspices of Social Service Commission, Federal Council of Churches, William Green, President, and other speakers, 3:00 p. m.

First Universalist, Cass and Forest, Frank Morrison, Secretary, 10:30 a. m.

First Presbyterian, Royal Oak, Michigan, John Walker, 8:30 p. m.

Birmingham Methodist, Birmingham, Michigan, Robert M. Fechner, 7:30 p. m.

First Unitarian, Woodward and Edmund Place, Albert F. Coyle, 7:30 p. m.

Bethel Evangelical, 2270 West Grand Boulevard, Albert F. Coyle, 10:30 a. m.

North Woodward Congregational, Woodward and Blaine, James Wilson, 12:00 noon.

Chairman Martel, of the local entertainment committee, announced a theater party for the ladies at the Michigan Theater, Monday afternoon; a visit to the Parke-Davis Laboratories Tuesday afternoon, and a theater party Wednesday evening at the Capitol Theatre.

At 12:55 p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Monday morning, October 11.

Seventh Day—Monday Morning Session

Detroit, Michigan, October 11, 1926.
The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m. by President Green.

Absentees

Boyer, Schulte, Hauser, Rosemund, Baer, Sullivan (D. J.), Gillot, Hannah, Clark (W. W.), Conway, Lewis, Barry J. L. (New Hampshire), Barry, F. D. (Pennsylvania), Gorman, Hill, Stewart, Kutz, Wenger, Mullen, Alden, Henley, Augustino, Murphy, J. H. (Kensington, Ill.), Woodling, Buzzell, Murphy, J. H. (Lynn, Mass.), Frampton, Fagan, Hollcraft, Coffelt, Herder, Bower, Tarbelt, Shea, Elwell, Eckhardt, Wa'ker, Woodmansee, Trimmer, Hope, Keeny, Saylor, McGeory, Tinney, Bender, Bohn, Albert, Ruben, Ellstein, Shiplacoff, Shaw, Purves, Darrington, Powers, Ryan (M. J.), Portway, Fuchs.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Los Angeles, Calif., Oct. 9, 1926.

"Wm. Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor,
"Tuller Hotel, Detroit, Mich.

"Church Federation of Los Angeles composed of three hundred Protestant churches would add its wish to that of other bodies to have the American Federation of Labor meet in Los Angeles in 1927. We would give a hearty, hearty welcome to your body.

"CHURCH FEDERATION OF LOS ANGELES,

"By Edwin P. Ryland."

Invitations from the following cities for the 1927 convention were read:

Birmingham, Ala., J. M. Jones, President, City Commission; J. H. Taylor and W. E. Dickerson, Commissioners.

Los Angeles, R. F. McClellan, Chairman, Board of Supervisors, Los Angeles County.

Sacramento, California, J. L. R. Marsh, Secretary, Federated Trades Council.

St. Petersburg, Florida, Richard Endicott, Executive Secretary, St. Petersburg Realty Bond Company; Clark Siviter, President, Kiwanis Club; Roger Wilson, Chairman, Building Conference Board; L. D. Lacy, Recording Secretary, Central Labor Union; Wayne Reed, President Typographical Union No. 860; Henry C. Hess, Manager, The Union, the labor paper of Pinellas County.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

Delegate O'Keefe, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

Upon that portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 55, the committee reported as follows:

State Federations of Labor.

On that portion of the Executive Council's report which deals with the relation of the State Federations of Labor to the subject of workers' education and the Workers Education Bureau, your Committee desires to record its hearty approval of the encouraging manner in which the State Federations of Labor have identified themselves with the adult educational program as directed by the Workers Education Bureau during the past year. We also commend the President of the American Federation of Labor for his far-seeing action in urging upon each State Federation of Labor the establishment of an educational department and the appointment of an educational director. The machinery for carrying out an idea is sometimes almost as important as the idea itself. The State Federation of Labor is a vital administrative unit of the trade union movement. It can and should render its fullest co-operation in directing and in stimulating education among American wage-earners. We urge that every State Federation give to this movement its unqualified support through its administrative machinery.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The committee amended Resolution No. 77 by striking out the word "professions," line 11 paragraph 2, and inserting the words "branches of the healing arts." The amended resolution is as follows:

**Urging That State Federations of Labor
interest Themselves in the Enact-
ment of Legislative Measures
to insure the Highest Effici-
ency in the Practice of
the Medical Pro-
fession.**

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates M. J. Keough of the Molders' International Union; I. M. Ornburn, Cigarmakers' International Union; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employes; M. J. Flynn, Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.; Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor; Fred Hewitt, Robert Fechner and Daniel Haggarty, International Association of Machinists; Thos. F. Flaherty, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; J. A. Franklin, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Shop Builders and Helpers.

WHEREAS, In the recent exposure of the Diploma Mill in the state of Missouri with its far reaching effects and its menace to the very life of the nation, in that branch of the healing art affected thereby, we feel that some recognition should be taken by the American Federation of Labor in regard to the methods and standards employed in the granting of licenses to practice in the various branches of the healing arts in the several states, and the laws proposed and enacted that govern the practice thereof; and,

WHEREAS, Workingmen and their dependents have not the wide opportunities of seeking counsel as to experts in the various fields of medical healing and are therefore almost completely dependent upon the efficiency with which state agencies provide machinery for selecting competent practitioners and excluding those who are not properly qualified; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor being deeply concerned with the machinery by which examining boards and other governmental agencies maintain professional standards in the healing arts urge that each State Federation of Labor be requested to interest themselves in the establishment of the best methods for securing the highest efficiency in the healing profession, and that each State Federation of Labor take recognition of the various legislative health measures proposed for

the regulation and control of the machinery as well as the choice of members of the various examining boards in the several states whose duties involve the procedure of granting licenses to practice in the several branches of the healing arts.

Secretary O'Keefe: The purpose of this resolution is the elimination of fake colleges and schools and requests Labor's support for legislation or adequate state supervision of those licensed to practice in the various branches of the healing arts so that all persons who are licensed to practice will first pass a proper test or examination supervised by qualified practitioners in that branch of the healing art, for which the applicant desires to practice.

Your Committee is firmly of the opinion that the educational function and service of the State Federations of Labor extends beyond the provisions for the educational needs of wage earners alone; it should properly cover the elevation of educational standards in every state in the union. The need for establishing adequate standards and practices for the healing arts in every state of this country is so apparent that we urge that this convention record its approval of the letter and spirit of this resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary O'Keefe: This completes the report of the committee which is signed by

MARTIN RYAN, Chairman
MICHAEL J. FLYNN,

Secretary

WM. A. O'KEEFE
S. C. HOGAN
C. M. PAULSEN
J. M. GILLESPIE
CARL BERGSTROM
D. P. HAGGERTY
WALTER NESBIT
PETER COOK
FRED W. BAER
CHARLES E. HAURY
JOHN FITZGERALD
GEORGE W. LAWSON
T. N. TAYLOR.

The report as a whole was adopted and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Flaherty, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 64, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with approval the recorded legislative progress during the first session of the 69th congress. It should be remembered that this congress was elected in the 1924 biennial elections and it largely reflected the political conservatism and reaction of that period.

It was not expected that this congress would give sympathetic or thoughtful consideration to remedial labor legislation. And it did not do so, except in a limited degree.

In view therefore, of the general indifference of the congress to progressive legislative proposals, the Executive Council is to be commended for having been successful in securing the enactment of the measures enumerated in the report.

We commend the Executive Council for this success and recommend a continuation of its activities throughout the forthcoming final session of the 69th congress in the furtherance of labor's legislative program.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

RAILROAD LABOR LEGISLATION

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 64-65, the committee reported as follows:

We would particularly call the attention of the delegates to the reference in the Executive Council's report to the recognition by the United States Congress, in its enactment of the railroad Labor Bill, of the principle of collective bargaining.

Even if in actual operation this law develops minor imperfections and does not fully meet the expectations of its sponsors, the fact remains that Congress in this measure has given the great weight of its moral and legal sanction to the principle of collective bargaining—a principle for which organized labor has long contended.

In commending the Executive Council for its helpful aids in securing the passage of this bill, the committee earnestly urges that the council observe closely its early operations so that the intent of the congress shall not be vitiated by a restrictive and unsympathetic administration.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

FEDERAL RETIREMENT LAW

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 65-66, the committee reported as follows:

In commending the Council for the assistance rendered the organized government employes in the passage of retirement legislation by the 69th congress, your committee calls attention to the fact that the legislation, while bringing relief to the retired employes and making other desired liberalizations, does not fully meet the needs of the situation, either from the standpoint of the employes or from the standpoint of public service.

Your committee recommends that the council continue to lend its active support to its affiliates that are directly interested in this question so that a more satisfactory retirement law—one that more fully meets the wishes of the interested groups—will be speedily enacted into law.

Delegate Finnan, Letter Carriers' Association: The measure to retire the government employes on an annuity is one which is engaging the activities of the government employes affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

has been engaging their activities for some time. In 1920 there was enacted a law for the first time which puts this principle into operation. The law provides that there shall be deducted from the salaries of the employes two and one-half per cent. This has brought about the accumulation of a great fund from which there has been, in a sense, borrowed the amount that has been paid in annuities. From time to time the government employes have been endeavoring to have this law perfected, and during that time they have had the whole-hearted support of the American Federation of Labor.

At the last session of congress a bill was introduced, which passed the senate, which would more nearly meet the needs of the government employes in this respect. Unfortunately, that bill was not enacted into law, but there was enacted into law a substitute measure which was, in the opinion of the National Association of Letter Carriers, a very forward step. In all this fight to have the bill enacted into law the government employes had the whole-hearted support of the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor. President Green visited President Coolidge twice on this very important measure, and on this occasion, as a representative of the Letter Carriers, I desire to express our very great appreciation of the efforts of President Green, the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor put forth in our behalf.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Mothers' Pension Plan.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 66, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Executive Council for this legislative victory which, in principle, is so important to the workers of the United States. It is earnestly urged that the Council observe closely the administration of the law to the end that the intent of the Congress shall be made fully effective.

The report of the committee was

adopted unanimously.

Restrictive Rules.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 66-67, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee heartily approves of the Executive Council's suggestion for needed reforms in the rules of the House of Representatives. Repeatedly it has been demonstrated that the present parliamentary rules are susceptible of manipulation to the disadvantage of liberal minority. The rules afford many opportunities for the defeat of Labor's legislative proposals by devious parliamentary practices which operate to prevent consideration of such measures.

The suggested liberalization of the House Rules is of tremendous importance to our movement and delegates are urged to make known their wishes in this respect to Congressional candidates in the pending political campaign in their respective districts.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Registration of Aliens.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 67, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with approval the success achieved by the Executive Council in defeating legislation of this character which has such great potentialities for harm. Previous conventions have protested against the enactment of such legislation, viewing it as in conflict with the principles and established practices of our nation in dealing with aliens.

In a reaffirmation of our opposition to these legislative proposals we urge the council to continue its vigilance to prevent their enactment.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Immigration.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, pages 67-68, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee commends the Council for its aggressively successful defense of Labor's immigration policy against the powerful onslaughts from various sources against this policy.

While the present quota laws impose hardships at times upon individuals and groups, and there are isolated instances of seeming injustices, nevertheless, the wisdom of the present restricted immigration policy of our government, which is in general accord with labor's views on the subject, has been fully demonstrated in recent years. Any deviation from this policy would be viewed as a calamity by organized labor.

Certain minor legislative and administrative modifications are undoubtedly needed to eliminate defects that now cause much individual complaint, but the general policy of restriction must be adhered to and the Executive Council's activities in its defense are wholeheartedly approved and their continuation earnestly urged.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Labor and the Farmers.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 68, and upon Resolution No. 6, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee commends the Executive Council for its constant and repeated endeavors to bring the farmers of the country into a closer alliance with the organized labor forces. It is apparent that the farmers are beginning to realize the mutuality of interests between the urban worker and the agricultural worker.

Recently in the middle western states

the farmer has given evidence of political solidarity and a determination to seek his own solution of his economic problems, rather than to blindly follow those exploiting groups who in the past have misled him to his distinct disadvantage.

Your Committee recommends that the Council at every opportunity continue to preach its gospel of a closer co-operation between the farmers and organized labor for mutual benefit and protection.

Reaffirming Protest Against Modification of Federal Law Excluding Aliens Ineligible to Citizenship

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Don Witt, representing California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for years demanded from Congress, and with co-operation of other organizations and interests finally secured, passage of a law excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship as a measure of protection to American citizenship, and as a logical condition of the national policy of restricted immigration; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has prosecuted for a year and is still prosecuting a nation-wide campaign for demand upon Congress to admit Japan to quota in 1927, thus excepting Japanese from the operation of a law which applies equally to all the yellow and brown races, constituting half the population of the globe; and

WHEREAS, The present Congress had under consideration prior to recess in July, three bills, one granting naturalization to about 400 Japanese who had been illegally naturalized by a Hawaiian Court in the face of protest by the Naturalization Officer and the United States Attorney; another permitting American-born citizens of Asiatic parentage to bring in as wives alien women ineligible to citizenship, and the third recognizing Hindus as eligible to citizenship; two of which bills were defeated through vigilance of the California Joint Immigration Committee, acting for the California State Federation of Labor and allied organizations while the third was introduced too late for attention; and

WHEREAS, The passage by Congress

of any one of the four measures referred to or of a similar nature would violate the basic principles of the present law, thus opening the way for further breaches in the barrier and ultimate destruction of the present protective policy; and

WHEREAS, Only general knowledge of the facts outlined herein can effectively safeguard against the results likely to follow continued propaganda on the part of various interests in breaking down the law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled that we again direct the Executive Council to forcibly present to Congress and the proper committees of both houses organized labor's vigorous and emphatic protest against any modification of the Federal law excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship.

Your Committee considered this resolution in connection with that portion of the Executive Council's report relating to immigration.

Thanks largely to the vigilance of the Executive Council there appears little likelihood of the passage of the objectionable measures mentioned in the resolution—and about which just concern is evidenced—during the remaining short session of the Congress.

The position of the American Federation of Labor in unwavering opposition to Asiatic immigration is so well known and understood that it scarcely requires reaffirmation at this time. We are equally opposed to the subtle attacks on the immigration principle, recited in the resolution, which have for their purpose a lowering of the immigration bars in some degree in favor of aliens ineligible to citizenship.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and invites the attention of the Executive Council to the urgent necessity for a continuation of its praiseworthy fight to permit no impairment in any form of the immigration laws. A strict enforcement of all these laws should continue to be insisted upon by the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolutions 17 and 20 are identical in wording and purpose. Your committee considered them jointly.

Proposing Amendment to Act to Prohibit Enlisted Men From Accepting Any Engagement Which Would Interfere With Employment of Civilians

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates A. J. Chlopek, Joseph P. Ryan and W. B. Jones, representing the International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, Under the present laws of the United States of America, active service men of the armed forces of the United States of America are permitted to compete with American citizens in private life under the Act of June 3, 1916 (39th Stat. 188), which provides as follows:

"Hereafter no enlisted men in the active service of the United States army, navy and marine corps, respectively, whether a non-commissioned officer, musician or private, shall be detailed, ordered or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business or performance in civil life, for emolument, hire or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilians in the respective arts, trades or professions"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the United States whereby the above law quoted shall be amended to read as follows:

After the word "permitted"—the words "or shall volunteer."

Proposing Amendment to Act to Prohibit Enlisted Men From Accepting Any Engagement Which Would Interfere With Employment of Civilians

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates J. M. O'Hanlon, of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under the present laws of the United States of America, active service men of the armed forces of the United States of America are permitted to compete with American citizens in private life under the Act of June 3, 1916 (39th Stat. 188), which provides as follows:

"Hereafter no enlisted men in the active service of the United States army, navy and marine corps, respectively, whether a non-commissioned officer, mu-

sician, or private, shall be detailed, ordered or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business or performance in civil life, for emolument, hire or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilians in the respective arts, trades or professions"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Forty-sixth Annual Convention assembled cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the United States whereby the above law quoted shall be amended to read as follows:

After the word "permitted," the words, "or shall volunteer."

The purpose of the proposed amendment is to make more rigid the legislation referred to so that hereafter enlisted men shall not be permitted to volunteer to engage in private pursuits in competition with civilian wage earners.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolutions 18 and 19 are identical in wording and purpose. Your Committee considered them jointly.

Proposing Amendment of Act Governing Working Conditions of Navy Yard Employees to Provide That Contractors Shall Give Preference to American Citizens When Hiring Labor and Pay the Prevailing Scale of Wages.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates A. J. Chlopek, Joseph P. Ryan, and W. B. Jones, representing International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, In several naval bases of the United States of America, alien labor is employed in competition with members of the International Longshoremen's Association; and

WHEREAS, Wages for employees in the navy yards are fixed in accordance with the provisions of the Act of July 16, 1862:

"That the hours of labor and rates of wages of the employees in the navy yards shall conform, as nearly as is consistent with the public interest, with

those of private establishments in the immediate vicinity of the respective yards, subject to the approval and revision of the Secretary of the Navy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the said law be amended by striking out the words "as nearly as is consistent with the public interest" and insert therein the following words, "the prevailing scale of wages and no contractor shall hire alien labor, when American citizens are available," and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the United States wherein the necessary laws will be amended as provided for in this resolution.

Proposing Amendment of Act Governing Working Conditions of Employees of Navy Yards Providing That Contractors Shall Give Preference to American Citizens When Hiring Labor and Pay the Prevailing Scale of Wages.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, in several naval bases of the United States of America, alien labor is employed in competition with members of the International Longshoremen's Association; and

WHEREAS, Wages for employees in the navy yards are fixed in accordance with the provisions of the Act of July 16, 1862:

"That the hours of labor and rates of wages of the employees in the navy yards shall conform, as nearly as is consistent with the public interest, with those of private establishments in the immediate vicinity of the respective yards, subject to the approval and revision of the Secretary of the Navy"; be it

RESOLVED, That the said law be amended by striking out the words "as nearly as is consistent with the public interest" and insert therein the following words, "the prevailing scale of wages and no contractor shall hire alien labor when American citizens are available"; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Forty-sixth Annual Convention assembled, cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the

United States wherein the necessary laws will be amended as provided for in this resolution.

Your Committee is in sympathy with the purpose of the proposed legislation, but, inasmuch as it affects many wage-earners in various crafts, we recommend reference to the Executive Council, with instructions to confer with interested affiliates and prepare remedial legislation satisfactory to all concerned.

Delegate Chlopek, Longshoremen: These resolutions were actuated by a condition that arose in San Diego, California, and which has existed there for some time. The contracting stevedores who handle the stores for the naval department there found themselves confronted with a concern which employed Mexican labor. The prevailing rate of wages is 90 cents for day work and \$1.35 for overtime. The stevedores employed Mexican labor at 40 cents, notwithstanding the fact that members of this local organization of ours are home owners, and out of a membership of 152, 122 volunteered their services during the world war, and when they returned home they found their jobs taken by Mexican labor, and not one of the men who were employed by those rat concerns were American citizens, and every one of them were in the country fraudulently.

For two years I have corresponded with the Secretary of the Navy and the best we could get for these men was their sympathy, that under the law their hands were tied and they could not give preference to the American workmen. For that reason that resolution was introduced, and we hope the Executive Council will go into this matter as suggested by the committee.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolutions 21 and 22 are identical in wording and purpose. Your Committee considered them jointly.

Proposing Amendment of Existing Laws to Require That Contracts for Work Done for the United States Shall Provide That American Citizens Be Given Preference in Employing Labor at the Scale of Wages, Hours and Working Conditions Prevailing in the Community Within Which the Work is Performed

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon, of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under the provisions of Section 3709 of the revised statutes of the United States of America, all purchases and contracts for supplies or labor shall be made by advertising a sufficient time previous for the proposals respecting same, and

WHEREAS, It naturally follows that the lowest bidder offering to deliver materials, or furnish labor in strict accordance with the specifications must be given the contract, and

WHEREAS, In a number of cases where work has been done for the United States of America, alien labor has been given the preference of the work notwithstanding the fact that sufficient American labor was available, and

WHEREAS, No provision is now made in the laws of the United States, when letting contracts, giving preference to labor and mechanics who are Americans by birth, or through naturalization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in 46th Annual Convention assembled, cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the United States, wherein the necessary laws shall be amended to provide that on all contracts, or work done on behalf of the United States of America, American labor (citizens of the United States) shall be given the preference, and that the hours of labor and rates of wages of the employes so engaged shall conform with the prevailing scale of wages, hours and working conditions in that community and no contractor or agent of the United States government shall hire alien labor when citizens are available.

Proposing Amendment of Existing Laws to Require That Contracts for Work Done for the United States Shall Provide That American Citizens Be Given Preference in Employing Labor at the Scale of Wages, Hours and Working Conditions Prevailing in the Community Within Which the Work is Performed

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates A. J. Chlopek, Joseph E. Ryan and W. B. Jones, representing the International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, Under the provisions of Section 3709 of the revised statutes of the United States of America, all purchases and contracts for supplies or labor shall be made by advertising a sufficient time previous for the proposals respecting same, and

WHEREAS, It naturally follows that the lowest bidder offering to deliver materials, or furnish labor in strict accordance with the specifications must be given the contract, and

WHEREAS, In a number of cases where work has been done for the United States of America, alien labor has been given the preference of the work notwithstanding the fact that sufficient American labor was available, and

WHEREAS, No provision is now made in the laws of the United States, when letting contracts, giving preference to labor and mechanics who are Americans by birth, or through naturalization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the United States, wherein the necessary laws shall be amended to provide that on all contracts, or work done on behalf of the United States of America, American labor (citizens of the United States) shall be given the preference, and that the hours of labor and rates of wages of the employees so engaged shall conform with the prevailing scale of wages, hours and working conditions in that community and no contractor or agent of the United States government shall hire alien labor when citizens are available.

Your Committee is in entire accord with the purpose of the proposed legislative amendment, but because it involves an important change in statutory

law affecting many groups of workers, we recommend reference to the Executive Council with instructions to prepare needed legislation satisfactory to all the workers concerned.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Urging Continuance of Effort To Secure Enactment of H-R 7962 Providing for Increased Compensation for Watchmen, Messengers and Laborers of the Post Office Department.

Resolution No. 23—By Post Office Laborers' Union No. 17864, Philadelphia, Pa.

WHEREAS, The legislative Committee and Officers of the A. F. of L. have in the past earnestly supported the efforts of this body to have enacted a bill H-R 7962 increasing the compensation for Watchmen, Messengers and Laborers of the Post Office Department, and

WHEREAS, This bill H-R 7962 is on the calendar as unfinished business, and in the hands of the Sub-Committee on Post Office and Post Roads for consideration and recommendation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we express our sincere thanks to the Officers and Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. for their kindly interest in the past, and hope for the continuance of their efforts in the early and successful enactment of H-R 7962; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That we appeal to the officers of the American Federation of Labor and delegates in convention assembled, to go on record in support of and favoring the early and satisfactory recommendation through the committee on Post Office and Post Roads of H-R 7962.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Proposing Endorsement of Senate Bill 3574, Providing for the Deportation of Certain Aliens

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seaman's Union of America.

WHEREAS, S. 3574 "A Bill, to pro-

vide for the deportation of certain aliens, and for other purposes," introduced by Senator King of Utah and recommended for passage by the Senate Committee on Immigration, is a bill highly needed to prevent violations of the Immigration and Exclusion Laws; and

WHEREAS, The need for its passage arises out of the following facts, to-wit: (A) That the vessels coming into our port yearly bring about half a million so-called seamen of which, by a low estimate, some fifty to seventy-five thousand land and mix in our population in violation of our laws; (B) That nearly all vessels go away leaving some men here in violation of our laws, carrying away to sea a lesser number than that with which they arrive, the number at times reaching up to 200 men; (C) That the Chinese pay as much as \$1,100 others not specifically excluded, but unable to obtain place within the quota pay up to \$350 to be landed in the United States in such way that they can mingle in the population; and

WHEREAS, This makes of our exclusion and immigration laws a mere mockery, besides corrupting our ship owners, our ship's officers and in some instances our officials, and whereas the bill reported will, when enacted into law, put an effective stop to this violation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we endorse this bill and respectfully pray that it be adopted as part of our laws to the end that a disgraceful situation may thus be ended; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be sent to the Committees of Immigration of the Senate and the House of Representatives and that it be given to the press.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Urging Legislature to Control Ship-
ment of Seamen in the Lake and
Coastwise Trade and Trade
to Nearby Foreign
Countries.**

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Under the laws adopted 1873 and 1874, any vessels engaged in coastwise trade or in the trade of near-

by foreign countries may engage and ship their men without interference by the Shipping Commissioner; and

WHEREAS, This condition makes it impossible to enforce the safety laws adopted specifically to improve safety at sea, because there is no supervision, there is no copy of the articles left on shore, and no one has any right to go on board the vessels to ascertain to what extent if any the laws are obeyed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That these statutes be repealed so that the Shipping Commissioners Act passed in 1872, may be made applicable in the lake trade, coastwise trade and the trade to nearby foreign countries as they are now applicable to all vessels engaged in the foreign trade proper; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be sent to the Committee on Commerce of the Senate.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Stone Cutters Request Support of Legis-
lation to Provide for Investigation of
Health Menace in the Use of the
Pneumatic Hammer in the Cut-
ting and Carving of Stone**

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate James A. Short, of the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of N. A.

WHEREAS, Many of the members of the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America complain of the ill-effects of the pneumatic hammer in use in the cutting and carving of stone; and

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America does not desire to be placed in the position of antagonizing labor saving machinery and at the same time desires to conserve the health of its membership; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to request Congress to pass a bill for the investigation of the harmfulness of the pneumatic or so-called air hammer.

Your committee is in sympathetic accord with the purpose of this resolution, but doubts the practicability of attempting to obtain relief by the passage of a bill through Congress, there-

fore we have amended the final resolve to read:

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to secure through some satisfactory agency an investigation of the harmfulness of the pneumatic or so-called air hammer in its effects upon the workers in the cutting and carving of stone.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Proposing Support of Senate Bill No. 4505, Providing for Citizenship of Hindus

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Christian M. Madsen of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

WHEREAS, By an administrative ruling, a great injustice has been done to a small number of Hindus long resident in the United States who were classed as American citizens prior to this ruling but are now without a country; and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Senator R. S. Copeland has introduced a bill known as Senate Bill 4505, to remedy this wrong; and

WHEREAS, The passage of this bill will in no way alter the immigration situation nor be in conflict with the established policy of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse Senate Bill No. 4505 and instruct the Executive Council to use its best efforts to have it enacted into law.

Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council with the suggestion that an opportunity be given interested parties to present evidence of the injustices about which complaint is made. It may be possible for the Council to secure some relief, compatible always with the established immigration policy of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Pledging Assistance for the Passage of Bill Providing Standardized Annual and Sick Leave for Federal Employees

Resolution No. 82 — By Delegates

Luther C. Steward, John J. Fitzgerald, Lee R. Whitney and Gertrude McNally, of the National Federation of Federal Employees, and Thomas McQuade, of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union.

RESOLVED, That the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, instructs its Executive Council to assist the organized federal employees in their efforts to secure the passage of H. R. 12930 which provides standardized annual and sick leave for federal employees.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Flaherty: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

C. L. BAINE, Chairman;
THOMAS F. FLAHERTY,
Secretary;

LUTHER C. STEWARD,
W. B. FITZGERALD,
W. W. BRITTON,
THOMAS C. CASHEN,
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,
A. ADAMSKY,
ROSE S. SULLIVAN,
W. R. BENNETT,
D. C. CONE,
G. MARSHALL,
THOMAS MCQUADE,
WINFIELD KEEGAN,
C. L. ROSEMUND,

Committee on Legislation.

The report as a whole was adopted, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Delegate Koveleskie, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I want to offer the following motion: That the interesting and instructive sermon delivered at St. Aloysius Church by Dr. John A. Ryan yesterday be printed in the proceedings of this day.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

THE CHURCH AND LABOR

Sermon Delivered at St. Aloysius Church, Detroit, October 10, 1926, by Rev.

John A. Ryan, D. D.,
Catholic University,
Washington.

The question may be raised why the

Church gives the special recognition to labor which is implied in a special sermon to the delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Undoubtedly some persons, including some Catholics, are saying that our churches should be used only for religious worship and for preaching the Gospel. All such questions and criticisms are based upon fundamental and lamentable ignorance. The Church has the duty and the right to teach and expound all the principles and precepts of the moral law. She must preach charity and justice as well as chastity and obedience. And she must apply the precepts of charity and justice to economic conditions as well as to family relations and neighborhood relations. Buying and selling, borrowing and lending, hiring and performing the labor,—all come within the Church's province as teacher of morals. Wages, profits, hours of labor, woman labor and child labor, and a hundred other industrial conditions and transactions present moral aspects. They are either right or wrong. It is the function of the Church to say when they are right and when they are wrong.

This is a continuous duty of the Church. On special occasions much as that presented by the meeting of hundreds of labor representatives in this city it is quite natural and appropriate that the Church should take special notice of the fact and utilize the opportunity to reassert Catholic principles concerning the condition and relations of labor. This is peculiarly fitting in the United States, where a very large proportion of labor professes the Catholic faith and where the wage earning class forms a very large proportion of the Church's faithful children.

To a well instructed Catholic the foregoing statements are truisms. They are so obvious that they should not need formal re-statement. Moreover, they have been confirmed and emphasized in a solemn way by the supreme authority in the Church. In his great encyclical on the Condition of Labor, Pope Leo XIII declared that he was urged by the responsibility of his Apostolic Office to treat the question in detail and to set forth the principles required by truth and justice. In the same document he declared that no practical solution of the labor question will be found apart from the intervention of religion and the Church. These

statements and others by Pope Leo and by his successors ought to have silenced long ago the criticisms of those ill informed Catholics who take it upon themselves to assert that the Church has nothing to do with questions of labor, or capital, or economics.

One of the most striking features of the Encyclical on labor is the manifest sympathy which it expressed with the condition and grievances of the laboring classes. In the words of Cardinal Manning: "Not since utterance of those divine words, 'I have compassion on the multitude,' has any voice been heard throughout the world pleading for the people with such profound and loving sympathy as the voice of Leo XIII." At the very beginning of the Encyclical Pope Leo said: "Some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor." Noting briefly the main influences which have made the problem so acute, he sums up their effects in these statements. "Workingmen have been surrendered, all isolated and helpless, to the hard-heartedness of employers and the greed of unchecked competition. . . . A small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself." A few pages later on, Pope Leo repudiates the theory that the Church is concerned only with the spiritual welfare of its children. The Church, he declares, "desires that the poor should rise above poverty and wretchedness and should better their condition in life." A little later, he the greatest of Catholic philosophers quotes with approval the statement of and theologians, St. Thomas Aquinas, to the effect that virtuous conduct is impossible without an adequate provision of bodily and external goods.

The Encyclical sets forth a complete and detailed statement of the rights and duties of the working classes. They have a right to wages which shall be at least sufficient for the maintenance of decent family life and for provision against the contingencies of the future. They have a just claim upon the State for special protection and special legislation. The State should do its utmost to enable the working classes to become property owners. The workers have a right to Sunday rest and to freedom from an excessively long working

day. Women and children have particular rights to protection against kinds and conditions of labor which are not suitable to their age and physical powers. In general the laborer is endowed with human dignity, which may not be outraged with impunity, since God Himself, treats it with reverence; therefore: "It is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by, or to look upon them as so much muscle or physical power."

On the other hand, the Pope declares that the laboring classes have certain duties as well as rights. They must carry out honestly and fairly all equitable agreements; never injure the property or the person of their employer; never commit violence in defending their interests nor have anything to do with men of evil principles.

This occasion calls for special notice of what Pope Leo has to say on the subject of labor organizations. His treatment of this topic occupies fully one-fifth of the entire space of the Encyclical. He discusses the subject historically, fundamentally, and in considerable particularity. He praises the ancient guilds and their achievements and then proceeds to show that to enter private societies such as a labor association is a natural right which the State not only may not disregard but is bound to protect. Passing in review the various kinds of labor associations and the ends that they properly seek, he sums up his discussion in this striking sentence: "We may lay down as a general and lasting law that workmen's associations should be so organized and governed as to furnish the best and most suitable means for attaining what is aimed, that is to say, for helping each individual member to better his condition to the utmost in body, mind and property." A clearer declaration of the right of wage-earners to organize and to establish the kind of unions that will prove most effective for the protection of their welfare could scarcely be desired. Surely a labor union which the employer does not recognize, with which he will have no dealings does not comply with Pope Leo's demand that the organization should be capable of helping each member "to better his condition to the utmost in body, mind and property." This declaration seems to imply rather clearly a condemnation of the open shop and the so-called "American Plan of employment." In line with

the position of Pope Leo on this subject is the declaration of the American Hierarchy, in the Pastoral letter of 1920, that the workers have a right "to form and maintain the kind of organization that is necessary and that will be most effectual in securing their welfare." About a year earlier the Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction expressed the hope "that the right of labor to organize and deal with employers through chosen representatives will never again be called in question by any considerable number of employers."

One of the most forceful and eloquent paragraphs in the great Encyclical describes the concord which ought to exist between capital and labor. Pope Leo denounces the idea that class is naturally hostile to class, points out that capital and labor each needs the other and commends the practice of mutual agreement. Unfortunately, his teaching on this subject is not always followed by either employer or employee. It has been conspicuously disregarded by certain agencies in this city during the last few weeks and particularly the last few days. The assertion publicly made by a certain organization in this city that the leaders of the American Federation of Labor are "men who are admittedly attacking our government," is not only uncharitable but unjust and cruel. Not in this spirit nor along this way will be found the path to industrial peace. Rather will it be found in those arrangements which frankly recognize the right of labor to form its own kind of organization and which enlist the co-operation of the organized workers for the benefit of employee, employer, and the general public. A conspicuous example of such agreements and arrangements which are in full harmony with Pope Leo's views, is the union-management co-operative plan in force on the Baltimore & Ohio and certain other railroads.

All intelligent lovers of their country and all believers in the Christian principles of society and civilization should rejoice that in the United States labor is organized according to the spirit and the principles of the American Federation of Labor. In this respect the contrast between most of the European countries and the United States is striking and profound. Across the Atlantic the labor movement is to a great extent socialistic and communistic or in some other way hostile to Christian principles. In America the aims and prac-

tices of the labor movement are for the most part in agreement with Christian principles. This should be a cause of rejoicing, particularly to us Catholics, for we realize the great injury that has been wrought to the Catholic cause by unfriendly labor organizations in Europe. We are aware, or ought to be aware, of the great advantage enjoyed by our Catholic wage-earners in having access to the unions that constitute the American Federation of Labor. If this great organization does not always live up to the high standards that we would set for it, let us at least be charitable enough to recognize the difficulties which are responsible. And let us be sufficiently just and sufficiently generous to recognize the incalculable good achieved by the Federation in keeping the American labor movement free from doctrines and influences which are not only subversive of social and public welfare but destructive of the faith and morals of our own spiritual children.

President Green: We are indeed fortunate this morning in that we have the privilege and the very great pleasure of hearing for a short time from one of the outstanding churchmen of the nation. I regard it as a particular pleasure to present to you this distinguished speaker. Most of you know him personally, and I think all of us know him by reputation.

There are two things in connection with his life and his work to which I should like to direct attention. These two things commend him very highly to me, and I know they must commend him very highly to you. First, he was a devoted friend and counsellor of our late lamented leader, Samuel Gompers. Our great champion who led our organization for half a century had no greater friend than Dr. Wise.

Secondly, he was very active in the work of the steel strike, that great industrial conflict that lingers within our memory. He ably assisted in that great industrial struggle. It seems that he is so constituted sentimentally and mentally as to sympathize with the hopes and the aspirations of the working people of the country. Wherever you find men and women in a great industrial center struggling and fighting for the enjoyment of a better life, of higher standards of life, you will find Dr. Wise raising his voice and using his powerful influence in behalf of those toiling workers.

Recently he was active in helping the

strike of the textile workers in Passaic, New Jersey. He has been counselling with the officers of the United Textile Workers' organization. He is here to say something to us about that great struggle. He has responded to the request of the officers of the United Textile Workers' organization and has come here from New York to speak to us today. I know we will appreciate what he has to say, as we appreciate his sympathy with our movement and his manifest desire to help these struggling textile workers in New Jersey.

Dr. Wise is the distinguished pastor of the Jewish Synagogue in New York City. I take great pleasure in presenting Dr. Wise, who will now address you.

ADDRESS BY DR. STEPHEN S. WISE
Rabbi, Free Synagogue, New York City.

Mr. President and Delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor: I think I will be forgiven if for one moment, and only one moment, I allude to a situation that has arisen within the city in which your convention is being held, long enough to point out that I cannot imagine it to have been possible for representatives of the American Federation of Labor to try to bar, to keep leaders of the Chamber of Commerce or the Manufacturers' Association out of the pulpits of the Detroit churches if the national bodies of those organizations were meeting in the city of Detroit. In the last days, while we of the church—for as a teacher of the synagogue I, too, represent the life and idealism of the churches of America, while we have been watching this lamentable and, from our point of view, tragic effort to alienate the workers of America from the churches—I have been glad to think that in Detroit men like Father Ryan, of Washington, Dr. Neibuhr and Dr. Lynn Harold Hough have stood up and dared to say to the sinister and selfish interests who would dictate the policies of the religious life of America, "Thus far shalt thou go and no further."

And remember, ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor, I am not concerned about the hurt that has been done you by this lamentable and at the same time ludicrous cancellation of an invitation which had been tendered to your great leader to occupy the pulpit of one of Detroit's churches. I am grieved over the thing that will be said by tens of thousands throughout America, namely, that this shows

that the churches have no sympathy with, nor part in the development of the great and American task of the American Federation of Labor.

It may sound strange to you, coming from a Jew, but I wish that the Bishop of the Diocese of Michigan, a great American and a great religionist, Charles D. Williams, were living today. How he would have thundered against the unwisdom and the unworthiness of the attempt to keep out of the pulpits of the churches men who represent one of the great and fundamental aspirations of the American people. I want you to know, gentlemen, as my last word upon this aspect of my address, that there are churchmen everywhere and in all the great churches of America, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish alike, who are resolved that the church shall not become the Sunday club of the would-be destroyers of the American Federation of Labor. There are those of us in every city of the land who would sooner leave the church and preach the Word of God as we know it and we hear it outside of the walls of the church, sooner than see church and synagogue reduced to the level of a scab agency, for some of us are resolved that the teachings of the prophets and of Jesus of Nazareth shall not be debased, shall not be prostituted to the purposes of those who would deny a decent and worth-while life to American citizens and their families.

Gentlemen, what is being urged today in Detroit and in other cities of the Union as a substitute for organization? I hear it in Passaic—you don't have to hear it in Detroit, for Detroit has become or rather is imagined to be the impregnable citadel of the open shop in America. We hear of a substitute which is offered for the organization of the workers, and that organization is what? The open shop. Gentlemen, on their lips is the open shop, in their hearts is the destruction of the organization of the American workers.

What is the open shop? What is the essence of the open shop? I give you my answer for what it may be worth. The open shop is a shop open to and safe for the unorganized workers until it can be closed and made unsafe for the organized workers of America. That is what the open shop is. The open shop is a shop that is open to industrial despotism. The open shop, over its portals ought to have written, "Abandon ye all hope who enter here."

A nation cannot endure half open shop and half organized, and if the principles and policies of the open shop, or company union, which is exactly the same thing, are carried out and the workers of the American Republic by so much denied the right to organize and the right to labor for fair and decent conditions of living, then the American Republic will have ceased to be worthy of its name and destiny.

But, President Green and members of the American Federation of Labor, I am here today frankly and unashamedly in behalf of the textile workers of the mills of Passaic. Nearly eight months ago they entered upon a strike. President McMahon, of the United Textile Workers, knows that in the hour in which that strike began I most solemnly and earnestly counselled the leaders to withdraw and to turn over the leadership of the strike to the United Textile Workers of the American Federation of Labor. From the beginning of the strike the mill owners have used a poisoned weapon. I use that term advisedly, I know whereof I speak—they have used a poisoned weapon—the charge that the Passaic strike is a revolution, the charge that the Passaic strike was an incipient outbreak of Communism. I don't know and I don't care what the political views of the one-time leader of the strike may have been, but I know the Passaic textile workers, I respect them, and I have come to love them not only for the enemies they have made, but because of their unflinching courage, their unimpaired self-discipline, and the fine and generous dignity with which they have borne themselves through eight months of indescribable suffering.

I know them well enough to say to you what of course the leaders of organized labor in America know—that what a revolution is, they don't know what Communism means. I fling it back in the faces of the mill owners, they have borne cruel and false witness against ten thousand peaceable and patriotic citizens of America. They know these are no revolutionists, just as they know whenever the charge is made against any group of strikers anywhere in America, that after all these Passaic strikers are doing no more than this, they are asking for the elementary right to organize, to

organize as workers of the nation and to secure what has been denied them—a living family wage. There are not five per cent of the textile workers in the mills of Passaic securing a living wage. My indictment is true, and we are told that these workers have come from the dark lands of Europe, whatever that may mean.

I know this about them, I have been in every land of Europe from which they have come, excepting the lands of Poland and Russia, which I have never visited or been permitted to visit, whether under the old regime or under the new, because after all I have no sympathy whatever with the present regime in Russia, but this I know, that in the lands from which these workers come they are permitted to organize as workers, in what some of us imagine are the dark and unenlightened and half civilized countries of Europe.

Against the elementary and incontrovertible right that the workers shall organize, the mill owners have pitted their brute force, and I am sorry to say it as an American, but I will say it, whether the Chambers of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Associations like it or not—I am not here to speak for them and I am not here to speak for you—I am here to speak the eternal and irrevocable principles of religion in this country which we love, and I say to you that the mill owners have had the cooperation of the police powers, and, to the shame of New Jersey, be it said, even the help and furtherance of the lower courts. Lower is not the word, because they could not be lower than they are.

On the other hand, gentlemen, while the mill owners have resorted to violence and to injunctions the mill workers have claimed no injunction, except the right to obey the injunction to use no violence. And what is happening today in Passaic? Well, the young man who led the strike for a time has vanished from the picture, and the strikers are under the command and leadership of the wise and well led United Textile Workers, which as you know is a part of and stands under the aegis of the American Federation of Labor. The mill owners said six months ago that as Americans—God save the mark—that as Americans they could not deal with this Communist. Well, why don't they deal with this

American, the President of the American Federation of Labor? He today is the leader of that Federation to which is affiliated the United Textile Workers, and today this situation has come to pass: It is not a strike anymore, save in name; I call it a lockout on the part of the mill owners, because the strike could be settled within twenty-four hours if the mill owners would consent to meet with the President of the United Textile Workers of America on the basis of this, which I hope and believe will never be given up—namely, the right of the workers to organize, to organize not in company unions, to organize under the broad and beneficial aegis of the United Textile Workers and the American Federation of Labor.

I am not fighting—and I do fight—for a name, I am not fighting for this title, the American Federation of Labor, but I know that given company unions—and here again I must use a term that I do not like—the Prussian despotism which obtains in the mills of Passaic would be resumed on the morrow. I, as an American and as an American teacher, am unwilling to trust the lives and liberties of 10,000 workers in the mills of Passaic to the whim, the caprice, the will, the greed and the ambition of the men who are the mill owners or any other group, whatsoever.

Gentlemen, I am here today, not so much to plead for the strikers in Passaic, though I offer you my most earnest plea on their behalf, I am here to plead for something larger, I am here to plead for the organization from top to bottom of the textile workers of America. That ought to be the next great step of your program. Organize what you can, but I remind you, you have no right to leave unorganized 750,000 to a million workers in one of the fundamental industries of America, the masters of which are being richly protected by a tariff while their workers remain underpaid. Remember, the Passaic workers are the symbol of the textile workers of America. If victorious they become the sign of your own strength; if defeated and broken they will be the token of your weakness.

Gentlemen, would that I could make my voice heard today, pleading with the owners of the Passaic mills to put the past behind them, and in the name of our common hope for a juster

and nobler order, in the name of our common faith in the America of today and the America of tomorrow, in the name of that common faith in the higher life, which is the most real thing on earth, I would plead with them to put away pride and obstinacy and forwardness and grant the elementary and minimum demands of their workers who now, for eight months, have stood on the firing line, never firing themselves but being fired upon time and time again.

The churches of Detroit preach non-resistance, the mill owners of Passaic have closely practiced non-resistance for eight months, and I tell it to the mill owners here from this platform, and I say, gentlemen, you cannot afford to do this un-American thing. If they persist in their refusal to grant the elementary right of the workers, then there are only two things for you to do—gentlemen, don't wait, don't postpone it, don't retard this movement. Help the Passaic workers, let McMahon feel today that you are going to stand by him to the end, and the only way to do that is to offer to him your pledge of support, and let me tell the mill owners of Jersey that the great American Federation of Labor stands by the Passaic workers and will do so until the victory shall have come.

And one thing more—make it possible for McMahon and his workers to go throughout the land and organize, organize, organize the textile industry. You have got to do two things—either organize or battle. If you organize you don't have to battle. That is why I believe in the American Federation of Labor, that is why I would have it ten times stronger than it is today, and remember, gentlemen, the great moral judgment of America has been enlisted in behalf of the textile workers of Passaic. The American people don't want to wear clothing sweated out of underpaid men or overworked women, whether in the mills of New Jersey, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, or in any state of the Union.

And finally, gentlemen, as I close and renew my plea for the workers of Passaic, whose voice I am privileged to be—and I would infinitely rather be the voice of ten thousand workers in the mills than be the voice of all the Chambers of Commerce and all the Manufacturers' Associations in America—remember that, after all, the American people know that despite

every fallacy that may be urged in behalf of the open shop, that despite every species of intellectual and moral evasiveness that may be utilized as against the organizations of labor, we—and I speak for the great body of religious teachers in America, Christian as well as Jew, Catholic as well as Protestant, we know that after all the American Federation of Labor, more than any constituted body in America, is trying and has for half a century sought to translate the idealism of religion into daily life amid industrial relations in the wide, wide field of our continent.

Gentlemen, once again and for the last time I bid you help, help, help, before it be too late—you have done it up to this time, you have helped generously and most handsomely. For eight months the strike has gone on and it must and can go on, with your help.

And finally, remember this: organize the textile industry of America, basic and fundamental to the life of America, and remember that in bidding you, the American Federation of Labor today to be strong and of good courage, I don't for a moment believe that the American Federation of Labor is without faults, is without blunders, for it, too, is an American and a human institution, but this I know, that if the American Federation of Labor could be destroyed tomorrow, we would go back, back, back to lower wages, to a lower status, to a lower standard and order of living.

Hail to the American Federation of Labor! You are the friends of the Republic, you are among its bravest, finest and truest supporters! Alas for them who vainly seek to destroy it in one way or another. They can never prevail, for if they did they would destroy the very soul and essence of our American Republic. Be strong, be of good courage, give your help to the Passaic strikers; organize the textile industry of America, and may you always bear yourselves with the courage and the dignity and the moral and spiritual self-discipline with which the strikers of Passaic have borne themselves. God be with you in all that you do for the organization of religious ideals of equity and justice in America! God be with you, servants of our American Republic!

(Dr. Wise's address was generously and vigorously applauded.)

President Green: I am sure that Dr. Wise must appreciate very deeply

this splendid response to his magnificent and eloquent address. The words which he has uttered with so much force and earnestness have moved us deeply. The strikers of Passaic, New Jersey, and their wives and little ones are fortunate indeed in having such a powerful and able champion, and the American Federation of Labor cannot, in my judgment, fail to respond to this human appeal for support and sympathy to these men and women who have been struggling and fighting and sacrificing for these weeks and months.

I realize, as you realize and as every one must realize, that the United Textile Workers of America directly and the American Federation of Labor, in support of this chartered organization, have assumed a great task. We have extended their arms and welcomed these struggling workers into our midst, and now we cannot fail them. It must be the purpose of our great movement to accept the challenge and to use every instrumentality at our command to mobilize the moral, the political and the material forces of this country who are in sympathy with the ideals and the purposes of the American Federation of Labor, to the end that simple justice—I repeat again, simple justice shall be accorded these striking men and their families. The heart of the American Federation of Labor responds to the appeal of every down-trodden and underpaid worker in America, and so in this instance I am confident that this great heart and soul of our movement will respond to the needs of the situation.

May I express, in behalf of the delegates in attendance at this convention to the millions of workers whom you have the honor to represent, and the other unnumbered thousands, yea, millions who are in accord with the great, human undertakings of the American Federation of Labor, our deep appreciation of this eloquent and forceful address that Rabbi Wise delivered to us this morning.

Delegate Healy, Firemen and Oilers: I move that the address delivered by Dr. Wise be printed in full in the records of the day's proceedings.

President Green: Dr. Wise is an invited guest and an invited speaker to this convention. He has responded to an invitation extended to him to address this convention, and consequently, in accordance with our custom and our rules, the address of Dr. Wise will be printed in full in the proceedings of this convention.

Delegate Conboy, Textile Workers: There is a resolution on the Passaic situation that will come before this convention. I don't know whether it would be your desire, Mr. Chairman, to open the Passaic situation for discussion at this time, or whether you would prefer to wait until the resolution is presented to the convention by the committee which has it in charge.

President Green: In accordance with the rules of the convention and the procedure we are following, the discussion and action on the Passaic situation will come before the convention properly when the committee reports upon the resolution dealing with the subject. However, the Chair will very gladly give opportunity to those who are deeply and particularly interested in the Passaic situation to respond to the address delivered by Dr. Wise, and if you, Delegate Conboy, or President McMahon or others would like to say something just now the Chair will gladly recognize you.

Delegate Conboy, Textile Workers: I am very glad to take this opportunity to say just a few words about the Passaic situation. I think most of you know how the strike was brought about. It was an unorganized strike, a spontaneous outbreak of working men rebelling against conditions that were such that made it impossible for them to continue longer in employment.

I wonder how much the delegates here know of the mills in Passaic. Rabbi Wise was very, very plain in his statement. I am going to be just as plain and brutally frank about the mill owners of Passaic. You know that during the war period the United States government had to take over the Botany mills because of their un-American attitude, and it was only within a short period of time afterwards that they were turned back to them.

When we talk about despotism, oh, God, you will see it in Passaic, you will wonder when you see things and hear things about them whether we are living in free America or in Russia. Col. Johnson—I will name the men, because they are not too good to be named here—said in the columns of the press, "These people are Communists, they are not members of the great labor movement, and when these people see fit to go into a legitimate trades union we will treat with them."

From the beginning of the strike the United Textile Workers were beseeched

and importuned to go into Passaic and take hold of the strike situation. Dr. Wise wanted us to go in, but with the Lawrence strike in front of us, with the Paterson strike in front of it, where we went in and destroyed where we could the I. W. W.—and we did—the United Textile Workers of America has borne the name among certain groups from that day to this of being strike-breakers, and we were not going to have that happen in Passaic. We said, "Let the strike ride until good judgment is brought to these workers by the men who are taking care of them."

Committees came to our office. We had many meetings with them; we told them what we could do and what we could not do, and they became members of the United Textile Workers' Local 1603. Almost immediately, or within a reasonable period of time, our Emergency Board sent a letter to each one of the manufacturers of the State asking that a conference be arranged between them, a representative of the United Textile Workers, and a committee from their workers. We received response from all. Evidently they held a meeting, because every letter was couched in the same terms except that of the Passaic-Worcester Company; they agreed to meet a committee, and twenty-four hours later cancelled it.

Now, Mr. Chairman, there are eight thousand men and women over there on the fighting line. What they have put up with from the police beggars description. Two weeks ago two members of our Executive Council went to the Chief of Police and he agreed with them that certain picketing could be done and there would be no further violence. They went down to the mill gate to see what was being done after these orders had been given, and within five minutes one man had a broken arm, and another a split head, and both were taken to the hospital.

We are facing two things: If we lose in Passaic you will give the greatest impetus that was ever given to the open shop and the so-called un-American company union. These people are fighting against all odds, and we ask you today for your help. I heard you speak the other day most eloquently of people that had been out for fourteen weeks. These people have been out for eight months. Up to this time they have had relief, but the money is gone and we have done everything we could to help them.

If we are going to fight company

unions and open shop movements there isn't a place on God's green earth that you can do it better than in the city of Passaic. Are we going to stand quietly by and let Col. Johnson and the Forstman and Huffman Company, German owned and controlled by German capital, dominate the workers in America? If you are, make up your mind to one thing: If they can win in Passaic, only God knows whose turn will be next. You know what they are out to do, you know how hard they have tried to crush and destroy every union—they can call it any name they like, but when it is all said and done it is a movement to destroy the American Federation of Labor.

I can't speak to you as eloquently as our good friend, Dr. Wise, but I can say this to you, if you want to be of service to the labor movement, if you want to do something that will materially help the labor movement, help the strikers of Passaic to win. No more worthy cause ever came before the people of America, not even that of the mine workers. I have classed the textile workers many times since they have been on strike with the mine workers. It seems to me they are the two people that are the butt, if I may use the expression, of the open shop movement, of the people who want to destroy, and I beg of you to give generously and help in every way you can. Don't wait until next week; they are without funds now, they need it now, and if any one of you have authority to do it, stand up and say it and let it go forth to the workers of Passaic that they came into the American Federation of Labor to find friends and that they found them, and that you will back them today, tomorrow and the next day until the fight is won, and their victory will be your victory.

President Green introduced to the convention Mr. Eugene T. Lies, Special Representative of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. Mr. Lies renewed his expressions of appreciation given at former conventions of the cooperation received by the Playground and Recreation Association from the labor movement in localities where the Association was attempting to put into effect better recreational facilities for growing children and for adults as well. This sort of cooperation, he stated, had proven especially helpful in

localities where public officials were disinterested or slow to act, adding that when it was pointed out to these officials that the work of the Association had the endorsement of organized labor, through a State Federation or International Union convention, the attitude of these officials usually changed.

In conclusion, he said: "While I have been personally privileged to appear before some twenty-five labor conventions, I should like to receive invitations on behalf of our organization to come before a whole lot more in the next year or two. We are on great common ground. I want to say this also, by way of suggestion as to things that can be done in the future by organized labor in this field. First, why would it not be a good thing if every union or State Federation of Labor had a standing committee on recreation, which shall do a number of things: first, enlist the active, personal participation of the members of organized labor unions in sensible, satisfying play and recreation activities; second, study the community's needs as to what there is and what there ought to be, according to the best standards in this field of effort, and then proceed to find out why the city is not carrying out and applying those standards, getting the city officials and the city councils busy.

"Next, why is it not feasible, every time there is a State law pending in the legislature giving this referendum vote power to communities to establish community recreation systems, to send a delegation, as has been done in a number of cases, to the legislature to favor the passage of that important legislation?

"I appeal to you further, as a practical thing that goes for much, to work with that field staff of ours that is trying to get these things done in your communities for you and your fellow citizens and your families? They go to the public officials, they go to the leaders in the communities, they point out the need for study, they point out what has been done elsewhere, and how it can be done in that community. I want to tell you that the cooperation with these field workers has been extremely helpful, it has meant the turning of the tide in some places where the public officials were weak, and I want to ask for a continuance of that cooperation."

MEMORIAL TO DECEASED MEMBERS

President Green: One of the beautiful customs of our convention of the American Federation of Labor has been that of paying a tribute of respect, at some period during the convention, to the memory of our departed representatives of labor who passed away during the year just gone by. We have endeavored to collect the names of all the representatives and officers of the labor movement who, during this past year, have gone to their reward, and of course I know that you all are thinking very frequently about the great leader of our movement who passed away scarcely two years ago.

The spirit of Samuel Gompers has been present during our deliberations and the hearts and minds of the delegates instinctively turn to thoughts of him. It seems only yesterday since he presided over the deliberations of the convention held at El Paso, Texas.

And so in line with the observance of this beautiful custom may I ask that we include in our tribute of respect to the memory of our departed brothers the name of our great chieftain who has so recently passed away? Secretary Morrison will read the names, and if it is found that we have omitted the name of some one you may rest assured that it is due to an oversight, which we shall be glad to correct if the names are given to us. After the list has been read I suggest that we rise and stand for a moment in respectful silence.

Secretary Morrison then read the following list, which was completed by the naming of deceased members by delegates from the floor:

Julius Zorn, Cincinnati, editor of the *Brewery Workers' journal*, died in January, 1926.

Arthur Gledhill, member executive board, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Birmingham, Ala., January 16th.

Charles W. Pritchard, former general Vice-President, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, at Lafayette, Indiana, January 12, 1926.

Harry P. Berkshire, international representative, I. T. U., Kansas City, Mo., January 20th.

Hugh A. Miller, fourth vice-president, International Typographical Union, February 20th, Indianapolis.

Henry J. Conway, Secretary-Treasurer, Retail Clerks' International Pro-

tective Association, Lafayette, Indiana, March 3, 1926.

James H. Nutt, one-time international trustee and vice-president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, March 7, 1926.

David W. Baird, I. T. U. Auditor, died at Los Angeles, March 25, 1926.

Frank J. McNulty, for 30 years president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, at Newark, N. J., May 27, 1926.

Albert Colnot, member general executive board, United Brewery Workers and Soft Drink Workers' Union, Cincinnati, Ohio, June 23rd.

Harry W. Semple, managing editor Trade Union News, Philadelphia, latter part of June, 1926.

Paul L. Martin, national representative, American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America, in Toledo, Ohio, May 26, 1926.

Charles U. Taylor, executive secretary of the Oregon State Federation of Labor, Portland, Oregon, July 13th. He was Vice-President of Street Car Employees.

Benjamin F. Cooper, acting assistant grand chief engineer, B. of L. E., Portland, Oregon, July 11th.

D. D'Alessandro, president of the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, at Quincy, Mass., September 11.

John R. O'Leary, vice-president of the International Molders' Union from 1903-1918, at Worcester, Mass., August 26, 1926.

Thomas Greer, President of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor, November, 1925.

J. W. Anderson, International Vice-President, Order of Railway Telegraphers, October 24, 1925.

W. T. Brown, International Vice-President, Order of Railway Telegraphers, November 24, 1925.

J. E. Kipp, International Vice-President, Order of Railway Telegraphers, September 28, 1926.

E. L. Jackson, representative of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, September 1, 1925.

Congressman Lawrence J. Flaherty, President of the California Building Trades Council and at one time President of the Cement Finishers' Union in San Francisco, May 30, 1925.

Grant Whitcomb, Executive Board Member, Railway Signalmen, November 16, 1925.

James D. Fitzgerald, former president of the State Building Trades Council and also former chairman of the Executive Committee, New York State Federation of Labor.

George Leary, former delegate to the convention from the Metal Polishers' Union.

Peter J. Hassenpflue, former President of the Ohio Building Trades Council and for many years President of the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

At the conclusion of the reading of the list the delegates arose and stood in silence for a short period.

At 12:30 p. m. the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Seventh Day--Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m., by President Green.

Absentees

Boyer, Schulte, Hauser, Rosemund, Baer, Sullivan, Gillot, Siemer, Regnier, Hannah, Collins, Clark (W. W.), Conway, Mitchell, Kohn, Witt, Atkins, McBrayer, Manson, Gorman, Hill, Stewart, Studdart, Kutz, Wenger, Mullen, Alden, Henley, Augustino, Murphy, J. H. (Kensington, Ill.), Burgehardt, Campbell, (Wm.), Woodling, Murphy, J. H. (Lynn, Mass.), McClain, Weber, Frampton, Fagan, Hollcraft, Coffelt, Bower, Tarbett, Shea, Elwell, Eckhardt, Woodmansee, Wood, Trimmer, Hope, Keeny, Saylor, McGeary, Tinney, Bender, Bohm, Albert, Ruben, Ellstein, Polakoff, Ship-

laff, Shaw, Purves, Scannell, Darrington, Powers, Ryan (Edw.), Portway.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Delegate Huddell, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Requesting International Unions to Have Local Unions Co-operate With the Building Trades In Scranton, Pa.

Resolution No. 78--By Delegate Lawrence F. Hart, of the Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, That through the lack of co-operation on the part of the carpenters, brick layers and stone masons, local unions of Scranton, Pa., the building

trades in that city are seriously menaced with the open shop and the possibility of the destruction of their organizations in the very near future; therefore, be it **RESOLVED**, That the International Presidents of the Brick Layers, Stone Masons and Carpenters' Unions, instruct their local unions in Scranton, Pa., to co-operate with the rest of the building trades in Scranton to combat this destructive evil.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Huddell: This is the only resolution that was referred to the committee. This completes our report, which was signed:

GEORGE F. HEDRICK,
Chairman;
A. M. HUDDALL,
Secretary;
RICHARD PATTISON,
W. A. CRISSMON,
SAM SQUIBB,
FRANK FEENEY,
JAMES A. MULLANEY,
JOHN DONLIN,

Committee on Building Trades.
The committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Delegate Jewell, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Tunnel and Subway Constructors Requests Revocation of Charter of Local No. 63, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers.

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate John J. Collins of the Tunnell and Subway Constructors' International Union.

WHEREAS, the Compress Air, Foundation, Subway, Cofferdam and Sewer Construction Workers' Local No. 63 Chartered by the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America are a dual organization of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union of North America, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Charter of Local No. 63 and all locals chartered under

the same conditions by the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, be revoked and they be duly notified to affiliate with the Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union of North America.

Your committee had under consideration this resolution. Hearings on same were held, both parties at interest appeared before and were heard by the committee. During these hearings both interested parties agreed to meet and confer.

Therefore, we recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to bring both parties together in such conference.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Painters vs. Electrical Workers.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Geo. F. Hedrick and Chas. J. Lammert, of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators.

WHEREAS, a number of protests and complaints have reached our General Office against the Electrical Workers painting electrical poles, standards, stop lights, alarm boxes and all other electrical equipment; and

WHEREAS, the Electrical Workers have gone so far as to threaten to strike jobs and cut off the lights during the Greater St. Louis Exposition—where our members were doing this class of work; and

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Labor has always recognized our jurisdiction over all painting and decorating in all of its branches and including the painting of electrical poles, standards, stop lights, alarm boxes and all other electrical equipment; and

WHEREAS, this work does not rightfully or properly belong to the Electrical Worker; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this convention hereby instruct the Electrical Workers to cease infringing upon the jurisdiction and rights of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, by discontinuing the painting of electrical poles, standards, stop lights, alarm boxes and all other electrical equipment as specified.

Your committee finds that both parties have agreed to meet in conference with the President of the Building Trades Department to try to work out a solution satisfactory to both organizations.

We, therefore, recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor request each organization interested to appoint two members on this committee; also, that he name one member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, they to meet with the President of the Building Trades Department in an effort to settle the dispute.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Jewell: This completes the report of the committee.

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman
B. M. JEWELL, Secretary
EDWARD FLORE
C. L. SHAMP
J. B. ETCHISON
D. A. CAREY
H. B. PERHAM
PHILLIP MURRAY
F. H. FLJOZDAL
M. F. TIGHE
WILLIAM F. CANAVAN
FRANK KASTEN
JAMES MALONEY
M. F. GREENE
MICHAEL E. McFARLAND
Committee on Adjustment.

The committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

**Pledging Support to the Bakery and
Confectionery Workers in Struggle
Against the Ward Bread Trust.**

Resolution No. 9—Bly Delegates A. A. Myrup, Jacob Goldstone, Peter Beisel, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its last annual convention declared its opposition to the two-billion-

dollar Bread Trust which was being formed under the leadership of William B. Ward by the consolidation of the Ward, Continental and General Baking Corporations, and urged the Federal government to institute proceedings against this illegal combination; and

WHEREAS, the Department of Justice, after long and unwarranted delay, finally brought suit before the Federal Court at Baltimore, confirming in its petition every charge made by the American Federation of Labor against the Bread Trust and its promoters; and

WHEREAS, on April 23, 1926, Attorney General Sargent permitted the entry of a so-called "consent decree drafted in secret conference with the Bread Trust attorneys, permitting this unlawful combination and its promoters to escape without any penalty whatever either of fine or imprisonment and allowing the Ward interest to maintain substantial control of the Ward and Continental Baking Corporations, each of which is large enough to dominate the baking industry; and

WHEREAS, The dissenting opinion filed by Federal Trade Commissioners Nugent and Thompson reveals that in the entry of this consent decree a gross fraud was perpetrated upon the Federal Court at Baltimore by providing in section 13 of the consent decree that the charges under section 7 of the Clayton Act against the Continental Baking Corporation were dismissed on the ground that similar charges were then pending before the Federal Trade Commission when, as a matter of fact, the Federal Trade Commission complaint had actually been dismissed on the previous day and the Attorney General had been notified by letter, transmitted by special messenger, that this action had taken place; and

WHEREAS, the dissenting opinion of Commissioners Nugent and Thompson further reveals that the dismissal of the case against the Continental Baking Corporation was arranged for at a secret conference held at the Department of Justice on April 1, 1926, participated in by the Attorney General himself, the Chief Counsel for the Federal Trade Commission and the lawyers for the Bread Trust; and

WHEREAS, the Senate, on July 1, 1926, adopted a resolution introduced by Senator Walsh of Montana, directing the Judiciary Committee to investigate this entire transaction; and

WHEREAS, The Bread Trust, dominated by the Ward interests, has con-

tinued its unfair tactics against organized labor and the consuming public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled declares anew its unflinching opposition to the Ward Bread Trust and pledges its support to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union in its fight against this unlawful combination; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to use their good offices to induce the Judiciary Committee to conduct a speedy and thorough investigation of the proceedings by which the Bread Trust was permitted to escape punishment for its repeated violations of the Federal Statutes.

This resolution presents both a complaint against a miscarriage of justice and an appeal for the assistance and support of the wage earners against the bitter opposition and antagonism manifested by the Ward Baking interests against the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union and its members.

Your committee is in full accord with the investigation sought and the support asked of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions. It is therefore recommended that this resolution be approved.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Commending and Urging Support of Relief Work Carried on by Organized Labor of Miami, Florida.

Resolution No. 10—By R. L. Harris of the Central Labor Union, Miami, Florida.

WHEREAS, Thousands of union men and their families have been made homeless and destitute in Miami, Florida, and vicinity through the destruction of their homes and other personal belongings by the hurricane of September 17th and 18th, 1926, and

WHEREAS, The Local Unions in close co-operation with the Building Trades Council of Miami and vicinity are rendering all aid possible within their power, providing emergency needs, medicines, food, clothing and other relief direct and in accord and co-operation

with other relief agencies, and

WHEREAS, These very necessary activities created additional expense which is greatly added to by other activities necessary in preventing the efforts of the foes of union labor to take advantage of the stress under which the community now labors following the disaster and changed Miami from a union town to a non-union town, and

WHEREAS, The Labor Unions of Miami their members and officers have acted in a manner and a way for which the labor movement and all people may well feel proud and who by reason of and through their organization did serve the stricken city voluntarily and with out cost working immediately the storm had passed for the following days and nights until the city was provided with water, sewerage, light and all hazardous obstructions, loose swingings, signs and all dangerous obstacles had been removed, this work of union labor did much towards saving the stricken city from disease and pestilence which usually follows in the wake of such disasters. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the spirit and principle of the America Labor Unions was truly reflected in the actions and service of Miami Union Labor during the crisis through which the city of Miami passed immediately following the destructive hurricane of September 17th and 18th, 1926. Be it further

RESOLVED, That the increased activities of the Miami Unions in providing succor for its stricken members, its operating in new fields necessary to the preservation of union standards and conditions, be given the endorsement of this convention.

RESOLVED, That the International Unions be requested to encourage their local unions in Miami to continue close co-operation with all other unions in Miami, and lend financial aid where and as needed, and that a collection be made among the delegates to this convention and that the same be sent to the Miami Central Union and that all central bodies and councils be requested to lend financial aid to the Building Trades Council and Central Labor Union of Miami.

Your committee is deeply moved by the appalling loss and suffering that has come to the workers and citizens of Florida by reason of the recent hurricane and as set forth in this resolution.

tion. Your committee is in full sympathy with the spirit and substance of the proposal contained in this resolution. Not only our sympathy but our financial support and assistance of whatever kind should be extended our unfortunate fellow workers and citizens speedily and generously. However, your committee is of the judgment that the financial assistance and support intended specially for the organized workers and the trade unions of Florida can best be obtained and administered through the channels of the respective National and International Unions. Where this has not been done we urge that this course be followed immediately.

It is further urged that all International and National Unions continue this work of relief of workers and of the upbuilding of the trade union movement in Florida. In addition it is recommended that the Executive Council immediately inquire into conditions obtaining at present in Florida and if found advisable, desirable or necessary that a general appeal be issued to all affiliated unions to subscribe to a further fund for the relief of those sufferers of this disaster insufficiently or inadequately provided for, this fund to be administered by the officers of the A. F. of L. It is recommended that this procedure be followed instead of the course outlined in the resolution under consideration.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Proposing Creation of Commission by Congress to Investigate Conditions of Porto Rico

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Porto Rico State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Island of Porto Rico is rapidly and increasingly becoming the property of a few financial interests and business corporations that have gained possession and taken hold of the soil

and resources of the island in violation of the Organic Law of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this concentration of the lands and financial powers by absentee landlords the bulk of the profits produced by the Porto Rican masses of laborers are never reinvested in the island but in foreign countries and the continental United States, where absentee owners reside, and it is thus seen that while a great increase in the wealth production of the island is recorded, the masses still remain and are left suffering in the most unbearable degree of poverty and industrial oppression; and

WHEREAS, The administration of Porto Rico in Washington has ostensibly devised as a solution to this problem, a plan whereby thousands of Porto Ricans will be transferred from their native island to the United States, because the withdrawal of wealth from the island and the control of land by absentee landlords make their life untenable and their industrial development almost a dream; be it

RESOLVED, By this Forty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor in meeting assembled, that the President of the American Federation of Labor be earnestly recommended to request the Congress of the United States to create a Commission with full authority to investigate the deplorable industrial conditions, especially the living and working conditions of the masses of laborers in Porto Rico, land and financial resources, and to ascertain how the Federal as well as the Organic Law of the island has been continually violated by the big financial interests, corporations and individuals which exploit the people of the island to the discredit of our nation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the earnest wish of the American Federation of Labor that such Commission may visit the island of Porto Rico to make a thorough investigation as these resolutions urge, and that such a Commission be composed of men who will not, as several unofficial Commissions have done in the past, accept mere courtesies and superficial official declarations as sufficient evidence upon which to base their official conclusions and recommendations, but that the aforesaid Commission be composed of Senators and Representatives capable of going to the very heart of things, to get the real opinions and views of men who toil in every kind of work and business, who know local con-

ditions, who feel the real feelings of the people, and who understand our local conditions.

Your committee is in full accord with the objective sought. It questions the wisdom of confining the Executive Council to any one particular course of action in the early attainment and complete fulfillment of that objective. It is therefore recommended that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with authority given to it to proceed as outlined in this resolution or in such other manner and by such other means as to it may seem best.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Favoring Transfer of Government Administration of Porto Rico from Bureau of Insular Affairs to a Civil Government

Resolution No. 12.—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Porto Rico State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The convention of the American Federation of Labor held at St. Paul, Minn., June 10-20, 1928, unanimously adopted a resolution, No. 50, introduced by our late brother, Samuel Gompers, which read as follows:

"WHEREAS, The Island of Porto Rico as a result of the war with Spain came under the control of the United States Government in 1898, and was governed directly by Federal Representatives until 1917; and

WHEREAS, Congress by enactment of the so-called "Jones Bill," provided for the people of the Island citizenship and local self-government with the right to choose their representatives in both branches of the Insular Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that it is the sense of this convention that to continue the policy of keeping the Island of Porto Rico in the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, as a part of the military arm of the national government, is repugnant to every principle of our democratic form of government, especially since one hundred thousand young men of that Island registered under the selective draft to make the world safe for democracy; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as the people of Porto Rico have been granted a civil form of government in harmony with our territorial form of government and being a law-abiding and peaceful race of people, that this convention, through its officers, request the President of the United States to transfer the official governmental business of that Island from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to a civic department and in our judgment the Department of the Interior, which has always had official supervision over all our territorial forms and government" and

WHEREAS, We consider the time to be opportune to bring about the change as sought for in the above quoted resolution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor now ratify at once and again give its full endorsement to the principle involved in the above referred to resolution, and that the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be earnestly requested to insist upon reiterating to the President and the Congress of the United States that such a change, as provided for in Resolution 50 of the St. Paul convention, be brought about at the earliest possible moment.

Your committee is in accord with this resolution and recommends its approval and adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Declaring Opposition to Any Further Increase in Postage Rates On Printed Matter.

Resolution No. 24.—By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon, representing the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, the congress of the United States has within the past ten years increased the rates on second class postage (printed matter) on two different occasions, such action in some instances advancing the cost of transmitting printed matter through the post office from 50 to 700 per cent; and

WHEREAS, the printing and publishing industry has assumed all of the burden it can bear, and as any further increase in the second class postage rates would seriously affect this industry as to increase the amount of unemployment; and

WHEREAS, this branch of the Postal Service is self-sustaining and there are other branches of the service which are being operated at a deficit—notably the rural free delivery and the parcels post; and

WHEREAS, there is now under consideration proposals for a further increase in the rates on second class postage, therefore; be it

RESOLVED, by this Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we strenuously protest against any further increase in the postage rates on printed matter; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, that we demand that the Congress give consideration to increasing revenues derived from those branches of the service, in the event that a greater income is necessary, rather than impose any further increase on second class rates or in any event that any non-sustaining branches of the service are considered worthy of government subsidy, that such subsidy be derived from some other source of governmental income and not from the self-sustaining branches of the Postal Service.

Your committee reiterates our former declaration that the Postal Service should primarily be a social and service agency rather than a revenue producing institution.

While this resolution fails to set forth accurately in every detail the conditions, circumstances and considerations relating to second class postal matter, your committee recommends approval of the object to be accomplished. In order that proper methods may govern in the attainment of those ends, your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Citizens' Military Training Camps.

The El Paso convention referred to the Executive Council the subject of Citizens' Military Training Camps that were established by the government. Conferences were held with the Secretary of War with reference to working out the spirit and intent of Resolution

No. 75 introduced at the El Paso convention.

Members of the Executive Council had an opportunity to visit the Citizens' Military Training Camp at Plattsburgh, New York. They were accorded every opportunity by the officers in charge of this camp to come into contact and to understand every feature of the training of the boys. Our investigation disclosed the fact that the boys who were taking advantage of this military training were all interested in the work of the camp and were enthusiastic in their praise of the benefit they derived from this training. We found that the military part of the training occupied the smallest part of the day. Most of the waking hours of the boys were spent in athletic sports of all kinds and were thoroughly enjoyed and participated in by all of the boys. This kind of training is building up the mind and body of the American youth. It stimulates the patriotic spirit of the youth. He is taught citizenship.

The Citizens' Military Training Camp has no compulsory features. It is voluntary, as the boys themselves elect to participate in this training. They benefit by the discipline of the camp. It is remarkable the benefits that accrue to a boy after spending one month in this camp.

In the judgment of the Executive Council we believe it would be advantageous to all of the boys of our country to take advantage of the opportunity afforded to them in these camps.

Citizens' Military Training Camps

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates Morris Sigman, Isidore Nagler, Louis Pinkofsky, Philip Oretsky, Abraham Snyder and Basilio Desti, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The Citizens' Military Training Camps are an institution supported by open shop employers and wealthy capitalists seeking to impose military training on young workers by use of the false slogan, "One month's vacation with pay;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor inaugurate a campaign against the propaganda of the Citizens' Military Training Camps, and substitute for their slogan, "Down with war"; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention of

that the American Federation of Labor express its stand against the militarization of our youth in the colleges of the country, and its full sympathy with the present movement among the college students of the country against military discipline and training.

Citizens' Military Training Camps

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate E. D. Barry, of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Citizens' Military Training Camps are organized for the purpose of training young workers for the army and to be used in the next war; and

WHEREAS, The Military Training Camps Association, composed of large open shop employers, dominates the policy of these camps and does its best to see that the camps turn out scabs and strike breakers; and

WHEREAS, Larger and larger numbers of young workers join these military camps, because of the encouragement given them by the employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor condemn the purpose and function of the Citizens' Military Training Camps and oppose any move to organically connect the American Federation of Labor with the War Department in any way or help in the recruiting of young workers expected to serve as cannon fodder in the next war; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct our delegate to the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor to present this resolution opposing the Citizens' Military Training Camps.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council dealing with Citizens' Military Training Camps, page 56, and on resolutions No. 47 and No. 67, the committee reported as follows:

In considering this part of the Executive Council's report, your committee included consideration of resolutions numbered 47 and 67, both of which conflict with the recommendations of the Executive Council and disapprove of these camps.

Your committee is prompted in recommending disapproval of the two resolutions submitted and the approval of the report of the Executive Council in

that previous conventions have approved these camps on condition that the training received shall be free from any attempt to promote militarism or inculcate the spirit of war. From the personal investigation made by the Executive Council of the Citizens' Military Training Camp at Plattsburg, New York, it has been established that these camps are designed to avoid the dangers to which attention has been continuously directed by the American Federation of Labor.

Without question these training camps have given a widespread opportunity to the youth of our country for wholesome recreation. That which gives them value is quite independent of military features. Camp life affords many benefits for growing boys. The outdoor sports and other activities, the close contact with nature, the good companionship, with supervision and discipline under competent leaders, develop clear minds and vigorous bodies. Boys who live in the open, build fires, cook, put up tents, provide for daily needs out of the simple materials to hand, develop ingenuity and resourcefulness and learn to invent what they cannot get ready-made. Such training is invaluable for anyone who is to become an independent and creative citizen. The team spirit and team play learned in outdoor sports is the best sort of training for co-operation and organized activities in later life. Camp life builds good citizens and develops the materials for good trade union members.

Your committee recommends that the convention in giving endorsement of such camps and such activities wherever possible for boys and also for girls, do so with the understanding that conditions found to have existed at the Training Camp at Plattsburg, New York, are observed at all other camps and that at no time any effort shall be made to direct them into institutions for the development of the spirit of militarism

or the glorification of war. We desire to have the youth of America well trained physically, mentally and spiritually, and while prepared to meet every emergency our nation may be confronted with, we are opposed to any teaching that will provoke international conflict or war with another nation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Re-affirming Advocacy and Urging Political Activity in Behalf of the Direct Primary.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is being conducted a nation-wide fight on the direct primary, with the evident purpose of returning to the old system of nomination by convention, thus subordinating political parties to machine control; and

WHEREAS, We deem this activity an attack on democratic government, an assault on established free institutions and as a further effort to wrest control of the government from the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we reaffirm our belief in and advocacy of the direct primary, pledge anew our continued united efforts to defend the direct primary against its enemies, and further that we urge all affiliated national and international unions and state federations of labor to exert every effort to awaken the people to the danger threatening popular government.

With the exception of the last four lines contained in this resolve your Committee is in full accord with this resolution. Amended by the striking out of these four lines your Committee recommends its adoption. It is prompted in recommending the elimination of these four lines because your Committee does not deem it wise for the American Federation to predicate its approval or disapproval of any candidate for office upon a single issue to

the exclusion of others in which the workers and organized labor are essentially interested and concerned or which affect the best interest of the great mass of our people.

In recommending approval of this resolution in the amended form, we are cognizant of the fact that reactionaries everywhere are attempting to destroy the direct primaries established in the overwhelming number of our states. These efforts are nothing less than an attack on popular and democratic government. It required a century of struggle to achieve this epoch making victory. Organized labor at all times was leading in the struggle. Organized business invariably opposed this democratic measure. Now organized business seeks to corrupt and thereafter destroy the primary system.

Organized labor must be alert to dangers lurking in the shadows. It must again assume leadership not alone in defense of the primaries and their extension but in ridding our primaries of the various forms of corruption that always threaten popular and democratic governments.

Delegate Fox, Wyoming S. F. of L., in discussing the question, said in part: I rise in support of the recommendation of the committee. I desire to call attention briefly to what we conceive to be a nation-wide assault upon democratic government. We have noticed in the public press within the last few years, particularly so since Mussolini's advent, that democratic government is being challenged all over the world; that an attempt is being made to create the impression that the right of the people to govern has been negated by the people themselves; that the best form of government is that in which the largest majority of the people have no part.

As one whose ancestors helped to found this Republic, I resent both the implication they give and the quiet way in which we allow them to proceed. In our state the predominant political party, at a primary convention, came out boldly against the primary law. Since that time we have made the cam-

paign interesting enough that they have at least amended their original statement to say that they seek only to amend the law. We know that when they want to amend the primary law their object is to weaken the law so far as its democratic foundation is concerned. Unless the people of America are aroused to the dangers confronting democratic government it will be only a question of a few years until we will have a Mussolini in our nation.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), International Typographical Union, said in part: I want to make an observation, based upon a statement made by Delegate Fox. At the present time there is registration going on generally throughout the country, and generally you will read in the papers that the people are paying little or no attention to that important duty we owe to our government, federal, state and local. Now, I am just as apprehensive as Brother Fox regarding the neglect on the part of the workers to register and vote.

For example, I note in the Cleveland paper that in the first two days of registration in that city of nearly a million population about 50,000 voters registered, with two more days to go, so that if no more register in the next couple of days there will be perhaps 100,000 to vote at the state election at which the present governor, a member of the International Typographical Union, is a candidate, so that it appears the union people themselves, who not only were in the leadership in establishing the primary but to continue that leadership, refuse to register. If we had a live labor movement, I feel there would be more life and enthusiasm displayed in politics.

We who organize into unions and strive and work and sacrifice, night and day, year in and year out, to build up an industrial organization realize the pitiful condition we are in when we go rapping at the doors of the city hall and demand even a square deal from the people who are supposed to directly represent us. They openly join forces with the so-called citizens' committees, the so-called American Planners, the Chambers of Commerce and other aggregations that come out openly in favor of the open shop. It is the same Big Business that now controls our municipal government that is preparing for a battle with organized labor in its strong wing, and that is the building trades.

Cleveland was a one hundred per cent building trades center. There was no erection of skyscrapers, office buildings, apartment houses or other buildings except under union conditions until the present time. Last week an injunction was hurled at the building trades and they were given thirty days to go back to work on the big telephone building or they would feel the power of the court. They are now in conference trying to decide whether to surrender to this injunction or appear before the court. If we had the city hall filled with building trade mechanics no such danger would be confronting the building trades of Cleveland as they are facing at the present time.

I say to you, workers, not only you here, but I would like to have a voice loud enough so that every union man in the country could understand me, that if you don't want to register and don't want to vote for the old party candidates, for God's sake go out and form a movement of your own and put your own candidates in office.

Delegate Walker, Illinois S. F. of L. said in part: In Illinois we have at the present time three cases pending in the Supreme Court which have to do with the constitutionality of the primary law in Cook County and in the state. In Cook County the effort to annul the judicial primary law was originated by one of the dominant political parties of Cook County, which is controlled by one political boss who doesn't deny it, but practically admits it on every occasion and is proud of it.

The general primary law for the State has been attacked in a judicial district that is dominated by what we know as the bi-partisan movement of our state, which includes the boss I just referred to, and by what is known as the Tribune-Brundage combination. So far as labor is concerned, the only way we could enter into the case was by requesting the privilege of entering a brief as the friend of the court. That request was denied. Last week when the hearing was had on the case in which the general primary law for the state was attacked ex-Senator Lewis asked to be given the privilege of entering the case as a friend of the court, and my information from newspaper reports is that he was denied that privilege.

Mr. Lewis asked to be given that courtesy as a representative of the Illi-

nois State Federation of Labor. If these laws are declared unconstitutional it will be purely a victory for the political bosses who want to dictate the nomination of candidates behind closed doors, in the small hours of the morning, according to the desires of the particular interests with which they are associated.

My judgment is that ninety per cent of the voters of our state are in favor of the primary system, and if it is declared unconstitutional I believe the next session of the legislature will enact a new primary law. I say that in the face of the fact that we have had some unpleasant notoriety because of the use of funds in a primary contest, but even if ten times the amount of funds had been used to influence bosses in the back rooms in the small hours of the morning we wouldn't know anything about it. As it is, we know what happened.

We have made progress. As a result of following the program of the American Federation of Labor for five or six years in Illinois we have got to the place where we have a friendly state legislature and we have been able to get decent consideration from both sides. We were able to put over our injunction limitation bill in the last session, we were able to overwhelmingly defeat the military police bill. One by one we have taken the unknown and bitter enemies of labor that were obviously aligned with the influences that were fighting organized labor in primary after primary and election after election, and we have left them at home and have put decent, friendly men and women in their places.

In the last session of the legislature we did get decent consideration for our measures. In the last primary we left at home four members of the Senate who were our enemies, and we left at home about a dozen in the House. The things we have accomplished satisfy me completely; that if we are going to get anywhere we have got to keep together and keep together, no matter what mistakes we make. My experience has been that trying wholeheartedly to carry into effect the political program of the American Federation of Labor has gotten us more results than anything we have done politically in our state.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, in discussing the question, said that the

effort at discrediting the primary was part of a great movement to discredit the entire representative form of government. "The third estate, as they are called in Europe, the bourgeoisie, as they are called in France, and Big Business, as we call them here, are governing all the countries now, and there is nobody that I know of who now comes to the working peoples' representatives and tells them what is going to happen, so as to warn them. All governments are systematically working to get away from the common people everything they have been compelled to grant in the last hundred and fifty years. You can't pick up an American newspaper that you don't find an attack upon the legislatures of the States or the United States. You can't pick up a paper in any European country that does not ridicule the representative form of government, or democratic government.

"The struggle now and for the future is between autocracy and democracy in industry, and of course the purpose of the employers, the big business men—they are not all guilty of this, but the men who are leading these forces are going to subvert the church to their purpose, and you see that in operation here. They are going to subvert the newspapers, you know, because they have already bought them all. They are going to subvert the representative government, because it has served their purpose and is of no use to them any more. If you want to continue freedom and the development of freedom, of economic freedom as it exists on the industrial field, you have got to wake up and realize what you are fighting.

I hope that you will not only adopt this resolution, but that you will go back to your people and warn them, because they need it, they don't have the time to find out or they haven't the inclination to find out. You are put in the position of standing on the watch tower, and if you fail then there is nobody to relieve them.

Delegate Martel, Detroit Federation of Labor, related the story of the recent Republican convention in Michigan and told how the convention was manipulated in such a way as to eliminate the influence of the representatives of organized labor in that convention. He stated that out of the 550 delegates elected to the Wayne County

convention, 325 were representatives of organized labor. He stated that after he had been elected chairman of the county convention by a vote of 281 to 4, the secretary and chairman of the county committee endeavored to create a stampede by taking some forty or fifty delegates to another hall and certifying to a list of delegates to the state convention. When the state convention met in Detroit, he said, the corrupt politicians of Wayne County had the entire police force of the city of Detroit present at the convention hall with riot guns to prevent the regularly elected Wayne County delegation from gaining seats in the state convention. Through court action, he stated, the corrupt politicians gained control of the state convention, thus preventing organized labor from influencing, if not dictating the nomination of the Attorney-General, the Secretary of State, the Treasurer of State, the Superintendent of Instruction and a Judge of the Supreme Court. Neither the regularly elected delegation nor the organized labor group were represented in the state meeting. Delegate Martel pointed out, thus absolutely disfranchising the largest section of the state.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, in opening his remarks on the subject matter before the convention, stated that he wanted to be placed squarely on record as not being in accord with a great deal that had been said and not in accord with either the spirit of the resolution or the committee's report on it. Continuing, he said in part:

The primary law, wherever it has been adopted, has been adopted by the people, and if the people believe that that is the plan that is going to work for their salvation, even in my most reactionary mood all I can say is for them to go to it. One delegate has said that it is believed that ninety per cent of the people of the United States want the primary. Perhaps that is so, but there is nothing on the record anywhere to indicate that that is the fact. If you will take the results as shown by the poll books and by the election returns you will find that from twenty to thirty per cent of the people of the United States are interested in the primaries. I know that that is the case in our state.

There has been a lot said about political bosses and political machines. No political boss anywhere on earth can

exercise any power or influence except as he is supported among the people. The primary election or convention system has no effect upon this phase of the question, nor will a third party cure that phase of the question. You must get back to the time that once prevailed in this country, you must revive among the common people of the United States the sentiments that existed in their breasts in 1828 and again in 1832, when the Democratic Party as we now know it was born, when the Democratic Party first adopted this two-thirds majority and the unit rule. Get your voters aroused, get them awakened to their responsibilities, to their duties, to what they owe to themselves and to the country in which they live, and you will find all this menace of Big Business, all these menaces that threaten us will depart like a snowflake in a June sun. As long as you allow one-third or one-half of the possible voting strength of the country to be reflected at the ballot box, you have no right to complain about what happens. You bring it on yourselves.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee: I am not going to discuss at length the issue before this convention because most of the delegates who have spoken have deviated largely and embraced other issues not involved in the resolution or the committee's report, but nevertheless they have expressed approval of the committee's report.

In considering the statement of the last speaker, analyzing the various propositions submitted, I am frank to say that I don't know whether he favors the committee or disapprove of the committee report, although the direct statement of disapproval was made. The issue is one of convention system as against primary system in the selection of candidates for public office, and the last statements made by the last speaker were not in fault of either the primary or convention system, but rather finding fault with the lethargy of the American citizenry and the American wage-earners in the matter of expressing their right to go to the ballot box and vote. As for his comparison between primary and convention systems, the examples cited have not been primary examples, but have been convention systems of electing candidates for the highest offices in the gift of the American people, so that whatever has been said has not been said in contra-

vention, but rather in support of the primary as opposed to the convention system. Your committee heartily joins in that recommendation and urges the unanimous adoption of its report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Proposing Endorsement of Governor Smith of New York for Election to the Presidency of the United States.

Resolution No. 23.—By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon, representing the New York State Federation of Labor.

On behalf of the International Union of Pavers, Ramblers, etc., and affiliated local unions, and on behalf of the District Council of Pavers, Ramblers, etc., of Greater New York and New Jersey, the New York State Federation of Labor presents for your consideration the action of the International Union of Pavers, Ramblers, etc., in regular convention assembled, and respectfully requests approval or similar action to be taken by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, as follows:

"The International Union of Pavers, Ramblers, Curb Setters, Road Builders, etc., in convention assembled at Maennerchor Hall, 203 East 56th Street, New York City, on the twelfth day of July, 1926, do declare and pledge their sincere belief and faith in the United States of America and the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence, and in the policy of Lincoln and Jefferson, sound and constructive in the cause of unity, liberty and freedom of the people, founded on democracy, a government of the people.

"The democratic tradition will always live and prevail among our people if they will manifest an interest in the selection of candidates for public office, as more and more the people of our country are coming to the conclusion that their liberty, comfort and happiness are being immolated upon the altar of political greed and selfishness, as manifested in the recent primary election of Pennsylvania, and in previous elections for the high honor of being a member of the United States Senate, a legislative body which the people of our country depend upon for conservative and constructive legislation.

"How can sound public policy be protected and advanced when the influence of money is used to make unfortunate people sacrifice one of the greatest assets of the government, the power of elector?

"What the country needs now at the helm is a man who has been tried, who has shown his fitness as a legislator, who has shown throughout his public career a sincere interest in the people, and one who advocates and upholds the principles of democracy. And we, as part of the Organized Labor Movement of the United States, in convention assembled, recommend to the National Democratic Party, to the Democratic Parties of the States, to Organized Labor and the people of the nation, the designation of Alfred E. Smith, Governor of the State of New York, for President of the United States of America, so that our reverence for democracy can and will be maintained."

The American people are not at present engaged in a Presidential campaign. Governor Alfred Smith can not therefore now be candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Indeed, Governor Smith is at present a candidate for re-election as Governor of the State of New York. As such he has the support of the New York State Federation of Labor and of an overwhelming number of unorganized wage earners and other citizens. If we are to maintain strict adherence to our non-partisan political campaign activities in Presidential as well as other public official campaigns we must of necessity withhold the formation and expression of judgments until the opportune and proper time presents itself no matter how appealing or friendly the person or persons involved may be. For these reasons your committee recommends the withholding of any action or expression upon this resolution insofar as it relates to any candidacy for President of the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing That the American Federation of Labor Demand an Investigation of the Activities of Agents of the Department of Justice in the Sacco-Vanzetti Case.

Resolution No. 74.—By Delegate Samuel Squibb, International Granite Cutters' Union.

WHEREAS, The case of Sacco and Vanzetti has again come before the public; and

WHEREAS, After six years of imprisonment those who take an interest in this case are now more convinced than ever that Sacco and Vanzetti are not guilty of the crime they were charged with and convicted for; and

WHEREAS, The motion for a new trial based on newly discovered evidence, primarily on the confession of Celestino F. Madeiros, is now before the court of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, On this motion for a new trial, affidavits of former agents of the Department of Justice of the United States have been produced that show that there are records on file in the office of the Department of Justice, establishing the fact that there was collaboration between the Department of Justice and the District Attorney of Norfolk County to convict Sacco and Vanzetti on charges of a crime, of which the Department of Justice did not believe them guilty; and

WHEREAS, The Attorney General has refused access to the records in the case to the Counsel for the Defense, in spite of his urgent request for the same; and

WHEREAS, A large number of the International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are deeply interested in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti and have by resolutions adopted at their conventions, expressed the sentiment of their members on this matter; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled demand an immediate investigation by the Congress of the United States of the actions of the agents of the Department of Justice; the connection of the Department of Justice with the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti; and the refusal of the Department of Justice to disclose its files on the Sacco and Vanzetti case; be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President and Congress of the United States.

The convention of the American Fed-

eration of Labor of last year and of several years prior thereto have repeatedly declared that Sacco and Vanzetti should be accorded a new trial in order that no man's life may be placed in jeopardy without a just and fair trial and be found guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. This insistence for a new trial was predicated on the doubt of many as to the guilt of these men and because of the belief that the enforcement of this decision without a retrial and a full and complete opportunity to present all possible evidence having come to light either as to the guilt or innocence of these men would be a miscarriage of justice.

The resolution presented indicates or at least raises a doubt that evidence has been or is being withheld by the Department of Justice relating to the guilt or innocence of these men. This in itself places the Department of Justice into serious question. It adds further doubt as to guilt or innocence of the men charged and found guilty of crime. Regardless of the character or attitude of mind of these men toward our government or its institutions as a people we are deeply concerned that the power of government, or that of any of its departments shall at no time be used unconstitutionally to jeopardize the life and liberty of any person. And because of the serious charge thus made we recommend reaffirmation of our former demand for a retrial and reference of this resolution to the Executive Council, with directions that it proceed immediately to inquire into the charge made and to have determined the truth or falsity of this charge by Congressional investigation, if that be necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Presentation of Gifts to Fraternal Delegates.

Following the custom established many years ago, President Green presented to

each of the fraternal delegates a handsomely engraved gold watch and chain, the gift of the delegates in attendance at the convention. To Mrs. Bromley, Mrs. Hicks and Mrs. Trevino, who accompanied their husbands, smaller watches with suitable engravings were presented.

In presenting the gifts President Green said:

This afternoon we are privileged to follow this custom that has prevailed with unbroken regularity for many years. Each delegates in this convention, through his personal offering, has a very large part in these gifts which we are presenting to you now. We ask you to accept these tokens from these, your brothers and sisters in this great movement, with the understanding that they go to you with the sentiments, the good will and the affection of the men and women seated here.

We wish you a pleasant visit here, we wish you happiness and prosperity in the future, and a safe return to your family and friends.

Each of the fraternal delegates and their wives acknowledged the gifts and expressed their deep appreciation of the hospitality that had been shown them since their arrival in the United States.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers, moved that the address delivered by President Green at the First Congregational Church on Sunday afternoon, October 10, be printed in the proceedings of the convention. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green's Address at the First Congregational Church, Detroit, Sunday, October 10, 1926.

Each changing period in the world's history has brought about a realignment and readjustment of the social and economic order. As our civilization developed its needs grew and increased and industry was called upon to serve in supplying the human race with the necessities of a highly civilized world. But industry, without the magic hand of labor, could not perform this important task. It required the skill, genius and efficiency of millions of men and women—men who were willing to serve in the blackness and depths of the mines, upon the transportation lines of the Nation, in the mills and factories, and women who were forced by economic pressure to enter into the universal struggle for life and the preservation of life.

It was but natural that such a centralization of the forces of capital and labor would evolve many complex and difficult problems which pressed upon these two great forces for solution. These problems vitally affected the workers, society, the State and the Church. The inter-relation of these groups of organized society was so binding that no group could evade its responsibility or shirk in the discharge of its duty without destroying the delicate balance which was the stabilizing force in the human scale. Each deviation from the logical and practical course and each interference with the equitable relationship between employers and employees resulted in harm and injury to all the other forces of civilization.

The whole tendency of the human race has been toward organization and co-operation. The gratification of the instinct to organize is clearly apparent in social relations. In this era of modern life no enterprise or worthy cause is launched or undertaken until there is established a unit of organization and organized effort. This tendency collectively to do things which were undertaken, in the early stages of our civilization, by individuals separated and standing alone is nothing more than the exercise of a normal and legitimate right. No group of society organized for the purpose of accomplishing a definite and praise-worthy purpose can, with any degree of fairness, challenge the right of another group to do likewise.

The oldest and greatest organization formed for the betterment of humankind is the religious organization, represented by religions and churches. It is significant that these organizations were formed by groups of people yearning for a God to worship and the opportunity to develop the spiritual part of their lives.

The story of the organization of the Christian religion is a beautiful story. It tells of the appeal which the Great Leader made to the fishermen of Galilee. Walking among the laborers and working with them, He found His Disciples. They were humble, adoring followers and they were inspired by the common purpose and the common ideal of Christianity, as He expounded it.

In accepting the teachings of Christ the Church becomes the champion of the weak and oppressed and the implacable foe of injustice and wrong. It ministers

to the spiritual needs of its people and comforts and sustains the unfortunate in the hours of death and tribulation. It concerns itself with all spiritual, social and moral problems. The aroused interest of the Church in industrial problems was inevitable. There can be no great separation between the material, moral and spiritual welfare of the mass of the people. A proper solution of our economic and social problems means an advancement in the spiritual welfare of the people.

There is a basis of right human relationship. It lies deep within the conscience of men. It is the rule of right and the practice of justice and fair dealing. The exercise of the individual and collective rights of all people must be recognized and respected if peace and good will is to be established and preserved in, our economic and industrial life.

The working people are endeavoring, through collective action and group association, to advance the moral, the economic and the spiritual interests of the great mass of the people. They are concerned with the human factor in industry. It is the life, the soul, the mind and the spirit of human beings which appeals to them. No collective action would be justifiable or worthy of recognition if it did not place the spiritual and cultural life of people above the sordid, material things of life.

This collective group, in seeking a higher standard of living for working men and women has in mind the attainment of that high idealistic life which is so eloquently proclaimed by the representatives of the Church. In seeking relaxation and leisure from depressing and exhausting toil the workers have in mind an enlargement of opportunities for cultural and spiritual development. Men and women cannot improve morally, intellectually and spiritually without time and opportunity.

There is involved in this question a phase of the economic problem which is worthy of attention and consideration. The enjoyment of a reasonable degree of leisure tends to increase the desire of the workers for the enjoyment of the better things of life and, as a result, the workers buy more because they want more.

The interest which the Church is manifesting in industrial problems is highly appreciated and sincerely welcomed. Its moral influence is of great value. It can help in the solution of our vexing problems. We need more of the influence of the Church and the spirit of brotherhood and good will, not less of it, in the relationship between all the forces of industry.

At 5:50 p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 12, 1926.

Eighth Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Detroit, Mich.,
October 12, 1926.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Green in the chair.

Absentees

Boyer, Coulter, Hauser, Rosemund, Gillet, Siemer, Barry (E. P.), Hannah, Collins, Austin, Mitchell, Cashen, Linville, Johnson (R. H.), Kohn, Barry (J. L.), Gorman, Hill, Stewart, Kutz, Rohr, Wenger, Mullen, Augustino, Murphy, J. H. (Kensington, Ill.), Burghardt, Woodling, Colbert, Murphy, J. H. (Lynn, Mass.), Frampton, Fagan, Holcraft, Coffelt, Herder, Bower, Tarbett, Johnston (A. C.), Shea, Elwell, Eckhardt, Walker, Woodmansee, Wood (R. T.), Trimmer, Hope, Covert, Keeny, Saylor, McGeary, Tinney, Bender, Bohm, Polakoff, Shiplocoff, Shaw, Campbell (A. C.), Purves, Darrington, Powers, Portway.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"New York,
"October 11, 1926.

"William Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor,
"Detroit, Michigan.

"The Emergency Labor Conference to help striking cloak makers and combat injunctions, held on October 8, with 183 delegates representing 800,000 organized workers of the city of New York, was greatly encouraged and enthused by the resolution adopted by American Federation of Labor convention pledging full support to striking cloak makers and calling upon the labor organizations to extend to them moral and financial assistance. The conference unanimously decided to extend heartfelt fraternal greetings to the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled and pledged the organizations represented in this conference to respond whole-heartedly to the appeal of the Federation. The conference also decided to bring to the attention of the convention the drastic injunctions brought against the workers of the I. R. T. of New York, which would prevent the organizing of the workers, aiming to bring them into the fold of the Locals of the American Federation of Labor. Kindly convey the greetings and thanks of the conference to the Forty-sixth Annual

Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"I. FEINSTEIN, Chairman.
M. BUDISH, Secretary,
"Emergency Labor Conference."

Invitations for the 1927 convention of the American Federation of Labor were received from the following individuals and organizations on behalf of the several cities seeking the convention:

Sacramento, California—Paul Scharrenberg, for the California State Federation of Labor; the Central Labor Council of San Joaquin County, California; H. C. Bottorff, City Manager, Sacramento; the Sacramento Clearing House; S. J. Richard, Stockton Chamber of Commerce; Yuba County Chamber of Commerce; Yuba County Farm Bureau; Marysville Merchants' Association; Marysville Central Labor Council.

Birmingham, Alabama—O. L. Bunn, Secretary-Manager, Birmingham Chamber of Commerce; Thornton Estes, President, Rotary Club of Birmingham; C. A. Cardwell, Secretary-Treasurer, Alabama State Federation of Labor.

St. Petersburg, Florida—Dr. G. W. Benn, President St. Petersburg Ministerial Association; J. M. MacDonald, Camp Commander, United Spanish War Veterans; Benjamin L. Hall, Secretary Journeymen Barbers' Union No. 742; Wayne Reed, President Typographical Union No. 860.

Los Angeles, California—George E. Cryer, Mayor.

Atlantic City, N. J.—Edward L. Bader, Mayor.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Mugavin, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your committee has examined the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Bill Posters and Billers of United States and Canada—John Jilson, 16 votes.

President George Berry of the I. P. P. W. requests that John T. Taylor be seated as delegate in his place because of absence from the city.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—substitute William Bowers in place of Thomas A. Woods.

United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada—substitute Frank J. Kennedy for Thomas E. Burke.

Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union—substitute J. L. R. Marsh in place of C. L. Rosemund. This discontinues Mr. Marsh as a delegate from the Sacramento Federated Trades Council.

International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes—substitute Richard J. Green for Wm. F. Canavan.

International Photo Engravers Union—substitute Henry F. Schmal for Fred R. Ballbach.

Respectfully submitted,
WALTER SNOW,
Chairman;
FRANK HUGHES,
JOHN T. MUGAVIN,
Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Green: With the permission of the convention the Chair will take the liberty of directing your attention to an incident appearing in the public press that has been of considerable interest to the working people of the country. We learn from press dispatches that the jury that has been considering the case of the former Attorney-General of the United States, Harry M. Daugherty, and his associates, failed to agree. I presume that many of you and perhaps all of you have been following this trial with more than ordinary interest.

The fact seems to be pretty well established that while the jury were divided very definitely and sharply and could not arrive at a verdict, nevertheless it seemed quite impossible for the ex-Attorney-General of the United States to prove himself innocent. It might be well to remind you of the fact that Mr. Daugherty is the same Attorney-General of the United States who, during the Shopmen's strike, interested himself in behalf of the railroad lines of the country. He it was who applied for and secured the most drastic and far-reaching injunction ever issued against a body of workers in this country. In his speeches and in his declarations he

declared that so long as he was Attorney-General of the United States the closed shop would not be established in industry, but instead the open shop would be maintained.

Well, this is the same Harry Daugherty, the same man who made this statement against organized labor, the same man who came to the rescue of the transportation lines of this country and through his official position used his powerful influence against the working men of this country. I don't believe there was any one thing that contributed more toward prolonging the strike of these brave Shopmen when they were struggling for recognition and a decent living standard than this drastic injunction secured by this man. So that if the jury were unable to agree, if the jury did not find him guilty I know that that greater jury, the great American public, will have their own opinion regarding the guilt or innocence of this man. I thought it quite appropriate to make that statement this morning.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee: Before proceeding with our report, in behalf of the Committee on Resolutions, having presented to this convention its recommendation on that resolution relative to Governor Alfred E. Smith, and owing to the fact that some of the papers have interpreted our action as having turned down Governor Alfred E. Smith, I want to say that the committee is unanimously of the opinion and judgment that there is no man in official office who has served labor and the common people as a whole better in his capacity as Governor of New York than Governor Alfred E. Smith, and that the committee did not turn down Governor Alfred E. Smith, but rather we were not in a position, and it is improper at this time to consider any Presidential candidate, no matter how favorably he might appeal to us.

RADIO BROADCASTING

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 59 and 60, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the statement of your Executive Council regarding the need for safeguarding freedom of speech over the radio. Danger of any control which would involve a limitation of this freedom is a serious matter in a medium of communication of such far-reaching influence. At present although all broadcasting stations must obtain a license to operate from the Secretary of Commerce, there are no restrictions as to wave length used due to legal situations following court decisions and inaction by Congress. The wave length is now regulated only by voluntary agreements between stations. It is intimated, however, that certain stations have obtained a proprietary interest in their respective wave lengths and that they may take legal action against anyone using a wave length interfering with them. This matter represents a possible danger which should be guarded against by legislation.

Congress is to consider legislation regulating broadcasting privileges at its next session. All citizens should work to promote such legislation as will safeguard free speech over the radio. Practical measures which will act toward this end are: Limitation of the franchise to short periods of time such as one year; Federal control over the radio.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council undertake to study the specific problems involved in this matter in order to promote a legislative measure which will be effective in exercising the needed control.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Proposing Endorsement of Radio Broadcasting Station Established by Chicago Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 72.—By Delegate John

Mangan, of the Chicago, Illinois, Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized Labor has in the past made all the use possible of available avenues of communication at the command of modern society, nevertheless, these avenues, newspapers, telephones, railroads, ships, movies and mail were of such a nature that they have in the main been controlled by the organized wealth of the world; and

WHEREAS, An opportunity is now presented to organized labor of America to utilize radio, the most modern of all means of communication; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has established and has now in operation the broadcasting station WCFL, wave length 491 meters, with a sending radius of five hundred miles, located on the Municipal Pier in Chicago; and

WHEREAS, This station has set aside the hour 6 to 7 p. m. daily for such announcements and information as the trade unionists of this country may desire to convey to their members in particular and the public in general; and

WHEREAS, This radio station is owned and controlled by the Chicago Federation of Labor, its affiliated and co-operating local unions, and is financed by voluntary contributions of trade unions; and

WHEREAS, Its possibilities for service to organized labor are unlimited, labor should avail itself of this great opportunity to obtain the ear of the world for its message; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the Chicago Federation of Labor radio broadcasting station and let the subject matter of radio broadcasting station be referred to the Executive Council for further consideration and action.

Your committee having considered the subject of radio broadcasting as presented by the Executive Council, finds itself in agreement with the resolution submitted and recommends its approval. In so doing attention is directed to a tender made by the Chicago Federation of Labor to the American Federation of Labor to participate in the control and management of broadcasting station WCFL. It is the opinion of management and control be referred to the Executive Council for

consideration, and if viewed favorably by the Executive Council, any such participation must be under such terms and conditions as the Executive Council itself may determine.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

The committee amended Resolution No. 25, by substituting for the last two "Resolves" the following:

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor expresses its deep appreciation to all who have assisted the furtherance of this helpful and beneficial legislative proposal and have rendered service to that end, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor send a copy of this resolution to each and every member of the Sixty-ninth Congress, in addition to urging their moral and active support in the speedy enactment of this approval into law." The amended resolution reads:

Urging Continued Effort to Secure Enactment of Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates A. J. Chlopek, Joseph P. Ryan and W. B. Jones, representing the International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, During the first session of the 69th Congress, U. S. of A., a bill was introduced by Senator Albert B. Cummins (since deceased), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and known as Senate 3170, and by Chairman George S. Graham of the House Judiciary Committee and known as H. R. 9498 to provide compensation for employes injured and dependents of employes killed in certain maritime employment and providing for compensation by the U. S. Employes' Compensation Commission, and the bills identified as follows: This Act may be cited as the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act; and

WHEREAS, Longshoremen and Ship Repairmen when injured aboard vessel at the dock have been deprived by U. S. Supreme Court decision of protection which they formerly had under state compensation laws; and

WHEREAS, Carefully considered bills to provide for these workers the necessary uniform national system of accident compensation were introduced in

this session of Congress with the cordial support of the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor, Dr. John B. Andrews, Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation and the interested organization; and

WHEREAS, The Judiciary Committee of both Houses of Congress unanimously reported in favor of this legislation—that its final adoption was delayed through the opposition of organized employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That each member of Congress be requested to assist in every possible way the expediting the prompt enactment of this urgently needed legislation on a basis that shall afford adequate benefits to the injured workers and dependents; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor expresses its deep appreciation to all who have assisted the furtherance of this helpful and beneficial legislative proposal and have rendered service to that end and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor send a copy of this resolution to each and every member of the 69th Congress in addition to urging their moral and active support in the speedy enactment of this proposal into law.

Your committee is in full accord with Resolution No. 25 and recommends that it be approved, as amended.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Re-Affirming Adherence to the Principle of an Inheritance Tax.

Resolution No. 26 — By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon, representing New York State Federation of Labor.

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in 46th Annual Convention assembled, hereby reaffirm its adherence to the principle of the inheritance tax, as set forth by the American Federation of Labor in its 1919 convention and, be it further.

RESOLVED, That we are uncompromisingly opposed to the repeal of the Federal Estate Tax, so-called; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the interests of equal opportunity for all we favor the passage of legislation which shall make provision for necessitous widows and orphans in the absence of inheritances.

Your committee is in accord with the

first resolve contained in this resolution. It is not certain as to what is intended by the second resolve, other than it may express the purpose of the first resolve in a negative form. As to the third resolve, the committee is not in accord with this provision as submitted and therefore recommends the approval of the first resolve, further inquiry as to the intent and purposes of the second resolve and disapproval of the third resolve.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 31 by substituting in the last Resolve the word "officers" for the words "Legislative Committee." The resolution as amended reads:

To Oppose Pending Bills Which Will Weaken Seamen's Act

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, The House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries has before it two bills H. R. 10,009 to amend section 4 of the Seamen's Act so as to strike out the mandatory provision to the effect that the Seamen shall be entitled to receive one-half of the wages which he has earned and not received in any port into which the vessel may come not, however, oftener than once every sixth day, thereby leaving at the master's opinion whether the seamen shall receive any money in port of call or not and thus destroying the equalization purpose of said section 4 of the Seamen's Act, and H. R. 8399 to amend section 2 of the Seamen's Act so as to permit a vessel to sail over the ocean through sleet, snow, rain or fog with no man on the lookout; and

WHEREAS, Section 4 of the Seamen's Act was passed to protect the freedom of the seamen and to equalize the wages in foreign and American ships, and section 2 of the Seamen's act was passed to protect the traveling public, and whereas the Supreme Court of the United States has passed upon both these sections of the Seamen's Act, has held them to be valid and needed; and

WHEREAS, There is now no way in which these sections of the law can be disobeyed without penalties applied;

therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we most respectfully request the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries to give no attention to these two bills, the purpose of which is reactionary and destructive, one to our merchant marine, the other to the safety of human life at sea; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the American Federation of Labor use such influence as is possible to prevent any further consideration of these two proposed bills.

Your committee finds itself in agreement with this resolution. As amended, it is recommended this resolution be approved and adopted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: It may perhaps be worth while to give you a further explanation than is contained in the resolution itself. You will no doubt remember that there was a submarine, No. 51, run down by a steamer on the Atlantic Coast and that practically all on board the submarine were killed. Now that arose because of the disobedience of the law as made by Congress and endorsed and defined by the Supreme Court. They are sailing vessels without lookouts, and when this thing happened there was no lookout on the vessel. In absolute violation of the law and the Supreme Court decision, that decision coming later than the accident. Now then, when the Supreme Court decision came, Mr. Free of California undertook to change the law. They had disobeyed it right along, and now when the Supreme Court has passed upon it they could not very well continue to disobey, at least they could not do it with safety, and so Mr. Free introduced a bill to let them run any way they like. I thought it was necessary to give that explanation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions No. 46 and 51, which are as follows:

Proposing Favoring Lifting of Immigration Restrictions

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates Morris Sigman, Isidore Nagler, Louis Pinkofsky, Philip Oretsky, Abraham Snyder and Basilio Desti, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The workers of most countries of Europe are in dire straits as a result of the Word War and subsequent economic derangement; and

WHEREAS, The workers of the world must help each other in their struggles for human standards of existence; and

WHEREAS, The doors of America have been closed to our suffering European fellow workers through the passage of harsh restrictive laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor express itself in favor of the lifting or modification of this ban on immigration, and demand that the doors of America be opened to the oppressed and persecuted workers of Europe.

Proposing Modification of Immigration Laws in Favor of Political and Religious Refugees

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates I. H. Goldberg and Percy Ginsberg of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The traditions of our Republic and the tenets contained in the Declaration of Independence assert the right to the pursuit of happiness and freedom of all human kind; and

WHEREAS, The United States of America is looked upon by all liberty loving men and women as a desirable haven of refuge from unjust and oppressive persecution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled in this Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor favor the modification of the immigration laws to permit admission of those who are compelled to leave their countries on account of political or religious persecution.

These resolutions, while worded differently, are alike in intent and purpose. The objective sought in both these resolutions is to weaken if not to destroy the existing American immigra-

gates of America to all foreign workers, regardless of the social, political and economic consequences that will follow.

While we are in full sympathy with the workers of all lands to improve their conditions of life and work we are also mindful of the fact that these objectives cannot be secured by opening wide our doors and by force of competition lower our domestic standards of life and work.

While there are weaknesses in the existing American immigration law, and while some provisions may impose undue hardships in certain instances, nevertheless no good purpose is served, either to the workers of this and foreign lands, by the approval and adoption of the resolutions under consideration. It is therefore recommended that both these resolutions be disapproved.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seaman, spoke at length on the subject, detailing the manner in which Chinese and others from European countries are smuggled into the United States on board ship. He said, in part:

From 1891 up to the present we have had a Chinese exclusion law. That law was as drastic and was supposed to be as effective as it could be made. Notwithstanding that, there are more Chinese in the country now than there were in 1891, and they are as young as they ever were. Now I want to tell you why there are more than there were when the legislation was passed. Vessels are permitted to come to the United States with Chinese in their crew. The Chinese are carried by all other kinds of vessels, including their own, with the result that there is an opportunity smuggling into the United States a tremendous number of Chinese, and they are being smuggled. Even United States vessels belonging to the Shipping Board have been guilty of delivering as many as some eighty in one single trip to Seattle.

You know they carry a certain part of the crew as Chinese. Some of them have all Chinese, and then it is easier. These vessels have steward's department Chinese. When an officer of a vessel has part of a Chinese crew, to him two Chinamen look alike, and there may be seventy or eighty or one hundred men come in on a vessel at the port of China. When the vessel gets to sea they shift about with the crew so as to get the necessary air and exercise, and when the vessel comes into the United States they are stowed away again and the officer of the vessel could not possibly know the distinction between those who are smuggled and those who are part of the crew, especially if his eyes are covered by a big brown \$30 gold piece.

Referring to European countries, Delegate Furuseth stated that the same unsatisfactory conditions prevailed and that thousands were being smuggled into the United States every year in violation of the immigration laws. In closing, he said:

I am mighty glad that the convention passed a resolution dealing with the King Bill, now in the United States Senate. If that bill is adopted you will close the side door. You can't make it absolutely water tight, that is impossible, but you can reduce a broad, flowing river to a small brook by doing that. I want you to understand that they are now coming to the United States in violation of your laws to the tune of some 50,000 or 60,000 a year, and there is nothing to prevent, if the law stands as it is, that number being increased to a million and a half, because there are a million of seamen of all kinds coming into the ports of the United States.

I hope that the people of the United States may be made to understand that their shipping is being used to violate your laws, therefore, if you want to close the side door and stop these violations, you should write your Congress-

men and your Senators and tell them to be in a hurry about passing the King Bill, dealing with immigration violation through the merchant marine. If you do that, you will do more to strengthen your immigration law than you can possibly do in any other direction, and incidentally you will help to build up some sea power for America.

Delegate Zuckerman: It is evident that Delegate Furuseth misinterpreted the meaning of the resolution. He cited some facts with regard to the undesirable elements being smuggled into the country in spite of the drastic immigration laws. The laws will never keep such people from getting into the country, but who is kept out by these drastic laws? You know the Fascist government practically destroyed the labor movement in Italy; you know there are some labor men who cannot be suppressed by any law. No matter how much the government may try to suppress ideas and ideals, it cannot be done. Some of these leading men in the labor movement were compelled to run from Italy, and I believe the American Federation of Labor would not have any objection to the admission of this kind of men into the country. Count Karolyi was kept out of the country merely because politically he was of a different type than Secretary of State Kellogg. It is to such people the resolution refers and not to any others.

Delegate Manson, Montana State Federation of Labor, said that in his state there was a surplus of workers over the number of jobs for those workers. In part, he said:

Montana, Idaho and Utah are becoming large sugar producing states. In my own state we have at the present time some five sugar factories. The manning of these factories, the growing and care of the beets entering into sugar production is not done by the local people today. Down in the southern part of the state, which is largely devoted to beet sugar production, you will find if you investigate the matter that there is hard-

ly any labor other than Mexican labor employed. These men are not brought into the country because of any sympathy on the part of the employers for the poor, down-trodden Mexicans, it is not because of any beneficence on their part, but they are employed for the one and only reason that their labor is cheaper than that of American citizens.

This work is all seasonal. At the most it lasts only about five months, and during that period of time the local people are displaced by these Mexicans. For the remaining seven months they either live on what they earned or on the charity of the community, or they take the jobs of citizens of the United States. I know that in the city of Billings, where is located the largest plant of the Western Sugar and Refining Company, last winter the priests and ministers stood up and pled for food and clothing for these poor Mexicans that were starving. I took the matter up with the Governor of our state and asked for some remedy. He said, "Oh, but we have to have these people, because white people won't do this work." And I told him the only reason that white people and citizens of Montana wouldn't do this work was because they pay Mexican wages for the work instead of Montana wages.

I think the reports of the United States Census Bureau show that within the last fifty years more than fifty millions of peoples of other countries have come to America and have found shelter. Many of those, I am glad to say, have become good citizens of this country. Many others have come and got what they wanted in the way of cash for themselves. I do think that, as recommended by this committee, it is time to call a halt and to plug up, if possible, some of the holes in our present immigration laws.

Delegate Doyle, Painters, complained of the conditions existing in Buffalo, Niagara Falls, and other border cities, where workers by the thousands go back and forth across the Canadian border and take advantage of the superior working

conditions prevailing in the United States. In this connection he said:

"Quite recently, in the construction of a million and a half dollar high school in our city, we found an open shopper, a very bitter opponent to the building trades. Upon investigation we found that Canadians had crossed the border and were acting as strike breakers for this concern. We took the matter up with the city authorities and they in turn notified the contractor that he must hire American citizens upon that work. In the border cities, from Detroit to Buffalo and on down to Queenston, the rate of wages in the Canadian cities for building tradesmen is anywhere from 45 to 60 cents an hour. On the American side it is not less than \$1.00 per hour, with the result that there is not a border city that hasn't got thousands crossing the border to work every day in the week. We men on the border are kept down because of violations of the immigration laws, and I heartily concur in the recommendation that the committee has brought in.

Delegate Nagler, Ladies' Garment Workers, said in part:

Our International Ladies' Garment Workers' organization is composed very largely of immigrants who have reached our shores in past years, and we have not lowered the standards in this country. We have made it our business to naturalize our people and have worked to reach higher standards than we found in this country when we reached here.

I want you to understand that a great many of our members have their families on the other side at this present moment, and while it is true that they are good and loyal American citizens, at the same time you can imagine the feelings of those members who have their families on the other side and cannot bring them to this country on account of the immigration laws.

Can you imagine delegates sitting here fifty years ago and passing immigration regulations of this sort. If we

had barred people from coming from the other side, would America be what it is today? Would we have the finest country that exists in the world today? Our International convention, at its last session in Philadelphia, went on record instructing its delegation to present a resolution of this sort to the American Federation of Labor, and therefore, Mr. President, I want to be recorded as voting against the recommendation of the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted by a very large majority.

Opposing Proposed Legislation for Registration and Finger-Printing of Aliens

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate J. M. O'Hanlon, representing the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, An active campaign is now on and being waged under the leadership of the Secretary of Labor, Mr. James J. Davis, and Congressman Aswell, and Johnston, chairman of the Congressional Committee on Immigration, for the passage of a law providing for the registration of aliens; and this law proposed such methods of identification as finger-printing and photographing of the foreign born, methods now employed to identify criminals; and these methods will be employed in cases of deportation resulting from strike activities and will mean the loss of naturalization papers for those participating in strikes; and

WHEREAS, Such a law will introduce into our country methods of espionage and oppression similar to the Czaristic terrorism in old Russia and will discriminate against the foreign born workers and make it impossible for them to participate in the struggles of American Labor for a higher standard of living; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we emphatically declare our opposition to the passage of bills H-R 5585, 3748, 6523 and 4489, or to any other legislation having for its purpose the outlawing of foreign born workers in this country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. use all its power to defeat these and similar bills and call upon all foreign born workers to join the trade unions in America and

actively aid in the struggle against these discriminatory laws.

The resolves contained in this resolution are wider in scope than is seemingly intended by reasons contained in its preambles. Your committee is led to disapprove "resolves" that do not accurately define the legislation sought to be disapproved. However, your committee is in agreement with the statement of dangers and evils involved in the proposal of registering aliens and adopting methods of their identification by finger-printing, and photographing, and as set forth in preamble.

The American Federation of Labor has continuously opposed such legislative proposals, and your committee recommends re-affirmation of former declaration on this subject.

Delegate Furuseth: I would like to ask the secretary of the committee whether he would be willing to have registration of aliens if there be not attached thereto the photographing and finger-printing arrangement.

Secretary Woll: Personally, I believe that any method that will develop a system of espionage is bad for the freedom of our people.

Delegate Furuseth: In your report you use that qualification of finger-printing and photography; it is not in the resolution, it is in your report.

Secretary Woll asked if the committee would be willing to insert the words "or any other means of identification."

Delegate Lynch, International Typographical Union: I certainly would object until we have before us the methods of identification. I object to inserting the words until the committee has had an opportunity to consider the question. The committee is reporting on the resolution before it and submits a report as to its conclusions, and there should not be inserted that blanket provision.

Delegate Furuseth moved to amend the committee's report by inserting that "this convention is opposed to registra-

tion." The amendment received no second.

The report of the committee was adopted.

United Textile Workers of America Requests Assistance of Organized Labor for Striking Textile Workers of Passaic, New Jersey

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, George Creech and Arthur McDonnell of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The heroic struggle of the Textile Workers of Passaic and vicinity has justly earned the commendation of the organized labor movement. These workers, now on strike for more than eight months, have shown a perseverance in and an understanding of this long battle with the mill owners which deserves emulation by the millions of unorganized workers in this country; and

WHEREAS, It becomes the duty of the organized labor movement to encourage the fight these workers are making to organize, to have a union of their own, to win decent living conditions. If the Passaic strike is won, then the immense unorganized mass of workers in the oil, steel, rubber and other industries will be encouraged to organize; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention call upon all of organized labor to assist the Passaic Textile Strikers, now organized into Local 1603 of the United Textile Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. That this convention request all international unions and the officers of the American Federation of Labor to circularize all affiliations with a proclamation, giving the history of this big strike, its significance to the labor movement and calling upon all local unions to aid at once. The Textile Strikers must be assured of food until the strike ends, and organized labor must not allow a curtailment of relief lest it weaken the strike and result in a settlement not as advantageous as would be had if the strikers, assured of the full support of organized labor, continue their struggle with lines unbroken.

Appeal for Financial Assistance for the Strike of the Textile Workers Against Wage Reduction Insanugurated by the American Thread Company of Williamantic, Connecticut

Resolution No. 3 — By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, George Creech and Arthur McDonnell, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The workers of the American Thread Company of Williamantic, Conn., have been on strike since March 9th, 1925, against a 10 per cent reduction; and

WHEREAS, This concern is a foreign controlled corporation protected by our American tariff; and

WHEREAS, The profits of this concern prior to day of strike was so huge that in a ten-year period their surplus was nearly equal to their large capitalization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Twenty-fourth Convention of the United Textile Workers of America, pledge one continued financial assistance; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming International Officers are hereby instructed to appeal to the entire Labor Movement of America for continued financial assistance; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention held in Detroit, Michigan, on October 4th to 16th, from the United Textile Workers of America present a suitable resolution along the same lines as is contained in the resolution before this Convention.

Resolutions 2 and 3 are introduced by the delegates of the same International Union and in behalf of striking members and their dependents of that organization.

The committee has carefully considered the resolutions presented. It is impressed with the needs of these struggling and striking workers and the unfortunate and dire circumstances surrounding them and dependents.

While the cause of this struggle is of utmost importance the need of financial assistance for the continuance of this contest for the establishing of firm organizations of wage earners dedicated

to the principles of the American trade union movement is of equal importance. To that end and in lieu of the resolutions presented your committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to issue immediately an appeal to all affiliated unions for financial assistance in behalf of the United Textile Workers of America and for the purposes herein noted.

Delegate Conboy, Textile Workers, in discussing the report of the committee, said in part: I could hardly add anything on the Passaic situation to what I said yesterday. I only want to say to the delegates assembled here who have watched through the columns of the press and otherwise the wonderful struggle made by these people that the need for financial aid is indeed pressing.

Perhaps no organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has suffered more from independent organizations and from organizations "boring from within" than the United Textile Workers of America. We have fought the fight with the I. W. W., the United Front and everything else that has come up. When we opened the doors of the United Textile Workers and the American Federation of Labor to those people we want them to know that they come into the camp of friends, that they will find the great American labor movement profitable, that they will find the heart of the American labor movement the greatest heart in the whole world.

The need for help is now. We are trying to feed the people, and if we can keep enough of plain food for them and keep the children nourished so that they can go to school, I am sure that in some way it will all come back to us a thousand fold. We must do everything possible to keep down the open shop and stop of formation of company unions. If the Passaic strike is lost it will give an impetus to the open shop movement. We cannot break ranks now, we have got to keep going, and it is from you the help must come.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians, said in part: It seems to me the handicap of the Textile Workers and kindred organizations has been the inadequacy of their means of carrying necessary information concerning a meritorious cause to the public at large. Yesterday we heard the message of Dr. Wise. I have heard a great many speeches of great power in the nine conventions of the American Federation of Labor which I have had the honor to attend, but I recall no effort which has thrilled me as that effort did yesterday morning, and I have been somewhat disappointed that some initiative was not taken to give that speech a larger reading and wider publicity than seems apparent at the present time.

What are we going to do to utilize a message of that character. I wish that the speech of Dr. Wise might be provided for us in pamphlet form. The radio has been mentioned this morning and I am glad of it. The labor movement must awake to the value of all of these instrumentalities. Over my radio at home I am frequently edified by the speech of the president of some chamber of commerce, but the voice of labor is as rare as the song of the meadow lark in the dreary stretches of an Iowa winter. I would like to have a speech like that of Dr. Wise to take home to Des Moines. If some of the rest of us attempted to deliver the message they would brush it aside and say: "Oh, he is a labor agitator!" but Dr. Wise has come to the front and his talents demand an audience wherever he speaks.

Delegate McDonald: About five weeks ago we had a meeting of the executive board of the United Textile Workers of America and it was decided that we would visit Passaic. We did, and we saw there the men, women and children taking part in that strike, because there was a mass meeting there that day. I never saw better morale on the part of strikers, and I have seen many strikes.

Through a gracious government there are no employers in the country so highly

protected as the employers in the textile industry. When these men appear before the government they say specifically that they want this high tariff for only one purpose, and that is so they can pay good wages to American workers. Of all the workers in this country, the Textile Workers are the lowest in the scale of wages. That gives the lie to the tariff barons and the textile manufacturers.

These people have been on strike for almost eight months. It is for you people to consider this and give them all the assistance you possibly can. I hope the strike will go over and that a good settlement will be made. I hope that when you go home you will bring this matter to your organizations and do everything you can for the people in Passaic.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), International Typographical Union, said in part: From what I am informed here by the delegates and representatives of the strikers there seems to be an emergency proposition confronting us now that is very serious. Immediate relief is needed. Here are fifteen thousand workers involved, nine or ten thousand of whom are women and children who have been on the firing line battling for decent wages and humane living conditions for a period of eight months. It is certainly a magnificent and heroic struggle that has been waged by these poor workers that have been underpaid for years, and we cannot afford, after this splendid demonstration of solidarity, merely to pass resolutions and trust to God that something will happen in the next few weeks or few months.

I have been handed a note by a brother who is interested in carrying on this relief work at Passaic and endeavoring in every way possible to accumulate sufficient money to buy the bare necessities of life for those people until some adjustment can be made. He says:

"The strike situation now presents serious aspects it is expected that negotiations for settlement will be entered into

with the mill owners within the next ten days. Many of us have been expecting that for months past, but just at this period, when the strikers must show an unbroken front to the mill owners so that negotiations may result successfully for them. We face the possibility of having to close down our relief activity because of lack of funds to carry on. We must have \$25,000 at once to carry us over the next weeks and until finances come in from the locals of the international unions. Some way must be found to secure this money, either by loan or otherwise."

Delegate Hayes proceeded to speak in favor of providing money through a loan to relieve immediate necessities of the Passaic strikers. He suggested that a number of organizations might each loan \$1,000 to make up the sum referred to in the statement. He cited instances of loans being made to organizations on strike that had helped them win a victory. He also suggested that a collection be taken up among the delegates to raise money to tide the strikers over for a day or two until loans or donations from international unions would be available.

Delegate Madsen, Painters, said in part: I am heartily in favor of the recommendation of the committee and also in favor of the recommendation made by Delegate Hayes to do something to secure immediate help. We all know a strike is never lost until the workers are driven back by starvation. It is when there is no milk for the babies and no bread to feed the women and children that the worker goes back to the slavery in which capital would like to keep him. If every delegate will take this matter up in his local union the next time it meets there will be money forthcoming for these people. Don't let these men and women be forced to go back to the mills under the tyranny of the employers because of lack of help from the American labor movement.

Delegate Madsen referred to the well-known generosity of labor organizations in helping strikers, and to the fact that the local union of which he is a member donated \$1,000 to aid the British miners.

Delegate Wills, Machinists, said in part: I believe the publicity that has been given the textile strikers in the last few days will remedy a situation that has existed. The information we got in Chicago at the beginning of the strike was that it was not a bona fide trade union proposition. Two meetings were called in Chicago to secure funds for the Passaic strike. At 166 West Washington street, where the office of the Chicago Federation of Labor is located, an office of the International Labor Defense was opened up to solicit funds for the Passaic strikers. The International Labor Defense solicits funds for various economic projects all over the world, and the labor movement in Chicago has not taken very kindly to their methods. In a meeting where a young lady appeared to solicit funds for this strike the people were doubtful as to whether or not it was being collected for a strike under the American Federation of Labor. When people called us up and asked where to send the money we advised them to send it to the Central Labor body in Passaic, but the young lady left cards asking that the money be sent to the headquarters of the International Labor Defense League.

Now that this thing has been brought out on the floor of the convention, the labor press can be set right on the proposition. The Chicago Federation of Labor can carry its message through its broadcasting station and I am sure when our members get that message they will respond. I believe the textile industry needs moral support and co-operation of all of us at the present time, and it should be forthcoming.

Delegate Shanessy, President, Barbers' International Union: If there ever was

a time in the history of our movement that the textile workers needed assistance, that time is now. Our International union will start off with \$1,000.

Delegate Goldstone, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, said in part: Until this time the strikers have been taken care of in some way, by whom and how this may not be the place to ask. We know that until lately they have been considered as being under an influence of an element in this country for which very little sympathy is felt by the legitimate labor movement. Now that the legitimate labor movement has charge of the strike, it would be a demoralizing blow if the Passaic strikers' appeal should fall on deaf ears and we remain indifferent to them in their struggle. The strikers turned away from that element, they now refuse to do anything for them and tell them that in the future they must depend upon the American Federation of Labor. I have no doubt the American Federation of Labor will try to strike a blow that will kill two birds at the same time, one to put out of commission that element that has brought nothing but ruin and destruction to many organizations, and the other is that it will restore confidence to people who have lost confidence in the American Federation of Labor because of what they have been told and what has been agitated continuously.

Delegate Weber, Musicians: I move as an amendment to the committee's report that the President of the American Federation of Labor call into conference national and international officers who are representing their organizations in this convention, for the purpose of taking under advisement the raising of funds for the immediate assistance of the Passaic strikers.

Secretary Woll: I am not rising to oppose the motion, but rather to call the attention of this convention to the fact that this is the second appeal made

to this convention and to the labor forces of our country to come to the aid of striking wage earners. I call your attention to the appeal presented by the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and unless this motion will include the call for aid for that organization we shall discriminate against one class of workers to the disadvantage of another, and I do not believe that the mover of the motion or this convention would in any way seek to discriminate between the striking textile workers and the striking ladies' garment workers. I therefore suggest that the committee be authorized to make an amendment to the amendment that that appeal likewise include the Ladies' Garment Workers' appeal as acted upon by this convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Lynch, International Typographical Union: I feel in our efforts to do something at once we are liable to kill the report of the committee. The report provides for an appeal for funds for the textile workers. I have no objection to Delegate Weber's motion for a conference, but I do not think it should be made a part of the report of the committee. The report of the committee should first be adopted, and then if Delegate Weber desires to press his motion that can be attended to. If the labor movement gets the idea that these International organizations are caring to the situation they will not pay much attention to that appeal. I therefore suggest that we separate the amendments from the motion and adopt the report of the committee.

President Green stated that it was within the province of the Chair to grant the request to separate the amendments from the report of the committee and announced that the report of the committee was before the convention.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Actors: May I ask if it is the intention of the committee that the instruction to the Executive

Council be presented to this convention verbally, so that the members of national and international unions represented here may give some immediate relief or whether it is to be postponed until the Executive Council is able to circularize the different organizations. Is it possible for the Executive Council to make that direct appeal to the delegates seated in this convention so that they may go on record as to what they will do in the premises.

Secretary Woll: Your committee was acting upon the resolutions and information that came to the committee. The committee was not advised of the statements and of the personal sent through Delegate Max Hayes. We are acting upon an appeal presented by a duly accredited international union representing these striking Textile Workers and by no other agency. What the committee recommends is what the international union desires.

Delegate Conboy, Textile Workers: At the time the resolution was presented to the committee we had no knowledge of the extreme need that exists in Passaic. The financial secretary of that organization is seated at this table, sent here by the Passaic strikers in order to try to secure immediate relief. I have been informed by her that the store keepers have refused further credit and that the money in the treasury is exhausted. While I agree with and will support the committee, it is the purpose of the officers of the United Textile Workers to get together some money immediately to relieve the dire distress existing there.

Delegate Cohen moved that after the report of the committee and the motion of Delegate Weber had been disposed of a collection be taken up among the delegates to provide a fund for the immediate relief of the Passaic strikers. The motion was seconded by Delegate Furueth.

President Green stated that the motion would be entertained after the re-

port of the committee had been disposed of.

Delegate Maloney stated that he felt the proper course had been pursued in dividing the amendments from the report of the committee, and expressed the feeling that an appeal to the labor movement generally would bring good results.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Weber stated that it did not matter whether or not the Passaic strike was under communistic leadership at the start, that it is now under proper leadership and the workers should be given immediate aid. He stated that the communistic strike had been lost and the people there were now working under the banner of the American Federation of Labor and looking for assistance from the American labor movement.

The motion offered by Delegate Weber to call a conference of national and international officers was carried.

Delegate Morris supported the motion offered by Delegate Cohen which was that a collection be taken up in the convention to relieve the immediate needs of the Passaic strikers. He called attention to the fact that delegates from among the best paid mechanics in the world were in the convention and that they would be able to donate generously.

The motion offered by Delegate Cohen was carried.

President Green appointed Delegates Fred Hewitt, Max S. Hayes and Joseph Weber to take up the collection in the convention.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Actors, suggested that more money would be collected if some ladies were added to the committee.

President Green stated that the suggestion was a good one and asked Delegate Sara Conboy and Mrs. Percy Ginsburg, a visitor, to assist the men in collecting money for the strikers.

President Green: Perhaps it would

be proper for the Chair to explain that this collection will be used for supplying the immediate needs of those who are suffering from hunger and distress in Passaic. The larger appeal for the future will be made and the response must be as quick and as ready and as generous as this response has been today. It certainly distresses us to think that children are suffering and hungry. The faces of hungry children make a mighty appeal to the hearts of men and women. We can stand the suffering of men, for they are rugged of body and heart and mind, but it touches us to the soul to even think of a child being hungry. I want to thank you now for what I know is a generous contribution in this case.

The collectors completed their work and prepared to make an accounting of the money collected.

Delegate Furuseth stated that a number of delegates had left the convention before the question of a collection had been taken up and suggested that they be given an opportunity to donate during the afternoon session. President Green replied that everyone would be given that opportunity.

President Green announced that a meeting of the national and international officers would be held on the stage immediately after the close of the afternoon session.

Delegate Goldberg, moved that the conference include in its deliberations the question of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' strike.

President Green: The conference will consider the question referred to it by the convention. It is not within the province of the Chair to broaden the scope of the conference to take in any other subject.

At 12:45 o'clock, the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Eighth Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order
at 2:30 o'clock, President Green in the
Chair.

Absentees:

Boyer, Quesse, David, Schulte, Coulter, Hauser, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Morton, Lambalzer, Gillot, Siemer, Regnier, Kelly (M. J.), Carey, Barry (E. P.), Hannah, Burke, Collins, Conway, Austin, Mitchell (M. W.), Johnson (R. H.), O'Connell (James), Jewell, Atkins, Barry (J. L.), Gorman, Hill, Stewart, Studdart, Kutz, Ryan (Jere), Doll, Hammer, Wenger, Mullen, Alden, Augustino, Murphy, J. H., (Kensington, Ill.), Woodling, Murphy, J. H., (Lynn, Mass.), Weber (F.), Frampton, Fagan, Hollcraft, Coffelt, Bower, Tarbett, Johnson, Marsh, Elwell, Eckhardt, Walker, Woodmansee, Wood, Trimmer, Hope, Covert, Fitzpatrick, Keeny, Saylor, McGeorgy, Tinney, Bender, Bohm, Albert, Ruben, Ellstein, Polakoff, Shiplacoff, Shaw, Campbell, Flynn, Purves, Darrington, Powers, Ryan, Portway, Fuchs.

President Green: The Chair asks the privilege of announcing that the total amount received through the collection for the purpose of relieving distress among the strikers at Passaic, New Jersey, was \$375.50. This money is being dispatched as promptly as possible to the proper representatives. Perhaps there were some delegates not present this morning when the collection was taken, and I want to announce that the opportunity to give is still open, and delegates who have not contributed or who desire to make additional contributions may hand their donations to Mrs. Conboy, secretary of the United Textile Workers' organization.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

The committee amended Resolution No. 37 by changing the last Resolve to read:

"Resolved, that the American Federa-

tion of Labor hereby favors the amending of the law herein referred to, so as to provide an equal rating to all widows of Civil War veterans without discrimination and with widows of other wars, and to grant to all of them a pension not less than fifty dollars (\$50.00) per month.

The resolution as amended reads:

Favoring Legislation to Place Widows of Civil War Veterans Upon Equal Pension Rating With Widows of Veterans of Other Wars

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Mary L. Garner, of the South Bend (Indiana) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Norbeck-King-Curtis Pension Bill enacted July 3, 1926, grants a pension of \$50.00 per month to the widow of any person who served in the Army, navy, or marine corps of the United States in the War of 1812, or for sixty days or more in the war with Mexico, on the coasts or frontier thereof, or en route thereto, during the war with that nation, and was honorably discharged therefrom, shall be Fifty Dollars (\$50.00) per month; and

WHEREAS, The widows of the Veterans of the Civil War, either soldier, sailor or marine, who are now getting Thirty Dollars (\$30.00) per month if married to the soldier, sailor or marine, during his time of service, will according to the Norbeck-King-Curtis Bill, enacted July 3, 1926, receive Fifty Dollars (\$50.00) per month; and

WHEREAS, A widow married to a soldier, sailor or marine, after his discharge from the service, even though married during the period of the Civil War, is not entitled to the increase in pension from Thirty to Fifty Dollars per month; and

WHEREAS, This Bill gives to one class of widows and discriminates against another class equally deserving; and

WHEREAS, No such limiting of the marriage date has occurred in connection with the widows of any war, neither war of 1812, Mexican War, Spanish-American or World War; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as protesting against this discrimination of placing a marriage limit upon the widows of the soldiers, sailors and marines of the Civil War; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That President Coolidge be notified of the action of this convention regarding this discrimination; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor hereby favors the amending of the law herein referred to so as to provide an equal rating to all widows of Civil War veterans without discrimination and with widows of other wars, and to grant to all of them a pension not less than Fifty Dollars (\$50.00) per month.

Thus amended it is recommended this resolution be approved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Endeavor to Have Government Contracts for War Memorials Provide for the Use of American Granite

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Sam Squibb, James Duncan, James Garvey of the Granite Cutters' International Association; Carl Bergstrom of the Paving Cutters' Union, and Fred W. Sutor of the Quarry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Through the recommendation of the American Battle Monuments Commission, the Secretary of War has awarded to foreign firms, a contract to furnish the permanent memorials that will mark the graves of the American soldiers buried in Europe; and

WHEREAS, The material to be used (Italian Carrara marble) is unsuitable and was selected solely because of its cheapness—a cheapness made possible through the inferiority of the material and the involuntary servitude forced on the Italian workers by the Mussolini regime; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the sentiment and desire of the American people demands that everything connected with the effort to properly glorify the supreme sacrifice made by these heroes shall be wholly American; and

WHEREAS, We further believe that

the American people want the best quality of material and workmanship obtainable to insure markers that will not only satisfy when first erected but will permanently retain these qualities; and

WHEREAS, American granite is everlasting and in every respect the finest material in the world for the purpose and American workmanship is unsurpassed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor record its protest against the action of the Battle Monuments Commission and the Secretary of War, in awarding a contract for markers to Italian firms in Carrara, Italy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and all affiliated bodies will use every honorable available means to the end that Congress or other interested government officials will have inserted in all future government contracts for war memorials, a provision that American Granite be used and that the work be done in America by American workmen.

Your committee recommends approval and adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Denouncing the Fascisti Principle of Government

Resolution No. 58—By A. I. Shiplacoff of the Federal Labor Union No. 17873, New York City.

WHEREAS, The people of Italy have for the last few years been ruled by a dictatorship which has deprived them of many of their civil, economic and political rights; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid dictatorship had particularly affected the workers of that country, subjecting them to arbitrary laws in the making of which they have neither voice nor vote, and practically reducing them to the position of vassals to the dictator and his Fascisti supporters; and

WHEREAS, The very basis of the Fascist idea is contrary to the idea of government by the people which is the foundation of the best institutions of the American people and of all other freedom-loving people; and

WHEREAS, It has been authoratively reported that the anti-democratic and

anti-American Fascisti movement is attempting to exercise its influence in this country, particularly among our workers of Italian birth or descent, dividing them against each other; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the 46th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn the Fascisti movement and philosophy as a return to the days of autocracy and tyranny in government and opposed to the interests of human progress; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That while the American Federation of Labor can not and would not endorse any organization in this country or elsewhere engaged in fighting the Fascisti movement, the delegates of the 46th Annual Convention denounce the idea of dictatorship in any shape or form and reaffirm the stand of the American labor movement in hearty support of representative government, of freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and the inalienable right of the workers to organize into free and independent, industrial and economical organizations.

Your committee, having given careful consideration to this resolution, concurs with the resolution in so far as it denounces the Fascist form of government. In Fascism we find merely another form of dictatorship and autocracy, a principle of government which can never find anything but opposition in the minds of free people. We feel confident that all peoples, by whatever form of government or power they may be oppressed, will find their way to freedom and self-government.

To all who are denied their freedom we hold forth the torch of freedom and the banner of democracy.

As to that portion of the second resolve setting forth the fact that we do not endorse any movement having for its purpose opposition to the Fascist form of government, we point to the record which shows that no organization has been endorsed. We record our opposition to the practice and the principle of dictatorship, holding that it is sufficient to emphatically record our own position, without giving our endorsement to any other organization.

While we are not unmindful of the historic background of the rise of Fascismo in Italy, the institution is none the less to be condemned, nor are the masses of the Italian people any less deserving of our sympathy and of our hope that they may soon find their way to a freedom compatible with the modern understanding of that term.

We approve most cordially the declarations in behalf of human freedom contained in the resolution opposing this form of dictatorship, just as we oppose the communist dictatorship and every other form of oppression, political, economic or spiritual. It is therefore recommended that the foregoing declaration be approved in lieu of the resolution under consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Advocating Recognition of the Government of Soviet Russia

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates I. H. Goldberg and Percy Ginsberg of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, This country still refuses recognition to Soviet Russia notwithstanding all the official expressions by the government of that country as to their readiness to settle their obligations to this country on a basis similar to that accepted by this country in its recent settlements with other European countries; and

WHEREAS, Such refusal of recognition is based primarily, if not exclusively, on objections to the social order and internal policies of the Soviet government, which procedure is in total contradiction to all precedents in international relations; and

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized by all competent observers and investigators that the Soviet government is now one of the most stable European governments; and

WHEREAS, The non-recognition of Russia creates additional difficulties in the development of industrial and commercial relations between these two countries, hampering the economic reconstruction of Russia, hindering the economic reconstruction of the entire European continent and creating less

favorable conditions for the marketing of our goods in Russia, which is bound to be a contributing factor in increasing unemployment in this country during any industrial depression; and

WHEREAS, It has always been the policy of American labor to urge non-interference by our governments in the international affairs of foreign countries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record as being in favor of our government starting immediate negotiations with the Soviet government of Russia looking towards an adjustment of all difficulties and the speedy recognition of Soviet Russia by this government.

Your committee having considered this resolution, sees no reason for recommending that the American Federation of Labor modify or change its position regarding recognition of the autocratic soviet regime in Russia.

There has been no essential change in either the character or the operations of that regime since we last had the question under consideration. It remains a regime of enslavement, a regime determined to bring about world revolution if and when possible. Through the Red Internationale, which is controlled by the communist party of Russia, the soviet regime has continued its efforts to undermine and destroy the democratic labor movement of the United States. Its lack of progress in that direction is due, not to any lack of determination on its part, but to the strength and deep conviction of the membership of the American trade union movement. If it is not the assassin standing over the prostrate body of freedom and democracy, it is always the would-be assassin, and we can be no less opposed to the one than to the other.

We are not interested in the commercial aspect of the question, agreeing fully with President Coolidge in holding that American principles are not to be bartered. Nor is the question changed by whatever may be the change—and there has so far been little—in the economic condition of the people of Russia. A

regime of enslavement which for a purpose sees fit to feed its slaves well at times is no less a regime of slavery and no less repugnant and hateful in the sight of those who cherish liberty.

We extend our profound sympathy to the masses of the people of Russia, oppressed as they are, terrorized as they are whenever terrorism suits the purposes of the fiendish regime under which they exist, awed as they are at all times by a Red army which constitutes the most powerful and dangerous military machine in the world, and hopeless as they seem to be of any immediate release from their economic, moral, political and spiritual enslavement.

We regard the soviet regime in Russia as the most unscrupulous, most anti-social, most menacing institution in the world today. Between it and our form of political and social organization there can be no compromise of any kind. We repeat the call to American trade unionists to stand true to their faith, to be militant in their defense of the principles of freedom and justice for which our movement stands and upon which our democracy rests its foundation walls.

Finally, we call attention to the recent declaration of our Executive Council in which it was well said that our movement not only cannot join in any mission to investigate conditions in Russia, but deems any such mission wholly unnecessary. We desire to record our approval of that declaration and to add in this report the conviction that no trade unionist should permit himself to participate in any such adventure. Ample information is at hand and is constantly available concerning every particular which enters into our calculations in arriving at a decision on our course of action.

We recommend, as the principles of our movement demand, that we non-concur with all possible emphasis and determination in this resolution.

Delegate Sweeney, Tailors, said in part: I believe the Russian people or the

people of any country on the face of the earth have a right to any form of government that they see fit to have. That is their business, and the reason that I am opposed to the recognition of Russia at this time is because of the actions of the so-called representatives of Russia on the American continent. The Communists in this country act exactly in the trades union movement the same as ferrets used by the hunter of rabbits, when they send the ferret in to rabbit burro to turn the rabbits out and be killed. The Communist agents are ferrets in the trades union movement of this country today, and their sole object is to destroy the trades union movement of this country, take hold of it, foolishly thinking that they can bring about Communism in the United States.

For that reason, and that reason alone, not for anything they are doing in Russia to the Russians—and I sympathize with our fellow workers in Russia as deeply as any human being can do—but we want it impressed upon their minds that so long as they lay a straw in the way of the progress of the trades union movement in this country they cannot have the sympathy of the wage workers of the United States.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Typographical Union, discussed the question at length and said in part:

I want to express a few views upon this proposition. It started out with the splendid address that was delivered here a few days ago by Dr. Sherwood Eddy, and I mention this particularly in view of the fact that Mr. Eddy was charged with having tricked the delegates in order to obtain the right of the floor to explain, in an informative manner, what he believed to be good and bad in Russia.

Unfortunately, the term "Russia," when we speak of recognition or the political or economic condition, arouses prejudice in the minds of the delegates who are perfectly well balanced and sane

on other questions. It has become a sort of bugaboo to talk about Russia, the Russian government, the Russian labor movement, and I have no particular desire to fly in the face of that prejudice, but I do say that when a speaker is invited to the platform to present his views they ought to be accepted as his particular statements, and no one is responsible for them but himself.

Now I am confident that Dr. Eddy had no intention whatsoever to trick any one. When I learned that he was here, having heard of Dr. Eddy for a good many years and having heard him deliver an address a short while ago, one of the finest addresses I have ever listened to, I came to the conclusion that he had the courage of his convictions, because he knew that in his audience there were old-time plutocrats who had no more use for trade unionists than he had for a mad dog, yet he pounded away upon the truth, the doctrines of the labor movement that are expounded by you delegates who are officers of International Unions.

I approached President Green and asked him whether he could not find time to grant the floor to Dr. Eddy to give us some information that he had obtained while in Europe during the past summer, and Brother Green stated there were several speakers ahead, but if possible he would give him the floor. Dr. Eddy, as I understand it, also had a talk with President Green and several other delegates, and there was no objection, as I understood from President Green, to giving him the floor, but it hinged upon the question as to what he was to discuss about Russia. My interpretation, and I so explained it to Dr. Eddy after he had talked with President Green, was that he not being a delegate here, should avoid any controversial subject, and the only thing that would tend to raise any controversy was the resolution introduced in the convention.

The only thing I could see in his splendid address where there might be any

controversy was on the question of appointing a delegation to visit Russia, following the example of the British, French, Germans, Belgians and Italians and all the other national trade union movements. That is all there was to it, and I told him my opinion was that the delegates here would like to hear what the exact status is.

Now as to the report of the committee, there are some things in it with which I am thoroughly in accord. I am not a Communist and never have been, and I don't know that I ever will be; I don't believe, from what I know of their principles, that I can accept them.

I am opposed to the idiotic policies of such people as Zinoviev, who has probably had more to do with arousing the prejudice of the organized workers in the different countries than any other living man. That policy of interfering with the organized labor movements of the different countries and preaching the bunk of world revolution looks childish to me and probably to all other Americans. I certainly am not in favor of a world revolution nor the interference on our part or their part with this or any other labor movement anywhere in the world, nor am I in favor of their present form of government. I think it is cumbersome and undemocratic, and I agree with the committee on that point. Neither am I in favor of the dictatorship of Spain, of Italy, nor am I in favor of the monarchical system, the absolutism of Japan, nor am I in favor of the kind of government they have in Turkey or any other country with which we have diplomatic relations, but I haven't heard this committee come in with any recommendation. Why not be consistent? If we are simply taking action against Russia and not applying the same rule, the same principle against other countries, I don't think that is exactly just, but the Soviet form of government, as I say, would not apply in this country,

nor would Russian conditions, economic and political.

I have a strong sympathy for the people of Russia, and after all, that is what that present government now represents. Whether it is the dictatorship of a million Communists or whether it was the dictatorship of the Czar and his absolutism with which we had diplomatic relations in the past, nobody ever got on this floor to urge the recall of American ambassadors to Russia prior to the revolution. Why? Because it was a stable government, and from all that we hear that is what now exists in Russia—a stable government. Maybe it is dominated by a million Communists. Certainly the ruling class that preceded them did not represent any greater number in actual government.

I say my sympathies are with those people because of the terrible struggles they were compelled to undergo. Understand, if you can, what these Bolsheviks and the government before them that was headed by Kerensky have inherited. It was not made to order. The conditions were there as a result of the war, as a result of the revolution, as a result of the famine, and certainly it could not be blamed on Lenin or Trotsky or any other individuals or a million individuals.

Instead of taking a hostile attitude towards the Russian government as it now exists—I speak merely of the government not the dictatorship, so far as the industrial system is concerned, or the methods of their operation—it seems to me we ought to approach this thing open minded, and I had hopes that this convention would appoint from the Executive Council a commission to go to Russia and make an investigation and come back here and report their findings to us. We can't expect that the Russians can take a country overnight that was completely demoralized, and by the waving of a magic wand, establish an

ideal government, a heaven upon earth.

Delegate Frey, Molders: The statement has been made that Russia is an outcast among the nations of the world. Would an investigation disclose the reason why, any better than we understand them today? If Russia is an outcast among the nations of the earth it is because her well defined, frequently repeated statement has been that it is the purpose of that government to bring about, through revolution, the same form of government in the United States as they have in Russia at the present time.

There has been a multiplicity of reports as to what is going on in that country, and if it was possible, Mr. Chairman, for a commission from America to visit Russia and bring back to us all the facts, would we be in any better condition than we are today to act upon the question of recognizing a country or of recognizing a trades union movement which deliberately, repeatedly and officially declares its intentions to destroy what we have here and erect in its place the institutions which they think are beneficial?

But, Mr. Chairman, there have been trades union delegations go to Russia to discover what the facts were and there have also been national trades union movements who knew what some of the facts were because their organizations were being divided and attempts being made by the forces in Russia to destroy them.

What are the facts? Every trades union movement on the American continent has refused to have any dealings with the Red Internationale because of its avowed determination to destroy trades unionism and erect autocratic, instead of democratic industrial organization in its place.

Just prior to this convention the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor had as visitors

the President, the Secretary and two other representatives of the International Federation of Metal Workers. They came to Detroit for the purpose of requesting the metal trades of this country to affiliate with them. The question which has just been discussed was brought up and Mr. Dissman, secretary of the German Metal Trades Federation, an organization with 740,000 members, told us that they were prepared to permit the Russian metal workers to affiliate with them the moment that they agreed to be governed by the constitution of the International Federation of Metal Workers, and at the same time offered convincing proof that they were no longer a part of the Red Internationale.

That decision was reached because the German trades union movement has had immediate contact, not only with the Russian government, but with the Red Internationale, the two representing one distinct purpose. The trades union movement in France has been split in two warring factions because of the success Communists from Russia had in organizing and carrying out their own program in that country.

If we want trades union evidence of what is going on, the official records of the national trades union movements of every European country will give us all the information that we desire. If that is not enough, Mr. Chairman, the experiences which we have had in this country ought to be enough to satisfy us that no further investigations are necessary as to the purpose of the Red internationale and the Soviet government, so far as our American government is concerned and our American trade union movement. We don't need to know any more than we know now to feel that we should by unanimous vote adopt the most excellent report that the committee has just submitted.

Delegate Walker, Illinois State Federation of Labor, explained the extent

to which he was involved in asking that Dr. Sherwood Eddy be granted the privilege of addressing the convention. He stated that Delegate Hayes, of the Typographical Union, had requested him to offer a motion from the floor of the convention that the privilege be extended to Dr. Eddy, and that in doing so Delegate Hayes gave as his reason the situation that had developed as a result of the Board of Directors of the Y. M. C. A. in withdrawing an invitation extended to President Green to address a big meeting under the auspices of that body.

He stated that in his conversation with Dr. Eddy he, too, spoke of the incident of the withdrawal of the invitation to President Green, and left him under the impression that it was upon that subject he would address the convention. "I told him," said Delegate Walker, "that I understood he had been to Russia, that he had taken a position in favor of the recognition of the Soviet government, and that it was feared he would discuss that question if he got the floor, rather than the other matter. I told him I had no doubt that he would be able to get the floor on the other matter, as International Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association. 'Well,' he said, 'I will cut out'—that is the language he used—'I will cut out talking about Russia.' I told him then that I was satisfied if he would see President Green and agree to that he would get the floor. That is as far as I had any connection with it. When he got the floor he immediately made it clear that he was not speaking as an officer of the Young Men's Christian Association; he went further and said that he was speaking only as a private citizen, so that he spoke not only not as an officer of the Young Men's Christian Association, but not even as a member of it.

"Then he proceeded to say a few perfunctory words with reference to his attitude on the labor movement, and I leave it to this delegation if he did not,

without saying it in just that language, say that you should recognize the Soviet government, and if he did not from that time on to the finish say nothing else but things that were calculated to have the effect of bringing that about."

Discussing the resolution and the committee's report, Delegate Walker said in part:

We have had this question up annually in conventions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor ever since the Czar was overthrown. At no time have we tried to choke off debate or prevent the full and free discussion of the whole subject. Each year there have been less and less of the people who advocate this recognition, until last year there were only two of them.

There is this difference between the sort of governments that Brother Hayes referred to and the Soviet government, even the old Czaristic government—the Czar did not proclaim that he was going to destroy the other governments of the world and the labor movement of this country, he did not create machinery and furnish men and money to continually and everlastingly try to have that purpose accomplished. I say to you that in all my experience I have never found men or women so lost to conscience or scruples in the methods they pursue in trying to bring about that end as those men and women who expounded these theories in the State of Illinois. Their official organ is published in the largest city in our State, and I venture the assertion that you can take that paper from its first issue down to the last and you won't find a single word favorable to the trades union movement of this country or the men and women who make up the regular labor movement of this country.

In our state they have hampered and hindered the work of organization, they have injured the efforts to improve conditions on the part of organized working men and women there. They have prevented the organization of local

unions, they have broken strikes, they have destroyed organizations; there isn't anything that the most conscienceless and bitter enemy of the labor movement can possibly conceive of that these men and women have not done, and they have done it in the name of the good of the people.

We are making changes in our country peaceably as we grow to understand. That can be done largely in all of the countries now in the world. We ought to make it clear to these people that so long as they pursue those methods and take the positions they do, we are simply going to keep our hands off, except as we have to defend ourselves, and that the only basis on which they can hope for any friendly action on the part of our movement will be for them to agree to keep their hands off and quit trying to destroy our movement, to hamper it and retard it. If we can get home to them that they are never going to be able to get any sympathy or support here until they pursue that course, we will have done the most kindly act that we can perform.

I believe the adoption of this committee's report is the longest step in that direction that we can take in this convention.

Delegate Healy, Firemen and Oilers, expressed dissatisfaction with the committee's report and said he had hoped that the American Federation of Labor could have seen its way clear to appoint a commission to go to Russia to make an investigation and bring back their findings, whether good, bad or indifferent. He stated that he had taken a different view of the Russian situation from that which he formerly held after reading the report of Arthur Henderson, chairman of a British mission that had gone into Russia to make an investigation. He told of conferences with other British trades union officials in which he had obtained much information on the Russian question. The report of Arthur Henderson, he stated, coincided with

statements made by Dr. Eddy concerning the beneficial legislation which had been adopted by the Russian government in the interests of women and children especially.

Continuing his argument, he said, in part:

A great deal has been said about Russia. Now there are other countries where there are injustices. Why don't we say something about Italy and the Mussolini dictatorship? Why are we so silent with reference to the crimes and outrages that are committed in the country to the south of us, Mexico, and we are affiliated with the Mexican Federation of Labor? But in Russia we are afraid of the Red Internationale and we are afraid of the Communists. It is admitted that there are a million Communists in Russia, and there are 160,000,000 people in that country. These Communists are not coming over here and capture the United States or change its policies and its government, and we are not afraid of that.

There are far more Communists in France, according to the population. In France a few years ago I attended the meeting of the French Confederation of Labor at Orleans, and the Communists had a resolution there to commit the French Federation of Labor to Communism, and it got 635 votes out of about two thousand. They were far stronger, I am sure, according to the per capita than they are in Russia. There are Communists in England, there are Communists in every industrial country in the world. I am not afraid of them, and I want to say to you, my friends, that I pride myself on being as good a citizen as any man in the United States.

I don't say that we should recognize Russia, but I do say that we should investigate and find out for ourselves if the Russian government is entitled to our consideration. I predict that before we hold another convention the Russian government will be recognized by the American government—by that I mean

Wall Street—and as a trades unionist I would like to feel that when that day comes the labor movement should have something to say and get ahead of Wall Street in their little game.

When there was tyranny and atrocities in Russia we didn't hear any protests in these conventions, as I recall, and I have been coming to these conventions for twenty-seven years. When the youth and the red blood of Russia were sent by the thousands to Siberia, when people were massacred by the thousands on account of their religious beliefs, there were no protests. The American Federation of Labor looked upon it as an internal affair, as it seems you look on the Mexican affair today. You all recall the many massacres in Russia, and any man that had the courage of his convictions and raised his voice against tyranny was shipped to Siberia.

In conclusion I want to say that I believe we should think seriously of the situation. I am not advocating recognition, I am advocating an investigation, and I know that our government will recognize Russia within a very few years. That, to my mind, is as sure as that the sun will rise tomorrow morning.

President Green: I would like to ask Delegate Healy a question.

Delegate Healy: Certainly.

President Green: I understand from your remarks that you are not advocating the adoption of the resolution, but rather pleading for the creation of a commission to visit Russia.

Delegate Healy: You are right, Mr. President.

President Green: I presume you mean a commission to be created by this convention?

Delegate Healy: By the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: And that would be regarded as an American Federation of Labor commission?

Delegate Healy: Of course it would.

President Green: Well, unless this

convention creates a commission you, as a delegate in this convention, would not go on any other commission?

Delegate Healy: You are seeking information, Mr. President. I will answer that by saying that as a citizen, as a member of this Federation, I feel myself free to go where I like, not to represent this Federation. I have nobody to tell me where I shall go, what church I shall go to, whether I shall go or stay. I think that is my prerogative and I claim that right.

President Green: That is granted, but there is a difference in going as an individual and going on a commission that would be classified as an alleged labor commission. I mean you wouldn't accept appointment on an alleged labor commission unless it was authorized by this convention.

Delegate Healy: So long as it would not go under the guise of representation of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Then a direct answer yes or no would satisfy the delegates best. It would me.

Delegate Healy: We will come to that later on, Mr. President.

Vice-President Wilson: I rise at this time for the purpose of supporting the report of the committee, and I wonder how many delegates to this convention remember that the United States of America was the first nation in the world to recognize the revolutionary government of Russia that overthrew the Czar? The President of the United States, on the second day of April, 1917, addressing the Congress of the United States said, "Here is a fit partner for a league of honor," and on March 22, before recognition was granted by Italy, France, England or any other power, Ambassador Francis presented the formal recognition of the United States. Later the people of Russia made it impossible for this government to continue that recognition.

But it was not for the purpose of

dealing with the international relations of governments that I have risen to speak, but rather for the purpose of dealing with those things that directly concern us as trade unionists and to point out, if I can, just what is going on and how it is being done.

Recognition of Russia is of minor importance to us as compared to the preservation of our great labor movement. You remember last year at the Atlantic City convention we had a delegate representing the British Trades Union Congress who undertook to advise us what we should do with reference to our attitude toward Russia. He disclaimed that he was a Communist, but upon his return he made certain written statements, and let me for your information just give you an idea in his own words of what he said with reference to our movement and the Communists in our country. He said:

"All this talk about American democracy is, in my modest opinion, absolute deception. Democracy, in a country where all forces of the law, the State and the police, the entire governmental mechanism, legal and illegal, open and unashamed—America represents a finished example of new Czarism. This fine democracy, this Czarism has a worthy trade union movement. These 'fat boys' of the American Federation of Labor." He says, "The American Federation of Labor does not pretend to be anything more than an organization of the skilled trades, a labor autocracy." He goes on then speaking of the autocracy in our movement, and further on he advises: "And when we have such democracy and such trade unions, the work of our still small Communist Party of America is truly colossal and difficult. There is a serious influence among the miners, railway men, metal workers, in the needle trades, etc., and all this is but a drop in the ocean. The Trades

Union Educational League of America has still enormous work to do, which is rendered more difficult by the internal friction and 'factional struggle within the Party itself.'"

Now it is not my purpose to tire the delegates to this convention with reading more of this than I have read to bring out the connection of the work of the Communist Party in America and to identify it, to couple it up with those who are seeking to send missions to Russia, whether official or unofficial, from this labor movement. This is the Trade Union Educational League that has the work to do. The Trade Union Educational League sent out, I presume to all of the people in the trades union movement, this piece of literature in which they set forth to establish what should be done at this convention, and if we wanted to destroy our movement we could do nothing better than to adopt this, and it is the Trade Union Educational League, 156 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Now the Federated Press is a part of the Trade Union Educational League and its address is 156 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois, and they say, too, in a letter sent out under date of September 23, that they will report this convention to any one who desires it for a financial consideration. They say that Carl Haessler, their managing editor, will be the principal Federated Press correspondent at the convention, that Albert F. Coyle—I want you to remember the name, Albert F. Coyle—of the Federated Press Executive Board and editor of the Locomotive Engineers' Journal, expects to be of service part of the time, and that others have volunteered to assist in gathering the news.

So Albert F. Coyle, the editor of the Locomotive Engineers' Journal, has a connection with the Trade Union Educa-

tional League and with the Federated Press of America, and Mr. Purcell, in his statement to his Red Internationale, refers to the great task still before the Trade Union Educational League of America.

Recently there was sent out a circular letter without signature, without any indication of where it comes from, but similar to that which emanates from the editor's room of the Locomotive Engineers' Journal. The letter speaks of the need of sending a mission to Russia, and it goes on to say who will go and one thing and another. But you remember that this mission was to have gone last July. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued a statement to the trade unionists and the people of America at its meeting. last June, in which attention was directed to the fact that this self-constituted mission was going unauthorized by any action of any trades unionists or by any gathering of trades unionists that was in conformity with the recognized customs of our labor movement.

Now to show the deception—and perhaps they have acquired this, as has been evidenced during this convention—it goes on to say, "The delegation as announced today will consist of representatives of both the Railroad Brotherhoods and the largest unions in the American Federation of Labor." Now pay attention to this: "Although the Federation at its last convention in Atlantic City decided not to pay the expenses of an official mission to Russia, the present delegation in no way conflicts with this decision, since its members are going in their private capacity and not as an official body. On this voluntary basis it has been possible to include in the same delegation leading executives of both the A. F. of L. and the big Railroad Brotherhoods, who are outside the A. F. of L. fold."

Mr. President, this convention at Atlantic City said that no delegation should go to Russia, and we made no reference

to any delegation going if they saw fit to pay their own expenses. It might be well to say that in addition to a group of probably some dozen who were mentioned in the early part of the year who were going to Russia, it included Frank P. Walsh, it included Jett Lauck, with whom were to go a lot of men who were to gather statistics. These men could not go to Russia without the expenditure of a large sum of money, and I think that I can ask, who is going to furnish this large sum of money, where is this money coming from, and what interests in America are anxious that the American labor movement send people to Russia?

Well, let us see. I remember reading or hearing read a letter from Mr. Coyle to the President of the American Federation of Labor in which he extended to our President an invitation to be a member of this mission to Russia, and in it he disavowed any connection with any Communistic groups, and said that in the interests of our movement we should be represented by trade unionists, leaving out all of the radical groups, but the President of the American Federation of Labor, like other executives of the trade union movement affiliated with this great organization when they, too, were invited to join this mission, took but little time to answer that they could not become a party to a proposition of that kind.

Mr. Purcell says in his letter that the work of this Trade Union Educational League is being felt in the largest trade union in America affiliated with this American Federation of Labor. The Trade Union Educational League is reaching out into the miners, into the railway men's organizations, and into other organizations, and they have their plants in every locality, they have their friends who have wealth to supply the money. Now I believe in telling you delegates to this convention something in connection with this matter, so that you will know the kind of a man who is going to head this mission that it is an-

nounced will go to Russia early next year.

In a letter to Powers Hapgood under date of September 3, 1926, which it is not my purpose to read, but merely refer to, Mr. Coyle mentions the struggles of the miners and the struggles within the miners' organization, including, if you please, the efforts to secure absolute control of the Miners' Union of America. And Mr. Coyle, the editor of the magazine of the Locomotive Engineers, is the man who is at the helm, directing the people within the Miners' Union who would destroy that great organization. And he says—Mr. Coyle—"I have agreed that the National Miner should be started anyway, as soon as the money can be raised to do it. It will take about \$30,000 to see it through the first year, and we have a few wealthy friends on whom we are going to call for help immediately." Can you imagine wealthy friends who seek to gain control of this powerful trade union movement who haven't some sinister purpose in mind to destroy the effectiveness of this great organization?

Then we all remember that we had here in America and still have one Jay Lovestone, the former secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party in America. Mr. Coyle says, advising about the editor of the National Miner, "we will select an editor and an assistant editor if I can raise the money." Then he is speaking of Jay's best friend, now so prominent in the Left Wing, and he says: "It would not be wise to have his name on the editorial masthead, however, since it would give Lewis"—he is speaking of the President of the United Mine Workers of America—"an opportunity to denounce the new paper and forbid his members to read it." And he says this, that when they gain control of the Miners' Union they are going to make this fellow the editor of the Mine Workers' Journal, and then they can abandon this National Miner.

Now if that is not connection enough for intelligent men to understand that these people are coming into our movement, directing our attention to things foreign from what we should be discussing, and trying to create dissension in our movement by their underhanded and their dirty tactics, with the money raised from their wealthy friends, and if they can raise \$30,000 for the purpose of establishing the National Miner as the beginning of a movement to gain control of the United Mine Workers of America, I charge, Mr. President, that those who will furnish the money for any mission to Russia are not working in the interests of the trade union movement of America or in the interests of the workers of the world.

And I desire to say that here today these men are not seeking to advance the interests of labor, they are not seeking to advance the interests of the people in this or any other country, and there isn't any question in my mind but that they are being well paid for their services, because there are great interests in this country which are exceedingly interested in having our government recognize Russia, and I would not, if I desired my name clear of suspicion, associate myself with any movement that was being arranged by those who, as the evidence shows, are seeking through the Communists, in the Mine Workers of America and elsewhere to destroy that organization.

I trust that the delegates to this convention will adopt this report that has been submitted by this committee and that the people of America, the people of Russia, and the people of the world will know the position of American labor, and that will continue to be the position of labor in America until there is democracy in Russia and a proper government that can properly be recognized by the government of the United States.

Delegate Lewis, President United Mine Workers: I did not intend to take part in this discussion except and until in the debate certain matters connected with the committee's report which has to do with the welfare of the United Mine Workers of America were mentioned. I question and seriously doubt that the average trade unionist is particularly concerned with the manner in which the people of Russia govern themselves and direct their own destiny. We are fundamentally concerned, however, when that interest which now exerts a dictatorship over 130,000,000 people in Russia systematically and persistently attempts to impose their philosophy and impose their theories of government and impose their own particular machinery and their own specific ideas upon the workers of all the other countries of the civilized world.

And there is the precise nub of this entire situation. When it comes to pass, as it has come to pass and as it now exists, that the people of Russia are being taxed and their monies are taken from them to finance and pay for expensive propaganda in America for the precise purpose of controlling the basic trade union movement, then it is indeed time for the trade unionists of this country to awaken to the necessity of the protection of their own affairs and the maintenance of the institutions which they erected throughout the land.

We all remember that last May or June an attempt was made to organize a commission to go from America to Russia, and that the people interested in that proposition, recognizing that it should be impossible under the circumstances to receive the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor, undertook by stealth and in the darkness of the night to persuade men to accept membership on such a commission without the endorsement of the bona fide instrumentality of labor in

this country. I was asked if I would accept an invitation to become a member of that commission if it was officially tendered me, and my reply was of the same character as the reply of other leading representatives of labor and of members of the Executive Council, that we could not, and that we would not, and that we did not desire to become in any manner identified with such a proposal, which seemed to emanate from some mysterious source.

It is true, as Vice-President Wilson says, that one of the figures who appeared to be having an important part in the formation of this commission was Mr. Albert F. Coyle, editor and publicity director of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Journal, and it is true that Mr. Coyle, since the unhappy destruction of his plans to have this commission go to Russia, has been most actively engaged in promoting an arrangement within the United Mine Workers of America that will enable his Communist followers to dictate the future policy and manage the administrative affairs of that great organization which I have the honor to represent.

This is not the first experience of the United Mine Workers with Communist activity. For years past our union has been subject to their deceitful attacks, to the intrigues and to their conspiracy. Many of you will remember that three or four years ago the United Mine Workers of America published a resume of Communist activities in America, and in no one instance has any statement that was made in that pamphlet ever been disproved by the men who were named therein.

In many sections of the mining industry, times without number, the representatives of the United Mine Workers have been compelled to combat the activities of the agents of the Communists in Russia. In our Nova Scotia

in that proposition, recognizing that it would be impossible under the circumstances to receive the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor, undertook by stealth and in the darkness of the night to persuade men to accept membership on such a commission without the endorsement of the bona fide instrumentality of labor in mining fields they were successful in persuading a convention representing an entire district organization of some 12,000 men to ask for formal affiliation with the Red Trade Union Internationale.

I don't know how many of you have read the constitution or the articles of faith of the Red Trade Union Internationale, but to those of you who have not I say to you here today that it is predicated entirely upon the philosophy and the hope of destroying the trade union movement of the world as it is organized today. And to attain that objective they justify slander, abuse, the circulation of untruths, the destruction of the confidence of the membership in the officers they elect, to strike down the honor and the reputation for integrity of every man who presumes to oppose their philosophy and to bring about through any manner of means the accomplishment of this one object. They justify disorder, riots and violence, and any man who believes in the least degree in the philosophy of Communism and who lends that philosophy support of any character is simply driving a knife into the heart of his own organization and striking a death blow at the trade union movement in America.

Our international union was compelled in the Nova Scotia and Cape Breton fields to serve notice upon the men who had petitioned for affiliation with the Red Trade Union Internationale to either withdraw it or get out of the United Mine Workers of America. The petition was withdrawn, but for more

than a year the entire membership were in a continual turmoil because of the activities of the paid agents of the Russian Communist Party.

Why, the leaders of the Red Trade Union Internationale in Russia would sit down at their desks and write a statement addressed to the mine workers of Nova Scotia directing them what to do in every detail, criticizing and denouncing the officers of that organization, calling them crooks and every epithet that could be applied to a man, and mailed the statement either to them direct or had it put in their doors at night by some agent of this Communist band. That work was done at great expense, and what has been done in Nova Scotia—and we were able to successfully combat it and restore order in that field—has been done in other mining fields of the country.

This sinister activity was responsible for the destruction of an organization of nine thousand coal miners in the northwest provinces of Canada, because these agents finally used the slogan to the miners of those provinces that it was essential to them to withdraw from and abandon their affiliation with the United Mine Workers of America and form a Canadian organization of mine workers. They played every racial and religious prejudice they can find in order to delude men who have not the opportunity to discover their course of action. Their object is to destroy the United Mine Workers of America wherever they may not control it.

And there is going on at the present time in the United Mine Workers of America an organized political campaign and every ragtag and bobtail nondescript in the United Mine Workers is being approached by agents of the Trade Union Educational League or some other Communist agencies in America. Mr. Coyle has been particularly active in that direction. Under the guise of his affiliation with the Locomotive Engineers he is

secretly boring from within. I don't know that it requires a very great stretch of the imagination to permit him to follow out such activities, because it is well known to the members of organized labor in America that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is operating scab mines in two coal producing states. They are operating in West Virginia where they spent some \$5,000,000 in developing four mines, derived in part from the sale of stock to their own members and in part from companies in which they are interested. They drove out the organization and evicted the members of the United Mine Workers, set them and their families out in the snow and blustering weather of the mountains of West Virginia. They were sheltered in shacks erected by the mine workers. They are paying their men a wage scale that is \$2.50 a day less than the wage scale of the union mines.

On the Big Sandy River in Kentucky, a mile and a half from Prestonburg, the Locomotive Engineers have another mine, and they pay the miners working in that property in the heart of a non-union field, protected by mine guards, a minimum of \$1.75 a day and a maximum of \$3.25 a day underground. I merely mention this to show that the Brotherhood of Engineers which employs Albert F. Coyle is nothing but a strike-breaking organization and a scab-herding organization in the mining industry. And Albert F. Coyle is the defender of those actions and those policies on the part of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. In the last edition of their journal I notice frequent references to the ill-treatment of miners in various sections of Pennsylvania where the operators have broken their contracts with our organization, but you can search the columns of his journal without finding any reference to the outrages perpetrated upon the United Mine Workers of West Virginia and Kentucky by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

It is true, as has been said in this

Mine Workers, to carry out the accredited policy of his organization, of every officer of the United Mine Workers who condemns the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers for driving union men out of their coal camps, condemning any officer and opposing his re-election who sins against the consummation of his ideas and ideals in promoting this oriental philosophy of Russia.

It is high time the American Federation of Labor cease this weeping and this wailing over the fancied wrongs of someone in Russia and that we give attention and consideration to things here at home. It was well brought out by the distinguished chairman of the convention the other day at the conclusion of the address of Dr. Eddy that the workers of Russia were paid the munificent sum in wages of about \$1.00 a day. There may be those in America who would like to change their situation and pass their days under circumstances approximate to those imposed upon the Russian people by the Russian government, but I cannot imagine that any sane, intelligent man who has given any consideration to these things will desire for one moment to abandon that which we have, and which we have secured through sacrifice in years of effort, and throw it away merely for a will-o-the-wisp that someone with a silver tongue paints as being now existant in Russia. Let them first put their own house in order. If their form of government is the ideal form to be followed by civilized nations, let them demonstrate that in their own land before they undertake to ram it down the throats of those who say nay.

There is surely a great campaign now being carried on in America to do something that will in some way bring about some degree of comfort to those whose hearts bleed because of Russia. In no other way can we account for the manifold activities and the running hither and yon of so many men and women, oftentimes in the dark and under cover of the night, to accomplish their designs.

communication, that Mr. Coyle is undertaking now to finance and start a national publication in the mining industry, to be known as "The National Miner," which will cost \$30,000. What for? No more and no less than to continually decry the efforts of every officer of the United Mine Workers and attack the integrity of every officer of the United Yes, today there comes from some distant city on the morning train one of the arch disciples and the high priest of Communism in America, and he has sat in the gallery of this convention of the American Federation of Labor all day long. And I refer to none other than the redoubtable William Z. Foster, who all this afternoon has been sitting in the gallery. Why comes he here? Who pays his passage? A few short days ago he was in Russia? He makes a trip to Russia every year since he left the steel strike committee. What for? For no other reason than to receive his orders and make his annual report to the high priest of Communism in Russia. Now he is here to see how faithfully his lieutenants are doing his work and how Albert F. Coyle has organized sentiment in this convention to put across the ideals and the objects for which they stand. And so I say to those who are prone to weep for Russia while ignoring the suffering in America that it is time to come to their senses and rally to the defense of the solid, the substantial, the tried and true policies of the American Federation of Labor so ably enunciated in the report of the distinguished committee this afternoon.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Coming right after the speeches we have heard it might be well for this convention to be informed of a story that came to me from Lincoln Steffens. Nearly all of you know Lincoln Steffens, or you know something about him. He was in Russia following the organization of the Red Internationale. The Russian Communists had sought to gain control of the labor movement generally over Europe and

America. They failed, and Steffens asked the leader of the Russian propaganda, "What are you going to do now?" He was told, "We are going to get them." Steffens asked, "How are you going to get them?" and was told, "We will set the crooks to plan the enthusiasms of the propaganda and the fools will follow."

President Green: It seems to me proper and fitting that upon this very outstanding and important question the President of the American Federation of Labor should say a few words and express his opinion relative thereto. There is no doubt in my mind regarding the attitude of the great majority of the delegates in this convention toward this report. We know that it will be adopted by a most decisive and overwhelming vote, but there are one or two things to which I would like to attract your attention.

It seems that at each convention of the American Federation of Labor we are called to pass judgment upon the question involved in this committee's report, and this notwithstanding the fact that it is the well known settled policy of the great hosts of labor as represented in the American Federation of Labor that it will not lend its approval to any proposal to recognize the existing government in Russia until it first quits making war upon the American Federation of Labor.

We have no objection to the kind of government the Russian people may set up or that they may support. We grant the peoples of every nation throughout the world the right of self-government. If the people of Russia believe in Communism and the Communistic philosophy, if they believe in the rule of autocracy and a dictatorship, then we accord the people of that great country to live under that form of government; but we object most seriously to the attempt that is methodically and systematically being made, in season and out of season, to crowd down the throats of the liberty loving people of America the Russian

philosophy, and that is what we protest against.

It seems that the trade union movement of our country has been selected as the object of attack; it seems that our movement has been selected principally by those who control the Communist Party in Russia as the instrumentality and the vehicle through which they seek to establish their form of government here.

May I read to you the declaration of the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale located at Moscow. It is as follows: "It is of extreme importance to the life and growth of the Communist Party that its members as a whole realize better the necessity of more offensive work in the labor unions, the capture of leadership of the labor unions. The capture of leadership of the labor union masses is vitally necessary, not only for the Communist Party at this time but also for the ultimate victory of the revolutionary struggle. The capture of the labor unions is our first and foremost task. For this purpose the Communist Party advocates that every Communist be a union member to organize a Communist faction in every union, to expose the officials of every union—whatever that means—to make fights in elections for officers of unions and delegates to conventions."

In conformity with that specific instruction the representative of one branch of the Communist Party in America sent a letter broadcast throughout the land just prior to this convention instructing their members to elect delegates to this convention, not trade unionists, but to elect Communist members of the left wing. The servant heard his master's voice, and in conformity with the autocracy set up in Russia the echo was here and he spoke, carrying out those specific instructions.

"At all conventions to introduce systematic and well prepared campaigns against officers." There isn't an officer of a responsible trade union in this convention that has not felt the effect of

this poisonous propaganda. In every convention of practically every union affiliated with our movement these men are there with their poison undermining the standing, the character and the good name of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. They seem to assume that if they can destroy confidence in the officers of our union, if those surreptitious attacks will succeed they will destroy the magnificent union itself.

"To arouse the masses to take up strikes and wage movements and to then skillfully utilize such movements for political ends. To oppose the amalgamation of labor banks and labor insurance, to make use of independent, dual and rival unions, to promote general discord and hatred and contempt for the existing order of things, especially among the foreign born." We have had some evidence of this in the city of New York.

A Communist elected or appointed to any official position in a union is under strict control of the Communist organization and the immediate instructions of the Party faction in the union. The Communists also have an elaborate plan for establishing shop nuclei or committees to work in similar lines in shops not organized; in fact, the whole Communist Party is now organized as a shop nuclei. Only unemployed Communists can belong to the Communist Party unless they belong also to a shop nuclei.

Are we to be deceived? Are we as wise, experienced men with our eyes wide open to accept the sophistry of men and nurse to our bosom until it is warmed into life a reptile that would sink its fangs into our body and destroy us forever? That is what the trade union movement must decide and that is what it must face.

A short time ago a celebration was held in honor of the great apostle of Communism, Mr. Lenin. These meetings

were held in the city of New York on the second anniversary of the death of Lenin. The press reports that one of the speakers was Charles Krombein. He was the chairman, and he declared that though Lenin was dead his spirit still lived and that an offensive instead of a merely defensive agitation was being started against capitalism. William C. Weinstone, general secretary of the Workers Communist Party of New York, also urged those present to establish a Soviet government in the United States. They understand their instructions. He condemned the present labor leaders for urging employers and employees to get together, declaring that a civil war of the classes was the only way by which the end could be accomplished.

The audience arose when Benjamin Gitlow entered the hall and when he came forward to speak Gitlow described Wall Street as "The home of the most arrogant, capitalistic system of all." He told of the work being done to gain control of the trade unions. M. J. Olgin, a Communist author, speaking in Russian, said that Lenin's ideals were better realized today than they were when he lived. Other speakers told of what is being done among the children and of the movement to get recognition of the Soviet Russia by the United States. All the speakers appealed for support of workers in "bringing the day when the red flag will be the national emblem and the White House would be painted red."

Here is a report of Mr. Tomskey, who, I understand, is very important in what they call the trade union movement of Russia. In arguing for the centralization of power in the Central Committee in Russia, he said:

"We must also repeat what we have said more than once. All directives and orders of the All-Union Congresses—a section of the Party—and of the All-

Central Soviet Trade Unions and of the All-Russian Central Soviet of Trade Unions, as the organ directing from Congress to Congress and working under the direct control of the Central Committee of the Party, under its sleepless observation, must be obligatory for realization locally. In conclusion, I consider it my duty to recall that the international work, like all work of the All-Russian Central Soviet of Trade unions, including the international, has been carried on under the direct control of our Central Committee of the Party."

There is no doubt about this work being carried on radiating from Moscow out into all the world, a direct attempt to control our trade unions and through that control to substitute the philosophy of Communism with its class warfare and its violence, for the philosophy of the trade union movement as we understood it since its foundation.

Mr. Eddy came here the other day. Why came he here? Someone inadvertently said he was invited here. Who invited him here? Why came he here asking for this platform? And why, when he came, did he abuse the privileges granted him, the privileges of this floor? There seems to be something in the atmosphere of Detroit that causes some people to forget the rules of common decency and common courtesy.

I repeat again that if the Russia wants to be Russia, if it wishes to be Communistic, if it wishes to live under a dictatorship and an autocratic form of government where freedom and liberty are neither practiced nor the words known, then, so let it be with Russia; but let it be within the confines of their own nation, and until they change their policy of vicious propaganda among our trade unions I am of the opinion that the trade union movement of America will vigorously oppose the recognition of that government by the government of the United States.

This is our movement; we have come along the pathway of progress through all these many years; we know from experience what the record is. It is our philosophy, it is a part of our souls, our lives, it is something more than perfunctory membership in an organization. The trade unionist feels his organization, he feels it so deeply that he cannot command language that would adequately express his feelings. His devotion to this cause is great and many have given their lives in defense of it. And are we, to whom have been given the Ark of the Covenant, are we, the ones who maintain in our possession the virtues of our movement, to risk it now for sure destruction if those who would destroy it have their way by welcoming into our midst a stream of poison that would destroy our whole movement.

It was Abraham Lincoln who said in the most striking sentence that human ears have ever listened to, "You can fool some of the people all the time, you can fool all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time." And so I say, paraphrasing that statement, that there may be those who can fool some of our trade unionists all of the time, who can fool some of them part of the time, but who cannot fool all of them all of the time.

And so, my friends, we are face to face with a momentous decision. I have

respect for the judgment of those who differ with me, but it seems to me when the very life of our movement is at stake that there should be no difference of opinion regarding the course we should pursue. I am heartily in favor of the committee's report and I hope it will be adopted by such a decisive vote that there will be no doubt in the minds of the American people and the people throughout the world where the American Federation of Labor stands.

A large number of the delegates asked that debate close and some of them requested a rising vote on the motion to adopt the report of the committee.

When the affirmative vote was asked for practically the entire delegation arose. When the negative vote was called for no one arose.

President Green: The Chair has a right to assume that the report of the committee has been adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Woll: We distinguish clearly between the Trade Union Educational League and the Workers' Education Bureau. The Trade Union Educational League is a part of the Communist movement and propaganda. The Workers' Education Bureau is a part of the education movement of the American Federation of Labor.

At 5:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, October 13th.

Ninth Day-- Wednesday Morning Session

Detroit, Mich, October 13, 1926

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m., by President Green.

Absentees

Boyer, Schulte, Hauser, Gillot, Siemer, Hannah, Carlidge, Burke (J. P.), Collins, Mitchell, Linville, Johnson (R. H.), Jewell, Barry (J. L.), Hill, Kutz, Rohr, Ryan (Jere), Wenger, Mullen, Alden, Henley, Augustino, Murphy, J. H., (Kensington, Ill.), Woodling, Frampton, Murphy, J. H., (Lynn, Mass.), Fagan, Hollcraft, Coffelt, Bower, Tarbett, Johnson (A. C.), Elwell, Eckhardt, Walker, Woodmansee, Wood, Trimmer, Hope, Covert, Keeny, Saylor, McGeory, Tinney, Bender, Bohm, Ruben, Polakoff, Shaw, Campbell, Purves, Darrington, Powers, Ryan, Portway, Fuchs, Shiplakoff.

Secretary Morrison read telegrams inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold the 1927 convention in the following cities:

Birmingham, Alabama, M. C. Thomas, Secretary Carpenters' District Council, and J. H. F. Mosley, of the Labor Advocate. Sheffield, Alabama, Amos Freeman, President Carpenters' Union.

Los Angeles, California; William Moriarity, Business Agent Plumbers' and Steamfitters' Local 78, John C. Blair, President District Council of Carpenters. Sacramento, California; Charles B. Bills, President, Young Men's Christian Association, W. P. Weis, Napa Central Labor Council, and J. H. Nolan, Secretary Santa Monica Central Labor Union.

Cleveland, T. A. McKinney, Secretary, Cleveland Pattern Makers.

Secretary Morrison read the following letter from the Central Trades and Labor Council, Zanesville, Ohio.

"Mr. William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, Detroit, Michigan.

"Dear Brother Green:

"The Zanesville Central Trades and Labor Council extends greetings and wish the American Federation of Labor Convention a most successful and harmonious convention.

"With best wishes for success and with kindest regards to yourself and all of-

ficers and delegates.

"Yours fraternally,
"Jos. A. Bauer, Secretary,
933 Branch Street,
Zanesville, Ohio.

Delegate Fox, Wyoming S. F. of L.: I move that the report of the committee as submitted on the resolution bearing on the Soviet question and all of the discussion pertaining thereto be published in a separate pamphlet for general distribution.

The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Unions Requested to Employ Union Accountants Where Available

Resolution No. 53.—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, It is the practice of public auditors and accountants to employ "junior" and "senior" accountants to do most of the detail work, at wages as low as \$25 a week; and

WHEREAS, In the membership of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union are to be found public auditors and accountants, the majority of whose income is derived from their own work, who pay their assistants union wages; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of the labor movement require that the books and records of labor organizations should be audited and examined by those sympathetic to its ideals; and

WHEREAS, As a matter of principle, unions should employ accountants who can be held responsible by their union for the efficient and honest discharge of their duties; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Detroit, Michigan, that the efforts of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 to organize the accountants be endorsed, and all unions called upon to employ union accountants wherever available.

Your committee, without passing judgment on the preambles recommends approval of resolve in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Opposing Diverting the Operation of Muscle Shoals Nitrate Plants and Dam for Private Profit

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates R. J. Bailey, of the Alabama State Federation of Labor; J. C. Barrett, of the Birmingham, Alabama, Central Body, and T. L. McBrayer, of the Georgia Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has fostered and assisted all forms of transportation and manufacture in the United States by gifts of land or high tariffs; and

WHEREAS, Nothing of a substantial nature has been done by the United States Government for the farming interests; and

WHEREAS, The law under which the Muscle Shoals Nitrate Plants and Dam was constructed specifically dedicated and set apart said plants and dam for the manufacture of explosives in war and fertilizer in peace; and

WHEREAS, The said law specifically provides that these plants and dam shall not be operated in conjunction with any enterprise operated by private capital; and

WHEREAS, There is an attempt to change this law and divert the use of the said plants and dam into other channels; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in session, that we are unalterably opposed to the diverting the use of the nitrate plants and dam at Muscle Shoals in any other channel; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demands that the United States Government shall operate or cause to be operated these plants now erected for making of explosives and fertilizer, as the law now provides; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests that the current now being generated at Wilson Dam, or so much thereof as is necessary shall be used in the operation of Nitrate Plants No. 1 and 2, which plants together cost the Government \$84,000,000; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this res-

olution be spread on the minutes and that a copy be transmitted to the Honorable Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States.

Your committee finds itself in doubt regarding the validity of the proposal contained in this resolution. It involves a number of technical questions which are set forth as indisputable facts, but without supporting evidence and which would justify your committee in submitting a definite recommendation. Then, too, the resolution is confusing and seemingly conflicting in its preambles and resolves. If your committee correctly understands the purpose of the resolution it is that the Muscle Shoals Nitrate Plants and Dam be used in such a manner as will best carry out the intent of their original erection and creation, viz: to serve the farmers in times of peace and the military arm of the Government during a state of war. With this your committee is in full accord. In order that the best possible means and methods may prevail to attain those ends, your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for further consideration and for such action as its further study of present conditions and of subsequent developments indicate are best designed for the purposes herein suggested for your approval.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Bailey, Alabama State Federation of Labor, said in part: This resolution is offered in protection of organized labor as much as in protection of the farmers of the south. In 1916 the United States Government gave Woodrow Wilson power to erect nitrate plants for the benefit of the Government in time of war and for the benefit of the farmers in time of peace. There are thirteen corporations that have tried to secure this plant. The Alabama Power Company has never employed union men except in a few cases. Twelve other corporations are scattered throughout the south, and they all land in Wall

Street, and all of them are working non-union men as far as can be learned.

It is for the benefit of the labor movement that those thirteen companies do not get control of Muscle Shoals. Today they are getting the power generated by the Wilson Dam for two mills and selling it for ten cents. If they get hold of the Wilson Dam it will be very unlucky for the farmers and the workers of the south. I think the organized labor movement should see to it that if Congress does turn it over to corporations it will be to those who employ union men.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Railroad Signalmen Request Assistance to Secure Legislation for Their Protection Under Hours of Service Act

Resolution No. 55.—By Delegate D. W. Helt, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

WHEREAS, The Hours of Service Law, generally known as the "16-Hour Act," is intended to apply to all railroad employees, whose duties are involved in the safe and expeditious movement of transportation; and

WHEREAS, Signal Department Employees construct, install, maintain and repair all signal, interlocking and train control devices, which devices are installed on railroads to govern and control the safe and expeditious movement of transportation; and

WHEREAS, The third biennial and eighteenth regular convention of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America, at its recent session in New York City expressed an earnest desire to be covered by the provisions of the Hours of Service Law and have instructed the Grand Lodge officers to secure an amendment to the present law to the end that all Signal Department employees will be protected in their hours of service under the present Hours of Service Act; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to assist the Grand Lodge officers of the B. of R. S. of A. in their efforts to secure an amendment to the Hours of Service Act to the end that Signal Department employees on the railroads will be

covered by the provisions of the Act.

Your committee is in full sympathy with the principle and desire expressed in this resolution. To assure full cooperation between all the railroad organizations interested and concerned in the amending of the law in question it is recommended that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for favorable consideration and such action as will conform to the best interest of all railroad organizations and workers involved.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Proposing Participation in the Crime and Penal Conference Called by the Missouri State Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 56.—By John F. Pfeiffer, of the Missouri Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The problem of crime, law enforcement and the scientific and humane administration of our policing forces, courts and penal institutions have reached a point where they constitute a direct challenge to our civilization and democratic form of government; and

WHEREAS, These problems are not the problems of the labor movement alone, but are the problems of every law-abiding and socially minded group in our state; and

WHEREAS, These problems are so complex and far-reaching that they enter into every activity of human life, and unless we find sane, scientific and practical methods of dealing with them all humane advancement threatens to be retarded; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 33rd convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Jefferson City, Mo., during the week of May 24th, 1926, direct its president to call a "Crime and Penal Conference" to be held immediately preceding the convening of the next convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Missouri State Federation of Labor invite all organized groups representing the American Federation of Labor, business men's and women's organizations; the bar, and medical profession, social hygiene

associations, women's clubs, parent-teachers' associations and other educational groups, social service, religious, fraternal and other organizations of citizens to send delegates to this conference in order that all elements in our community life may co-operate in finding ways and means in dealing with the problems of crime and scientific penal administration; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this action of the Missouri State Federation of Labor be transmitted to the 46th convention of the American Federation of Labor with the recommendation that each State Federation of Labor be requested to call a similar conference preceding their next convention.

The subject to which this resolution relates is one in which the workers and the trade unions are deeply concerned.

Undoubtedly no part of society suffers more than do the workers from a maladministration of the law and corruption of institutions created for the observance and enforcement of law. No group within society is more concerned in eradicating conditions which make for crime. No organized movement has labored with greater effort to the end that just and humane laws shall be enacted and that all laws shall apply equally to all and that the observance and enforcement of law shall be for rich as well and the same as for the poor.

Your committee therefore fully concurs in the proposal of further studying the definition of crime, causes leading to crime, finding ways and means in dealing with problems arising out of or related to crime, assuring an uncorrupted and equal observance and enforcement of law, and securing a scientific penal administration thereof. However, your committee hesitates in recommending to all State Federations of Labor the procedure followed by the Missouri State Federation of Labor. Instead it recommends the study of the subject contained in this resolution and as herein

outlined—by each State Federation of Labor to be carried out in such a manner as each deems best and within the range of its possibilities. Your committee submits for your approval the foregoing procedure in lieu of that contained in this resolution.

Secretary Woll: It will be noted that this resolution is addressed to the Missouri State Federation of Labor and not to the American Federation of Labor. Nevertheless the committee submits the above report.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Proposing That A. F. of L. Delegates Be Required to Have Six Union Labels on Person to be Seated.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate John J. Pfeiffer, of the Missouri State Federation of Labor.

In compliance with instructions of the Thirty-third convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor held May 24th at Jefferson City, Mo., we present the following resolution for your consideration:

WHEREAS, The Union Label is not receiving the support it should receive; many merchants point to the fact that international union officers and local officers are not buying union label products; and

WHEREAS, If international union officers and local union officers do not practice buying union label goods, they cannot and will not encourage their members to buy union made goods. Therefore in order that the union label may receive the proper support it is necessary that the international officers be sold on the union label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Missouri State Federation of Labor introduce a resolution at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor that in the future all delegates to its convention be required to have six union labels on their person in order to be seated as a delegate; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to comply with requirements of this resolution.

This resolution contains within it the element of conditional representation to

the conventions of the American Federation of Labor which your committee believes more harmful than helpful to the purpose sought to be accomplished. It is inconceivable that loyal trade union representatives should not avail themselves of any and all opportunities to purchase union made articles or engage the services of union men and women and favor the trade union label, button or shop card. In addition this resolution places a limitation upon the number of trade union label articles as a condition of representation. Your committee is of the opinion and submits in lieu of this resolution for your approval the following:

"Resolved, that each convention delegates file with the President of the American Federation of Labor a statement as to the number of trade union label articles in his possession, indicating the articles bearing the trade union label, and that the President be authorized to follow such a procedure as will lead to a more general and ever increasing use of trade union label articles and union labor service by all."

It is believed that the foregoing requirement and procedure will set at work a moral force more effective in results than that contained in the proposed resolution and constitutional amendment.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth opposed both the resolution and the report of the committee, and in doing so said in part: This is a proposition that, in my opinion, is an insult to every man on this floor. The presumption that the delegates elected to this convention are not supporting the label in their own personal capacity is an insult, and it is almost unbelievable that such a thing could come to the front here. The kind of examination suggested in the resolution is to my mind, not only rotten in its insulting aspect, but it has a tendency to make the whole label movement ridiculous.

Delegate Hirschberg opposed the resolution and recommendation of the com-

mittee, and said in part: I do not oppose this because of the principle involved, because I am a label advocate, but because the inference in the resolution is, as the preceding speaker remarked, an insult to the delegates sitting here. I do not agree that the most prominent labor leaders in the American Federation of Labor do not purchase union label articles whenever possible. I prefer to go on record, unless convinced otherwise, that such an inference is not true.

I do not agree with this resolution that if complied with the label and all the principles involved will be carried out. This resolution limits us to six labels to verify whether we are good union men or not. It is very possible that in some vicinities it is practically impossible to get six union label articles to wear. Would you then say that under those conditions a delegate would not be entitled to sit in this convention and that if he did not wear the six labels it would indicate that he was not a good representative of the American Federation of Labor? I do not agree with the resolution that it should be limited to six labels; I believe we ought to purchase everything we need with the union label whenever possible.

Before we pass mandatory laws for the purchase of union label goods, we ought to be more practical and make it convenient for men and women in the labor movement to purchase a label article. I am opposed to this resolution, for the implication it contains, and I am opposed to the report of the committee because it perpetuates that implication. I do not speak for myself, for I carry the required number of labels, and more, but I speak for those on this floor who have the confidence of the entire labor movement when I say it will be a stigma on them if this resolution is adopted.

Secretary Woll: First of all the committee does not concur in the resolution and it specifically mentions that "it is inconceivable that loyal trade union representatives should not avail themselves at any and all opportunities to purchase union made articles or engage the services of union men and women and favor the trade union label, button and shop card."

As far as the resolution itself is concerned, your committee does not concur and does not accept the reasoning and logic and criticism contained there-

in. The committee suggests, in lieu of that, that each delegate "file with the President of the American Federation of Labor a statement as to the number of trade union label articles in his possession, indicating the articles bearing the trade union label, and that the President be authorized to follow such a procedure as will lead to a more general and ever increasing use of trade union label articles and union label service by all."

It leaves it optional, of course, whether this statement is filed by the delegates.

Delegate McCullough, International Typographical Union, said in part: What assurance do we have that a delegate to this convention who would so far depart from trade union custom and practice as to neglect the union label in making his purchases of wearing apparel or other articles would make a correct statement in writing? Wouldn't the man who deliberately deceives himself and his fellow workers in buying non-union articles just as cheerfully deceive the president in making the report to him?

I do not boast of the fact that I wear union made clothing and that I purchase everything possible with the label on, because I am committed to the label just as I believe the delegates here and union men generally are committed to the label, and if they do not always purchase union label articles it is because they cannot get them. Every label trade is represented on the floor of this convention, and for fourteen years we have had a Label Trades Department with a secretary vigorously pushing the use of the union label, yet that department has never come into this convention asking that delegates make a report of the number of labels they have on their person. The men who make up the Label Trades Department leave it to the conscience of the workers whether they purchase such articles. I am opposed to both the resolution and the report of the committee.

Delegate Baker, Barbers' International Union, said in part: I want to take a position in favor of the committee's report. The older delegates do not need to be reminded to buy label goods because they have always done it. In the San Francisco Labor Council every delegate who comes in there is told he must have five labels. It is left to his conscience. As President of the California Federation of Labor I was a little in doubt about the compulsory

rule and tried to have them make it voluntary.

I do not accept the statement that in smaller towns you cannot buy label goods as long as there is one good union man there. All the barbers take a position to support the union label and also take the position that we should patronize only those label articles that measure up to other articles. In some of the smaller towns where they did not have label goods members of organized labor got a list from me to find out where they could purchase them. As a result you will now find label goods sold in California towns where they were never sold before. We should not only buy everything possible with the label on it but we should encourage others to do it. The cigar makers, garment workers, and various other organizations need a more active support than they are receiving.

Delegate Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I am opposed to the report of the committee as well as to the resolution. Whether or not I speak for the general membership of my own organization, I am unable to say. If it is fair to demand that the representatives of the various organizations that come to this convention attest the fact that they have label articles on their person to the number of six, it would be equally fair to present the delegates a questionnaire as to whether or not they had purchased a meal in a union restaurant and if their early morning shave was had in a union barber shop, and it would be equally fair to ask if their wives at home patronized a union meat market. If you are going to pick out only six labels, then I think you are not just to the others. Let us go the route or kill it.

Delegate Sweeney, Tailors, said in part: I am opposed to the report of the committee on the general principle that the individual must be free to do right or else he is not free at all; the individual must be free to do wrong or he is not free at all. Freedom does not consist in laws laid down by men to govern other men. If men will come to the conclusion that the individual must be free to do what he wishes to do, so long as it does not interfere with the rights and liberties of other men, then we will have freedom to do what we feel like doing, and doing at the time we feel like doing it.

I believe that every union man, when it is possible for him to do so, should procure a union label, and it is about

time that union men understand what the label stands for. I dare say there are many in this convention today who cannot state what the union label really stands for. Until we learn that we will be careless about the purchasing of union label goods. I wish every man coming to the convention had a union label in his coat, but I will never vote in favor of a law compelling him to have it.

Secretary Woll pointed out that the report of the committee did not concur in the resolution or in anything contained in its preambles, but submitted an entirely different recommendation, which leaves it voluntary with any delegate to fill out a statement to the number of labels and file it with the President. He suggested recommitting the resolution and report to the committee in order that the language might be made clearer.

Delegate Sexton, Cigar Makers, said in part: I am in favor of the report of the committee, but I want to say a few words with reference to the union label, to the reference that has been made in that resolution and in the recommendation of the committee. It seems there has been some misconception on the part of the delegates with reference to that recommendation and also the recognition of labels upon articles when purchasing goods as well as the neglect of union people to demand the label.

We heard a very splendid address from the platform by a representative of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union. He appealed to the conscience and the principles of organized labor to come forward and lend every effort in support of suppressing a gigantic corporation that is trying to annihilate the bakers' organization. He stated that some \$200,000,000 were pooled through the Ward Baking Company to monopolize the industry, destroy the efforts of organized labor and to further the consumption of a non-union product. It is necessary, in order to combat that institution, for all organized labor to come to the assistance of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers. The Bakers' organization would go forward with increased membership within the course of a year and that unfair institution would be put out of the running if union men and women were consistent in demanding the union label on their bakery products.

In the constitution of the Cigar Makers' International Union it is provided

that delegates to our international convention be required to have six union labels upon their persons. That in itself was the means, prior to our last convention, of getting some of the delegates interested in making a hasty demand for the union label when making purchases in the stores of that city. They went from store to store, and probably it was the first general demand that had been made for years in that city. Merchants took notice of it, and later when I called on these stores I found there was a demand for the union label and that such goods would be secured.

I am in favor of impressing upon the delegates to this convention, whether international representatives of organized labor or any of the rank and file of labor or the general public, the value of the label. Let us have agitation, let us have education, let us have propagation of the things that will bring about a united demand for the union label. Let us not only demand the label, but let us be sincere enough when demands are made to refuse to purchase non-union products, and then union products will be carried on the shelves of every institution selling goods and relying on the consumption of their products. The workers are in a majority, and we are in a position to see that an example is set if we insist upon getting union made products.

Delegate Manning, Label Trades Department: I move that this matter be referred back to the committee for further consideration. (Seconded and carried.)

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 45 and 46, the committee reported as follows:

Company Unions.

Company unions are a menace to the trade union movement and to American industry which must be met and overcome. Although they admit the principle of organization in form, they are not and never can be a fundamental solution to the problem of industrial relations. They deny the substance of organization. They do not give the worker the freedom and responsibility necessary for full creative expression in his work. They appear to establish a means of co-

operation between management and workers but in fact retard the development of institutions which are real and lasting. This artificial development is a distinct menace both to workers and management and to industry. It cannot last. The chances are that when its falsity is discovered there may be bitterness of feeling which will make readjustment a more difficult task.

This anti-union movement professes to favor unions, pretends to approve labor organization, cooperation, collective bargaining and employee representation.

It is well known that collective bargaining implies a voluntary agreement. By denying employees the right to representatives of their own choosing this principle is repudiated. When employers call this collective bargaining they are consciously deceiving the public. When they say that company unions are "experiments in cooperation" they know and understand the unsoundness of their declamations. Employer-controlled unions are compulsory. Compulsory cooperation is a contradiction in terms. To deny the right to voluntary organization is to deny the right to organize.

As to cooperation, Labor has proven that it is in favor of cooperation with management in the only conceivable form that genuine cooperation can take. Union-management cooperation, as it is in operation today in many industries establishes relations between workers and employers on a basis that is fundamentally sound and constructive. It gives opportunity for creative expression in work, for workers' responsibility and for freedom of organization, initiative, and development. It works for efficiency in industry since it liberates the human factor for greater service. Hence, it is to the interest of both management and workers that union-management cooperation should be established. It

is the answer to company unions.

Your committee believes that the time is ripe for the American labor movement to work progressively for the substitution of union-management cooperation for company unions, to substitute voluntary democratic organization of trade unions for employer-controlled company unions or shop representative plans. To accomplish this will require continued effort over a period of time, and our method of approach must be based upon careful and scientific study of the situation supported by an aggressive, concentrated and well directed campaign.

We commend the recommendation of the Executive Council providing for such study. We urge the early inauguration of such a plan and campaign of activity. To accomplish the substitution of union-management cooperation for company unions and to substitute voluntary trade unions for employer-controlled unions will be a service not only to American workers but to American industry in all its branches and to the American public in general.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Frey, Molders: This convention has given consideration to the question of the company union and its twin, the misnamed American plan. We have been endeavoring to gather information which would be definite concerning some of the facts which interest us and also the American public. We have been told what this misnamed American plan is, and I think that as we all believe in the American plan we should renew our knowledge of what the American plan really is, because the American plan has been stated for us and taught to us from childhood. If my memory serves me accurately, Mr. Chairman, the American plan is defined as follows: that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these being life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That is the American plan, and any other plan that does not stand

four square with that is an un-American plan.

The company union and the American plan are one and the same. When the advocates of the misnamed American plan have destroyed trade unionism among their employes, then what is known as the company union takes its place.

Information has been secured since the convention opened from a source which has always been found reliable which may possibly interest the delegates. A few days ago, at a session of this convention, reference was made to the General Motors Company and statistics were given showing that since 1919 the employes of the General Motors Company had increased the volume of their production over one hundred per cent. I hold in my hand the membership card in the company union of the General Motors Company. It reads:

INDUSTRIAL MUTUAL ASSOCIATION of Flint

This is to certify that F. Piboescher is a member of the "I. M. A. Club," and is entitled to all privileges offered by The "Club."

This card is good until December 31, 1925.

CARL HATFIELD,
Managing Secretary."

The owner of this company union card has no volition as to whether he would become a member of this company union or not. At the price of his job he was compelled to become a member of the company union. He was not troubled by any local financial secretary in the payment of dues. No one reminded him that he was on the verge of suspension for non-payment of dues, because the General Motors Company advocates the non-union shop and the company union believe so firmly in the checkoff system that they collect the dues out of every pay envelope before the worker receives what is left.

Now this General Motors Company, at its plant in Flint, Michigan, carries out another policy which seems to be characteristic of those who call themselves American planners. It is a part of their policy to employ as few American citizens as they possibly can and as many aliens who are not citizens as their agents

can discover for them. We are informed that there are some 75,000 employes of the General Motors Company in Flint, Michigan. They are compelled to pay 15 cents a week as a social dues and 30 cents a week as insurance dues, and the company union for that pays them one thousand dollars a year death benefits and offers them the privileges of the club house that the company maintains. In other words, every employe of the plant pays \$15.60 per year as a member of the company union for the insurance feature and \$7.80 a year for the welfare program that the company union carries out in Flint.

Or in other words, Mr. Chairman, if the number of employes has been accurately supplied the average is about 75,000 a year, so that the company union of the General Motors Company, through its checkoff system, collects \$1,755,000 a year dues from the members of its company union. That is not bad financing, considering that during the last six months they have increased production of their employes, or the output of each workman one hundred per cent. Today each workman in Flint turns out twice as much work as he did six years ago, or in 1919.

I want to carry that a step further. This company union, collecting approximately \$1,755,000 from its employes, is only interested in them while there is work. They make no provisions for idle days, they make no provisions for layoffs, and so, after bringing a large number of workmen who are not citizens to our country, to Flint, so that a large idle pool of labor may be at their command, they then throw the burden of maintaining idle workmen upon the community itself, so that the Poor Commissioners of the county in which Flint is situated have been compelled to make a statement to the taxpayers of the county that it is unfair for this General Motors Company, or this advocate of the un-American plan and the company union to place upon these taxpayers the burden of supporting the idle workmen that have been brought there by the advocates of the company union.

That, Mr. Chairman, is a picture of one company union, deriving an income of \$1,500,000 or more each year in the way of compulsory dues and calling upon the county to support the idle workmen whom they have brought to the city. It merely reflects the spirit and the purpose and the intention of those who are try-

ing to destroy the American trade union movement. They are regardless of the welfare of the individual, they hold the taxpayer in contempt, they have but one object, the subjugation of labor, the destruction of the principles and the guarantees of the Declaration of Independence and our Federal Constitution, and the building up of an industrial autocracy which will give them and them alone a voice in determining not only the conditions which shall exist in the industrial establishments, but, as we found here, in determining in advance what the clergy will say when they occupy their pulpits.

Delegate Furuseth; Seamen: It may perhaps be of some interest to you in this time when there is so much talk about the development of an American merchant marine and a sea power commensurate with the interests and the dangers of America, to say what the company union and the special arrangement made by the ship owners has done for the seamen and for the country. Seaman-ship is something that is learned at sea. It takes a long time to learn it because it means the development in every direction of the creative faculty in the men themselves. It can only be done under certain conditions, it is never done under any other conditions, and where that has been departed from the result has been the abolition of skill and efficiency.

The Lake Carriers' Association, pretty well known on these lakes for these thirty or forty years, have step by step destroyed the efficiency of the men who sail on these lakes until a properly skilled man is a curiosity. They have done it through their company unions, to the membership of which they issue a book showing that they are members of that organization. They hire them through an office that is largely used as a club room, and they are bringing into the work all kinds of people from everywhere in the world, in absolute violation of your immigration laws, in absolute violation of the interests of the country, in absolute violation of your interests when you travel on lake vessels, because they have as a matter of fact so arranged the law that in some instances they are by law permitted, without any hurt to themselves, to lose or kill what amounts to, to be plain, 92 1-2 per cent of all the people on board the vessel.

The same condition prevails in every other part of the country, on the Pacific Coast more than anywhere else.

We have on that coast developed a body of seamen equal to anything that the world has had for the last sixty years. They were of such a high standard of efficiency that about fifty per cent of them became officers of the new merchant marine of the United States. The ship owners didn't like that kind of thing, so they appeared before the Committee on Commerce of the United States Senate and asked that the country undertake to educate seamen for them, a thing that is impossible. They asked further that the standard of efficiency be reduced from three years' service to one year or less—six months they said was plenty. The Congress of the United States did not want to give it to them. They refused it, and then they set about doing it for themselves. They established club rooms for the men to meet in, ship offices they are called, and then they engaged the men by registering them first, then engaging them by turn, taking away from the master of the vessel the power to select the crew of the vessel and thereby destroying every incentive that the man had to make himself efficient.

We took the matter to court; we failed in the lower court, we failed in the Court of Appeals, and the case is set for the 25th of October in the United States Supreme Court, and we are going through the whole gamut of the thing to show what it really is.

Back of this thing, men, is but one single motive. Just as the feudal barons in the last part of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century obtained absolute control over the men living on their estates and thereby established serfdom in Europe and abolished and utterly destroyed the guild movement in Europe, so the employers now, in every way they can, insidiously or openly as the case might be, are working for the establishment of a condition in industry in which they will have absolute control over their employees. The company union is nothing but that.

I charge here that they know what they are doing, I charge that they are doing it in violation of the fundamental concept of what is Americanism, I charge that they are doing it with the deliberate purpose of bringing about industrial serfdom, I charge that they are doing it in violation of their duty as citizens of the United States, I charge that the company union and

the so-called American plan is a treason to America.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee: This part of the committee's report deals with the section of the Executive Council's report on company unions. There is a resolution to follow immediately after the action on this part of the Executive Council's report contemplating some concrete method by which the declarations herein made may be carried out.

Speaking on this part of the committee's report I want to affirm most emphatically the statement made by Delegate Furuseth that what is going on in our industrial life today is a reversion back to the days of feudalism, not where the wage earner will be held to the land or the possessor of the land, but where he will become the serf of the owner of the tools of modern age production.

The company union, the shop representative plan and the American plan are a reversion to feudalism and that cannot be denied. Whether employers are consciously or unconsciously promoting that development may be questioned in some instances, but whether or not, the effect is just the same and the cause is at work. I believe that there is no subject to come before this convention of greater importance, of more extensive effect upon the well being of the wage earners and the rights of citizens at large than this question of company unions, and that excepts no other proposition that can possibly be considered by us.

Let us realize first the growth of the evil that has developed. There is no use longer of shutting our eyes. We have today over two millions of wage earners working under company union, shop representative or American plans. We have over that number of wage earners today in a condition of semi-serfdom. In the railroad organization, in the railroad industry we are advised that fifty per cent of the mileage in the United States is operating today under these semi-serfdom labor conditions, or employer controlled organizations. The metal trades are almost likely affected. The printing trades have some degree of company unions. The miscellaneous trades are likewise affected, so that we are confronted with a problem that cannot be ignored, and if we are true to the interests of ourselves as wage earners and as citizens, then we must become

aroused and become active in this campaign.

President Green, on the opening day of this convention, eloquently set forth the evils of the company unions, showing their inefficiency to render service to the wage earners, showing their inefficiency to render service to the community and to the people and to our nation as a whole. Hence, there is no need for repetition as to the inefficiency of company unions, shop representative plans, or the like to serve either industry, men or the general public. We know, of course, that the company unions and shop representative plans, so-called American plans, are all designed primarily to destroy the trade union movement and to deny the wage earners the right to voluntary association, the right to select their own representatives in the negotiating and in the bargaining for standards and terms of employment.

Yes, the company unions are un-American, they are not only un-American, but they are entirely in violation of every principle upon which our government is founded, and they are a denial of the freedom of contract that is so safeguarded by the Constitution itself. There is need for study, first, as to its development; secondly, as to the various forms under which this is being operated; third, how it violates the constitutional rights of each and every wage earner in our land. We are advised that we have a right to enter into any relationship as we see fit, and if we don't want employment we need not take it, and if we accept employment we are the ones to determine, of and by ourselves, how those terms of employment shall be entered into.

The company union, the shop representative plan denies that freedom of contract, it denies that right of self choice, and, to the contrary, gives to the employer by indirect means, the right not only of representing the employing side of the contract, but likewise gives to him the right of the employee's side of the contract. I believe that if a careful study is made, all these company unions can be outlawed, as they should be. I believe their right as corporate enterprises is exercised in violation of their charter rights, it is certainly exercised in violation of the principle of freedom of contract, for when an employer demands that I shall also belong to his union, that which he controls,

upon which his representatives make my contract of employment, then indeed there is no longer freedom of contract, then indeed there is that condition of serfdom, of feudalism referred to by Delegate Furuseth when he stated that the man that owned the land likewise controlled the man that was on the land, or dependent upon that land.

And so it is for us now, as for those in the days of old, to rise en masse against this damnable principle that makes us slaves and serfs to the machine, and the quicker and the more aggressively and progressively we assail this un-American evil and declare for our rights and fight for them the quicker we will again revert to the earlier doctrines of freedom of contract, of organizing as we please and as we chose, and of making our employment agreements as we desire, without control, without influence, without intimidation, without fraud upon the part of the employing side of that contract. I hope that this convention will not only approve this part of the report, but will unanimously approve the next proposition to come before you.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Wilson: May I at this time make an explanation concerning something that has been called to my attention in connection with my remarks yesterday? In discussing the question before the house, at one time I used the name of the Workers' Education Bureau, which is an educational bureau, with the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor, when I should have used instead the term, "Trade Union Educational League." I would like to have that corrected.

President Green: That correction was made last night, Vice-President Wilson, and in accordance with your suggestion it will be made again as your correction.

Proposing an Assessment to Assist the American Federation of Labor in an Educational Campaign Against Company Unions.

Resolution No. 68. — By Delegates Matthew Woll and Fred Ballbach of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, Company unions and so-

called shop representative plans of organization of workers have been designed solely for the purpose of weakening if not destroying the trade union organizations and of preventing a sound, effective and permanent form of organization of the wage earners into trade unions; and

WHEREAS, These company unions and so-called shop representative plans are advanced in various forms and under varying guises but all directed to the same destructive ends; and

WHEREAS, These company unions and so-called shop representative plans can not fulfill the needs of the wage earners or render useful service to industry or to the public in general; and

WHEREAS, All trades, all occupations and all trade unions are affected by this subtle campaign of opposition to the trade union form of organization; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council has undertaken a study of these company unions and shop representation forms of organization with the purpose of designing effective means of combat; and

WHEREAS, This work can only be successfully undertaken if properly and adequately financed and efficiently and determinately directed; and

WHEREAS, The present laws, and rules relating to income of the A. F. of L. are not specially designed for the urgent situation demanding the attention of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby empowered and authorized to levy a special assessment or contribution upon the affiliated organizations to such an amount and under such conditions and regulations as will create an adequate fund with which to carry out the study and campaign designed to remove these employer controlled unions and shop representative plans out of our industrial life, it being understood that his special grant of power and authority is supplemental to that now vested constitutionally in the Executive Council, and with the further understanding that it may so arrange its levy of special income in a form as will least affect those affiliated unions seriously threatened financially; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated unions are hereby called upon to join with

the A. F. of L. and its Executive Council, both in this study and campaign to the end that the trade union form of organization may proceed uninterrupted, effectively and efficiently, and in a progressive and constructive order making for a better understanding and a more permanent and lasting solution of our problems of life and industry and in keeping with our American conceptions and standards of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness.

This resolution is well designed to supplement and to carry into effect in a practical manner the observations and recommendations submitted by the Executive Council on the subject of company unions and shop representation plans.

We are well aware of the great fact that neither the material nor the mental and spiritual progress of the masses of the wage earners can come through enforced conduct of any character. We understand, but perhaps the nation does not, that the so-called company unions and shop representation plans are mere thinly disguised forms of compulsory association in which the workers have no freedom, but in which employer control and even employer espionage upon the individual are facilitated. If, under such restrictions the soul is not crushed and its aspirations deadened, it is because of the torch kept burning by the labor movement, the symbol and the definite expression of free association among workers for human progress and development.

However, even though we thoroughly understand the significance of the company union and the various shop representation schemes, we cannot be too thoroughly informed as to their various characteristics; nor can we too energetically mobilize our efforts to eliminate them and their degrading, enslaving influences.

Amazing as it is that there should be employers willing to enrich themselves temporarily at such terrific and appalling cost to the masses of their employees, practicing in their own

realm the very essence of the principles of dictatorship, though disguised by phrases calculated to indicate a condition of quasi-freedom, the fact remains that there are such employers and that their existence makes for our movement a problem of the gravest character.

The purpose to study these deceptive organizations, and to unite our movement in a great effort to eliminate them and to replace them with free associations of workers under the trade union banner, has our most hearty approval. We would add only that the equally enslaving institution, falsely and treacherously called the open shop, be added to the field of study and action and with that addition we approve in every particular the resolution as presented.

To enable the American Federation to carry out this mission and accomplish these ends your committee recommend approval of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Company Union Menace

Resolution No. 5.—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sarah A. Conboy, George Creech and Arthur McDonnell, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The company union has been instituted in the textile industry by the mill owners for the purpose of defeating the desire on the part of thousands of textile workers to be organized in bona fide unions; and

WHEREAS, The company union, being created by the employers as a substitute for real workers' organization are under the direction and control of the bosses, meeting upon the bosses' premises, dividing the workers in one mill from their fellow-workers in another, preventing the workers from selecting their own leaders and advisors, are inimical to the best interests of the workers, and can only operate in the interests of the employes, and

WHEREAS, The company union cannot provide the necessary machinery for collective bargaining on questions of hours of labor, conditions of employment and

wage scales, or form the means for adjusting questions of vital interest to the textile workers in their interests. therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Textile Workers of America, in its twenty-fifth convention assembled, takes special notice of the menace to our union, and to the labor movement generally, of the company union, and warns the textile workers not to have anything to do with the company union but to organize in the United Textile Workers of America as the only means for improving conditions, hours and wages in this industry, and urges the workers now in the company union to take steps to change it into a bona fide local of the United Textile Workers of America.

The subject of this resolution having been fully covered in the report of the Executive Council and resolution No. 68, and in the report of your Committee already acted on by this convention and because of the further fact this resolution is directed to the members of the United Textile Workers of America instead of the delegates of this convention, your Committee reports that no further action is required on this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Elimination of Speeding Up Practices in Government Employment

Resolution No. 59. — By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lipold, Harry B. Meyers, Wm. Radtke, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Lee R. Whitney, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, In the postal service and other government establishments there have been instituted highly objectionable practices, under the guise of "efficiency system," which are harmful to the workers physically and destructive of service morale, and therefore add materially to

labor costs in government employment; and

WHEREAS, These "speeding up" practices assume various forms and methods, all directed toward mechanical standardization by plans of weighing or counting, or otherwise measuring output without regard to variations of work and other essential factors; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated in all lines of endeavor that any system of "speeding up" the workers beyond a reasonable standard is disastrous in its reactions upon both employer and employee; and

WHEREAS, These "speeding up" systems in government employment are not only harmful to the health of the workers directly affected but they add to public taxation burdens because of the large overhead administrative cost of the superfluous supervision involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of government employees' organizations whose members are subjected to these dehumanizing practices with a view to their elimination in the interest of the workers and the public service.

Your committee recommends approval and adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Higher Differentials in Pay Rates for Night Work in Government Employment

Resolution No. 60. — By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lipold, Harry R. Meyers, Wm. Radtke, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Lee R. Whitney, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, of the International Plate Printers and Die Stammers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, For the most part the United States Government in its em-

ployment policies has failed to recognize the hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, In the Postal Service, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and other Federal agencies, there are night work requirements involving the employment of many thousands of wage earners with no compensatory offsets in additional pay or shorter hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of government employes to have the government recognize, in a practical way, appropriate to the needs of each group, the hardship and undesirability of night work.

Your committee finds this resolution meritorious and recommends its approval and adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 62. — By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lip-pold, Harry R. Meyers, Wm. Radtke, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. E. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Lee R. Whitney, of the National Federation of Federal Employes.

WHEREAS, Frequently in Civil Service employment there are dismissals and demotions made upon the arbitrary judgment of officials and from which judgment the employes affected have no adequate appeal; and

WHEREAS, This absence of any review vests undue power and authority in the hands of officials who may seek reprisals upon subordinates for reasons unrelated to their work; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental of Civil Service employment is permanency of tenure if the employe is competent to perform the work available and this fundamental is violated so long as said tenure is dependent upon the whim of officials who possess, as at present, practically unlimited powers to demote or dismiss employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-sixth

annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to assist the representatives of organizations of government employes to curb this arbitrary power possessed by administrative officials through establishment of a Civil Service Court of Appeals, independent of any existing governmental agency, to which employes may appeal in demotion and dismissal cases and which would have authority to review all evidence in such cases and determine appropriate action.

Your committee is in accord with the spirit, intent and purpose of this resolution and recommends its approval and adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Evans, Electrical Workers: I would like to say a few words on this resolution, not that I have any fear that the resolution and the recommendation of the committee will not be concurred in, because the resolution only asks for those things that are basic principles of the American Federation of Labor and thoroughly believed in by the delegates and members.

Primarily, I want to call your attention to what I believe is the most un-American method of dealing with working men that there is in this country, and that is the practice followed by Federal officials in dealing with Federal employes. These employes can be discharged on any whim of the officials, and they have no redress, no opportunity to secure justice in any way.

You men who are delegates from the various International Unions can be of great help in your particular localities in seeing that a law is passed providing an opportunity to the Federal employes to have a chance whenever charges are preferred against them. The way it stands now they have no opportunity. Many times they do not even learn that there are any charges preferred against them.

That is not the intent and spirit of civil service laws, which not only insure permanency of occupation, but also insure justice to the employe, that he will have his day in court if any charges are preferred against him, and I think that all of you delegates here can be of great assistance in a matter of this kind by discussing it with your Congressmen and seeking their assistance to have enacted by law a Board of Re-

view, so that these employes will have at least an opportunity to defend themselves.

In conjunction with that, Mr. Chairman, I want to direct your attention to the extreme importance of all you delegates and all union men everywhere trying to make it possible, where there is a civil service commission, to have a representative of the labor movement on that commission. This is one of the most vital things that affects the workers, particularly in a large city. Many things happen to civil service employes that could be proven if you have one of your representatives on these commissions, and I assure you that if you attempt it you will find that it will not be hard to do, because the function of civil service commissions primarily is to deal with employment problems, which is of deep concern to the workers. In addition to that they have a great deal to do with the classification of the employes, the conditions under which they work, and many times they have something to do with the wages that are paid to the men.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Substantial Increases in Rates Paid to Government Workers Under Federal Compensation, For Injury Law

Resolution No. 63. — By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lipold, Harry R. Meyers, Wm. Radtke, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Lee R. Whitney, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, of the Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the Draftsmen's Union; A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, Daniel Haggarty, Robert Fechner, Fred Hewitt and Chas. E. Wills, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The rates of compensation fixed in the original legislation enacted September 7, 1916, for the relief of gov-

ernment employes, injured in the performance of duty are based upon the then existing pay standards and are therefore admittedly inadequate at the present time; and

WHEREAS, This law, which covers only employes of the United States government, has not kept pace with the compensation standards of the states; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the affiliated organizations of government employes for the purpose of securing from Congress remedial legislation substantially increasing the compensation rates and otherwise modernizing the compensation-for-injury law.

Your committee finds this resolution worthy of favorable consideration and recommends its approval and adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Further Liberalization of the Civil Service Retirement Law

Resolution No. 64. — By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lipold, Harry R. Meyers, William Radtke, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Charles J. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Lee R. Whitney, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, of the Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the Draftsmen's Union; A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, Daniel Haggarty, Robert Fechner, Fred Hewitt and Chas. E. Wills, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Sixty-ninth Congress, largely in response to the urge of the organizations of affiliated government employes and the American Federation of Labor, enacted legislation improving in some respects the civil service retirement law, especially by increasing the amount of the annuities and changing the method of their computation; and

WHEREAS, While these liberalizations have brought a degree of relief to retired employes and operate generally toward an improvement of the retirement law, nevertheless, they are inadequate from both the standpoint of the employes directly affected and the public service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to continue to co-operate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of government employes to the end that further liberalizations, particularly in the way of higher annuities and lower optional age requirements, shall speedily be enacted into law.

Your committee recommends approval and adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing That the American Federation of Labor Urge Restoration of Citizenship Rights to Eugene V. Debs

Resolution No. 49.—By Delegates I. H. Goldberg and Percy Ginsberg of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Eugene V. Debs has devoted all his life to the service of the toilers, sparing no sacrifice; and

WHEREAS, Advantage was taken by the enemies of labor of the war-time hysteria of intolerance to cause the imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs for the only reason that he had the courage to defend his opinions; and

WHEREAS, The injustice done to Eugene V. Debs and to all the working people has not yet been remedied, for though Debs' sentence has been commuted he is still deprived of his rights of citizenship like the meanest criminal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urges the immediate restoration of citizenship rights to Eugene V. Debs; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate and to the speaker of the House of Representatives.

Your committee has carefully considered this resolution and is in sympathy with the objective sought but is not convinced that the partic-

ular course outlined in this resolution is the best designed to accomplish that end speedily and in conformity with requirement of law. It is therefore recommended that this subject be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and such action as the Executive Council finds best and deems most advisable to follow.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing That American Federation of Labor Demand Release of All Political Prisoners Throughout the World

Resolution No. 48.—By Delegates I. H. Goldberg and Percy Ginsberg of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Various governments throughout the world have instituted a regime of political, economic and social oppression, with a view of crushing the labor organizations of their respective countries, and are persecuting and imprisoning people for the only crime of their steadfast adherence and devotion to their principles and to the ideals of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor protests vigorously against all such oppression and demands the release of all political prisoners throughout the world.

This resolution sets forth a general protest against the persecution and imprisonment of people because of their adherence and devotion to the principles and ideals of labor. It then concludes for the release of all political prisoners throughout the world. It likewise alleges that political, economic and social oppression obtains in many countries. It then leaves one to surmise that these economic and social prejudices contribute to the political persecutions or prosecutions for which freedom is sought—Thus both preamble and resolve leave one in great state of uncertainty and confusion. Because of the failure to state clearly the particular evil sought to be cor-

rected and the political prisoners sought to be freed your committee recommends disapproval of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions No. 65 and 76, which are as follows:

Declaration Against Race Discrimination

Resolution No. 65.—By Delegate E. D. Barry of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There still exists local unions that discriminate against negro workers; and

WHEREAS, It is against the interests of all the workers, both white and colored, to divide the ranks of labor along the lines of race, sex or religion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor Convention go on record as opposing race discrimination wherever it manifests itself; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor pledge itself to do everything in its power to do away with race distinction, and to present to the American Federation of Labor Convention this resolution calling for renewed effort in order to establish complete race equality in all trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution Against Race Discrimination

Resolution No. 76.—By Delegate Albert C. Campbell of the Freight Handlers' Local Union No. 17775, Kansas City, Mo.

WHEREAS, One of the worst obstacles that stand in the way of obtaining the greatly needed solidarity of the workers in each trade, craft, and industry, which alone will enable the workers to exercise their full power in struggle against the employing class, is the divisions in the ranks of the working class caused by race prejudice and race discriminations; and

WHEREAS, It has always been a basic principle of the labor movement that all workers shall be organized without regard to race, creed, or color; and

WHEREAS, This fundamental principle has not been fully applied in many

trade unions, being violated through the establishment of discriminations against Negroes, and the propagation of race prejudices against the Negro workers; and

WHEREAS, The Negro workers are occupying a place ever more important in the life of the labor movement, constituting a large percentage of the working population, making it a matter of life and death for the trade unions that the Negroes be organized in close solidarity with the white workers for a common struggle for common interests; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this organization hereby denounces all discrimination against Negroes as opposed to the interests of the labor movement and calls upon the entire movement to receive the Negro workers into its ranks in fraternal solidarity; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon all unions to remove every discrimination in their constitutions, by-laws, rules of order, or precedents and procedure, that operate against the Negro workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That any such measures that may now be operative in this organization against Negroes shall be at once declared null and void and measures shall be taken to bring all eligible Negroes in membership in this organization.

Both these resolutions deal with the same subject. They seek the accomplishment of the same ends though through slightly different methods.

Your committee has reviewed former declarations of the American Federation of Labor on this subject. It regrets to note that there is constantly contained in resolutions of this character the implication that the American Federation of Labor is not concerned in the full observance and in its effort for the full observance on the part of affiliated unions of the principles and practices of non-discrimination against any group of wage earners by reason of race, sex, creed or color. To the contrary, an unbiased review of the activities of the American trade union movement will indicate that organized labor has made greater progress and has exerted a larger and more consistent effort in the elimination of all

race, sex and religious discriminations and prejudices than any other group. That we have not yet attained an ideal condition in this regard is conceded. That our task has not been completed is fully admitted. That we shall continue in this work is unqualifiedly affirmed.

In responding to this call made upon the American Federation of Labor, your committee submits that if the objectives sought for in these resolutions are to be fully attained toleration and co-operation must be practiced by all, those said to be discriminating as well as those alleged to be discriminated against. After all, it is the spirit of men not of race, sex, or creed that will govern best in industrial as well as political life.

Your committee finds itself in accord with these objectives set forth in these resolutions and recommends reaffirmation of our attitude and practice of non-discrimination of workers on account of race, color, sex or religion.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Suspension of Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union

Resolution No. 69.—By Delegate John Mangan, of the Chicago, Illinois, Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, President Green has given considerable time and effort to a controversy in the city of Chicago, affecting the Journeymen Horse Shoers in that city and

WHEREAS, During the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, President Green succeeded in bringing together the representatives of the conflicting interests, including Herbert S. Marshall, Secretary of the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union, with the result that an agreement was reached, that President Green would submit a proposition as a basis for the settlement of this controversy; and

WHEREAS, Since that conference in Atlantic City, President Green has exhausted every possible means to induce Herbert S. Marshall to carry into effect his part of that agreement, without results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union of the United States and Canada stand suspended in this Federation until such time as they put into effect the agreement and promise made to the President of this Federation in Atlantic City.

Your committee recommends disapproval of this resolution, and reaffirms the unquestioned right of autonomous government of National and International Unions over the affairs of its trade and occupation and members and subordinate unions thereof. In doing so it likewise reports that as a result of conferences with your committee and President Green and in view of the autonomous rights of National and International Unions herein set forth, an agreement has been reached between all contending parties including the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union of the United States and Canada wherein and whereby the President of the American Federation of Labor is authorized to act or to appoint some one to act as a conciliator for the purpose of affecting an adjustment of all issues in dispute, authorizing such conciliator to decide all issues wherein no agreement can be reached and with the distinct understanding and agreement that his, the conciliator's decision shall be final and binding upon all parties in dispute.

Your committee recommends approval of this agreement and is prompted in doing so in the hope that this procedure and agreement will result in the speedy organizing of all horse shoers of Chicago into one local union in affiliation to the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union of the United States and Canada.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 73 by substituting the following for the Resolve:

"RESOLVED, At this forty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Detroit, that all

trade unionists, their friends and sympathizers, be called upon to demand and purchase union made hosiery and union made underwear." The Resolution as amended reads:

Urging Demand for Union Made Hosiery and Underwear

Resolution No. 73. — By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, George Creech and Arthur McDonnell of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The product of the Unity Hosiery Company of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, makers of ladies' and gents' hosiery, is the only product that bears the Union Label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, At this forty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Detroit that all trade unionists, their friends and sympathizers, be called upon to demand and purchase union made hosiery and union made underwear.

Your committee finds itself in full accord with the purpose of this resolution. It likewise finds the resolve badly phrased and recommends approval and adoption of this resolution with the resolve amended.

Your committee further recommends that the United Textile Workers of America be advised to carry out this commendable campaign through and in cooperation with the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Investigation of Proposed Lecture Series Upon Subject of Taxation.

Resolution No. 79.—By Delegate Ed. R. Derrickson, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

WHEREAS, Professor Richard T. Ely, under the auspices of various real estate boards is inaugurating a series of lectures on taxation which is to be printed and distributed free of cost to any institution of learning that will accept it; and

WHEREAS, It is believed this is but a system of vicious propaganda to befog the minds of students that will hinder if not entirely avert any just system of taxation to the detriment of the large

body of our citizenship; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at this Forty-sixth Annual Convention instruct the Executive Council to investigate this propaganda, and if in their judgment it is to the adverse interests of the large body of citizens who are wage earners that they oppose this being used in any public schools, state universities or colleges supported by taxation of the general public.

This resolution sets forth that Professor Richard T. Ely is conducting a series of lectures on taxation and requests an inquiry as to the nature of these lectures by the Executive Council. If found to be harmful to the best interests of the workers, it is urged that necessary and essential steps be taken to oppose such lectures and the point of view being propagated.

It is unfortunate that the resolution at the same time seeks to prejudice such lectures and before the necessary inquiry is made. Your committee is in full sympathy with the proposal of determining the character of these lectures on taxation. It cannot, however, recommend adoption of the resolution in which it is presented. Instead it recommends reference of the subject contained in this resolution to the Executive Council for the purpose set forth in this statement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Continued Support of Near East Relief

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Fred M. Hewitt, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, Near East Relief is chartered by the Congress of the United States and regularly presents its reports to this body; and

WHEREAS, The support of the many thousands of orphan children is wholly dependent upon the generosity of individuals and organizations in this country; and

WHEREAS, Food and clothing must be supplied, and the task of training these children for self-support must be continued; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, at Detroit, Michigan, October 4, 1926, continue its interest and cooperation; and urge the continued financial support of members of organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it continue in an advisory capacity the Labor Committee of the Near East Relief; and that it use its influence to widen the observance of International Golden Rule Sunday, December 5, 1926; all of this not only to save the lives of thousands of children who are our wards, but also to train them for self-support and leadership in the various trades in the Near East countries of Greece, Syria, Palestine and Armenia.

Your committee is in full sympathy and complete accord with this resolution and recommends its approval and adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Condemning Activities of Dual Union of Mechanics and Laborers in Chicago, Illinois

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates J. Aldrich, of the Operative Plasterers' International Association, and Samuel P. Luzzo, of the International Hod Carriers' Building and Common Laborers' Union.

WHEREAS, Fred Mader, of Chicago Ill., has in recent months been masquerading as head of a bogus union of mechanics and laborers, under the title of "County Concrete Road, Concrete Block, Sewer and Water Pipe Layers' Union, Local 381;" and

WHEREAS, Fred Mader's activities are detrimental to the labor movement in Cook County, Ill.; and

WHEREAS, He represents himself as spokesman for the Chicago labor movement, while he is not connected in any capacity with the labor movement and therefore his pretenses are wholly false; and

WHEREAS, He appeared before the County Commissioners of Cook County in the state of Illinois, and informed that body that a certain unfair contractor was fair to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 46th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Detroit, condemn

the activities of said Fred Mader and associates; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the supposed organization is not a bona fide organization in any way affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee commends this resolution for your favorable consideration and recommends its complete approval and full support by this convention and all affiliated unions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Woll stated that this completed the report of the committee on the resolutions assigned to it, and suggested that since the hour of adjournment was near the submission of that part of the committee's report dealing with Executive Council matters be deferred until the afternoon session.

President Green stated that that course would be pursued, no objections being offered.

Delegate Conboy, Textile Workers: There was an error made in the first announcement regarding the collection taken yesterday for the strikers in Passaic. The amount collected yesterday was \$901.60. Since then there have been \$384.50 collected, making a total of \$1,286.10. I want to extend our sincere thanks for this generous donation.

President Green requested the officers of national and international unions to meet with him on the platform immediately following adjournment for the purpose of considering means of supplying immediate relief to the Passaic strikers.

Delegate Martel, chairman of the local committee, announced a theater party for the ladies on Wednesday evening and a smoker for the delegates at the Tuller Hotel.

Delegate Martel read the following communication, which was made part of the record:

Detroit, Mich.,
October 11, 1926.

"Mr. Frank X. Martel, President,
Detroit Federation of Labor,
274 High Street, East,
Detroit, Michigan.

Dear Mr. Martel:

"You wrote a letter on September 29th, addressed to my father's home, 97 Massachusetts Avenue, in which you invited me to say a few words at the opening of

the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"The letter was re-addressed by my father to my farm, where it was delayed for several days on account of my not being there. When I did receive it the time of the opening of the convention was over, and I am sending this explanation so that you would not think it was through carelessness or lack of de-

sire on my part that I did not accept the great honor to appear at your convention.

"I hope the convention was most successful, and with best regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JAMES COUZENS,
United States Senator."

At 12:25 p. m. the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Ninth Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

Absentees:

Boyer, Sullivan, Morton, Gillot, Regnier, Chlopek, Barry (E. P.), Hannah, Conway, Cone, Mitchell, Wade, Barry (J. L.), Gorman, Hill, Stewart, Kutz, Wenger, Mullen, Alden, Henley, Augustino, Murphy, J. H. (Kensington, Ill.), Woodling, Frampton, Fagan, Hollcraft, Coffelt, Bower, Tarbett, Johnson (A. C.), Elwell, Eckhardt, Walker, Doyle, Woodmansee, Wood, Trimmer, Hope, Covert, Keeny, Saylor, McGeory, Tinney, Bender, Bohm, Ruben, Ellstein, Shiplacoff, Shaw, Campbell, Purves, Darrington, Powers, Ryan, Portway, Fuchs, Schulte.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Chairman Mugavin reported that the committee recommended the seating of Albert Higgins, of Fire Fighters International Association, in place of D. J. Sullivan; and recommended that the request of President Hedrick of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, to seat Joseph Balhorn in place of Charles J. Lammert, be granted.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Gorman, Rhode Island, S. F. of L.: I would like the permission of the convention to present two resolutions to be inserted in the record. They are not controversial.

Unanimous consent was given Delegate Gorman to introduce the resolutions, and similar consent was given the Laundry Workers to introduce a resolution. The resolutions were read by Secretary Mor-

rison before consent was given to their introduction. The resolutions are as follows:

Urging Support in Maintaining and Promoting Conditions and Organization of Textile Workers

Resolution No. 84.—By Delegates Arthur McDonald, George Creech, Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy and Francis J. Gorman.

WHEREAS, Local 33 of Salem, Massachusetts, affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America and the Massachusetts State Branch of the American Federation of Labor, is a 100 per cent union of over 2,000 members engaged in the manufacture of Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases, and with the United Textile Workers of America, is conducting an educational and organizing campaign to standardize the sheeting industry; and

WHEREAS, All other sheets and pillow cases are made under open shop and unorganized conditions, with wages 20 per cent less, working hours as high as 55 and 60 per week, with the vicious multiple system in effect compelling the running of 28 to 30 looms on reduced piece rates; and

WHEREAS, Local 33 of Salem with its 2,000 members making Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases, enjoy harmonious union relations, with collective bargaining in its fullest sense, with seniority rights and no multiple system, running 10 to 12 looms on piece rates unchanged, and no cause for strike since 1919; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of American Federation of Labor held at Detroit, Michigan, and its affiliated organizations lend their support in this

campaign (to maintain and promote organization) by the appointment of publicity committees to urge upon merchants, hotels, hospitals, state institutions and members, the promotion of sales and purchase of Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases as a product of the finest quality, made under most highly skilled, sanitary and union conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That organized labor here assembled, display its solidarity and co-operation in promoting the union conditions enjoyed by the 2,000 members of Local 33 of Salem, and assist in the organizing campaign of the other sheeting plants that they may also enjoy equal wages, working hours and conditions, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Asking That A Statement Be Published by the American Federation of Labor to Manufacturers of Woolens and Worsteds That Dumping of Wool Is Injurious to Employees and Employers in the Industry

Resolution No. 85.—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, George Creech, Sara A. Conboy, Arthur McDonald and Francis J. Gorman.

WHEREAS, The Wool Sorters' Union, affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America, has by resolution adopted at our convention, requested aid in opposing an evil in their trade known as "wool dumping," a process originally instituted by a large woolen and worsted concern, and later copied by some others engaged in similar manufacture, this process eliminates the wool sorter, injures the product of the mills, is partly responsible for the unsettled conditions, and encourages the influx of foreign made goods; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of the employer in dumping is to save the sorting cost of approximately one cent per pound, a charge always recognized as essential by reliable and fair manufacturers, but now being evaded by some employers who are not only injuring the workers employed in the industry, but also the buyers of "top yarn and cloth" and the consuming public to the end that an observation of the woolen and worsted industry over a lengthy period will reveal a real reason for the depression; and

WHEREAS, Our organization can

prove that the mills who do not dump the wool are kept in operation steadier than the others, and we believe that an exposure of the facts herein contained will greatly assist in stabilizing the woolen and worsted industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall cause to be published a statement suggesting to the manufacturers of woolen and worsted that they avoid the dumping of wool, believing that this process is not only injurious to the wool sorter and other employees but is an injustice to everyone in any way connected with the industry, and that we offer all possible assistance to the United Textile Workers of America in opposition to this menace.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging That All State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies Assist in Organizing Laundry Workers

Resolution No. 86.—By Delegate Joseph Regnier.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Industry is steadily increasing in the United States and Canada and there is only a small part of the workers that are organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this section ask that all State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies do all in their power to try to organize the Laundry Workers in their vicinity.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Harris, Miami, Florida, C. L. U.: I received several wires from Miami, Florida, since this convention has been going on, informing me that a number of union and non-union men from all parts of the United States are flooding Miami. The tornado that swept over Miami was more destructive than an earthquake, and there is destitution among the workers there. There are two men there for every job; the open shop movement is also under way in that city, and if the newspaper men and the delegates will give notice of this condition so that other workers will not go there in such numbers we will appreciate it very much.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows on Resolution No. 57 which, together with a previous report of the committee, had been recommitted for further consideration:

Your committee is of the opinion that in lieu of the foregoing resolution, all wage earners should be advised to demand the union label when purchasing merchandise and to give support to union shop cards and buttons, and thus make of themselves supporters of the principles of organized labor and employers of its members, and so recommends.

Union label education is necessary among all of the people, but attempting to apply it in a compulsory manner arouses resentment and opposition. It may be illustrated by example as well as precept, and your committee is confident that the officers of the trade union movement are doing this and will continue the work as opportunity offers. The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor is continually spreading label propaganda, and reports that the last year was its most successful period. Voluntary acceptance of the union label and its philosophy and potency is the correct and result-producing method. We will do our full duty by ourselves in supporting the label in a practical way, and instructing all of our field men to make the union label and shop card and button a feature of their addresses to audiences made up of wage earners and at every other meeting where a similar opportunity presents itself.

Secretary Woll: I move the adoption of the committee's report in lieu of Resolution No. 57 as presented.

Delegate Manning, Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department: Not to reopen the discussion of this morning, nor to in any way lengthen the sessions of this convention, but inasmuch as the

debate this morning brought before the delegates the Union Label Trades Department and the report this afternoon quotes from my report to our convention, I want to say a few words.

I want the delegates and the general public to know that at no time in the history of our department have we attempted to impose anything upon any member of organized labor. Ours is a work of education, of moral suasion, and we will not get a step farther than we are until we can convince our people that the proper thing to do is to patronize the label.

I think one way to help educate our members can be taken up by the international unions with safety to themselves and with betterment to the movement. I am opposed to force. However, force and discipline are different matters. I suggest to these international unions that haven't incorporated a law on that line that they can take the position that no one can be an officer or delegate of any international union who does not have a certain number of union labels on him. However, this is a voluntary organization, and before such resolutions are brought in here the delegates should see that their own organizations have taken some such action.

Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers: I do not believe we gain any prestige or any additional support of the union label by forcing delegates to buy union label garments two or three days before leaving home to attend a convention. It indicates the fact that too many of us do not follow out the doctrine of the union label. When it comes to a time when we have got to inflict a punishment on the delegates who attend conventions of the American Federation of Labor we are indicating a weakness in our movement that I do not stand for.

Something was said in the former discussion about paying \$1.50 more for a pair of union shoes than was charged for a pair that was not union made.

Well, I might question whether the pair of shoes wasn't worth more, because it takes a shoemaker to tell you whether or not the quality of the shoes is there, and even if there is a difference we union men who are advocating and getting higher wages and better conditions in union factories than are being paid in non-union factories or sweat shops, or by convict labor contractors, I think have a right to pay it.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Introduction.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 21, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee wishes to recommend that the convention commend the appropriateness of the Executive Council's introduction to their report which emphasizes the openness of our work and records and Labor's appreciation of the interdependence of human problems and progress.

In view of the spirit of intolerance and conflict which has been exemplified by the open shop propagandists of Detroit we are proportionately gratified by the temperate and constructive statement with which the Federation's annual report begins.

We recommend endorsement of the Council's statement of policy on open accounting and dependence on factual presentations.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Voluntary Principles and Organization of Industry.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 37-39, the committee reported as follows:

The principles which the Executive Council sets forth in this section determine those distinctive qualities and practices of the American Labor movement which gives it personality and character. The American Labor move-

ment has developed within a democratic environment and expresses the ideals of wage earners who believe in an essential equality of opportunity for all without restrictions of an artificial nature. Because our movement is directed by these principles, we are not handicapped by consideration of class restrictions but feel that by utilizing principles of voluntary initiative and association we can best discharge our responsibility for promoting our welfare individually and as members of groups with which we are associated. We wish specifically to emphasize the reciprocal effects of progress in promoting the welfare of any one group in society or industry.

We wish also to emphasize the statement of the Executive Council that trade agreement and collective agreements must rest upon a basis of mutuality. Any other basis would be out of harmony with American institutions and with the architectural principles of our national institutions. As the Council wisely points out, it is necessary to guard against both legislative and judicial restrictions upon voluntary association.

Organized labor and industry must be free voluntarily to work out their problems through group action.

It is further pointed out that industrial relations and individual or collective agreements for service are in no sense nor should such agreements be considered either in law or equity as contracts for the sale of commodities or articles of commerce and be governed by the same legal standards or judgments. Human considerations are emphasized in agreements for service, while in contracts of sale material considerations are embraced in the main. Because service agreements embrace a personal and human relationship the Executive Council sets out specifically that machinery for the interpretation, construction and application of trade union agreement should be provided in such trade union agreements and that the courts of law or equity should not be permitted to intervene in such trade union agreements.

We especially commend the Executive Council for calling attention once more to the great truth that under our existing legal economic system, capital is accorded advantages not accorded to Labor and that Labor is thereby placed to great disadvantage with organized capital. Reference is made in

particular to those artificial creatures of the law known as corporations and to industrial and commercial associations and combinations.

The conclusion is reached that the grant of corporate power to corporations and organization of corporations should be made conditional. The purpose is to provide clearly and distinctly that corporations shall have no right under corporate charter or otherwise to deny or attempt to deny the right of workers or of the consuming public to unite into associations, organizations, or trade unions of their own choosing, voluntarily created, maintained and administered.

The Federation's frequent endorsement of publicity of corporation accounts and especially of periodic statements of the costs of production may be regarded as a first step to put organizations of labor and consumers on a level with organizations of capital and would make possible and facilitate other remedial and constructive steps.

Thus interpreted, it is recommended that this part of the Executive Council's report be approved.

Finally the Committee endorses the Executive Council's affirmation of labor's disapproval of anti trust and anti combination laws and the judicial interpretation and construction placed on them. It holds that industry and labor should be free to work out their problems without undue intrusion on the part of government.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Right to Organize.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 38, the committee reported as follows:

The committee recommends that we reaffirm our opposition to the practices generally called the "yellow dog contract" as un-American in principle and industrially unsound. Because of the vital connection between this practice and organization problems for our unions we endorse the proposal of the Executive Council that further study be given to formulation of legislation to outlaw "yellow dog contracts" and that the Council be authorized to take such further action as its study shall suggest.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Proposals for Compulsory Regulation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 38, the committee reported as follows:

As the report of our Executive Council points out, all proposals for compulsory regulation are in a very definite sense restrictions upon freedom of contract. Due to the opposition of organized labor such legislation as existed temporarily upon the statute books of Federal and state governments have either been repealed or largely shorn of their effectiveness. It should be understood, however, that our task has not yet been completed. There is still need for further correction and continued vigilance and action.

We note the advance made in railroad legislation by the enactment of the Watson-Parker Bill and the abolition of the Railroad Labor Board. This advance toward voluntary action and collective agreements is in accord with the best interests of industry as well as potential decisions for the conserving of our national institutions.

In view of the foregoing your committee recommends approval of this part of the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Communist Activities in Passaic.

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 40, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee fully concurs in the general warning in the Executive Council's report on communist activities as well as the specific reference to the earlier period of the Passaic strike.

We urge upon all wage earners greater discrimination in responding to appeals for financial and other assistance. Unless such appeals come from official sources, it is wise first to make inquiries before taking action. During

the past years funds contributed by unionists for strikers have been used to undermine the trade union itself. Your committee urges the practice of wise discrimination.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Anti-Union Shop.

Upon that part of report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 46, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee believes there are but two fundamental policies between which management must choose in deciding its personnel relations policies: co-operation or control from the top.

Co-operation implies voluntary association of the functional groups concerned with production represented through organizations evolved by each group to deal with distinctive group problems.

Control from the top denies the right of voluntary association and either forbids all group controlled organization or substitutes a form of organization controlled by employers.

The principle of voluntary association provides opportunity for individual initiative and is in accord with the spirit and the institutions which express American ideals. The application of this principle provides continuous opportunities for developing reciprocal interests and sustained advancement of mutual interests.

The anti-union shop is based on denial of the right of voluntary association to those who use the tools and materials of production and render service. This denial makes conflict inevitable. It introduces the idea of strife instead of conference and endeavor to find a common ground.

Because the effort to promote the so-called "open shop" or "company union" or "American plan" has not abated, your committee recommends emphatic concurrence in the warning of the Execu-

tive Council that we need to be on guard at all times and ever alert against the anti-union or "open shop" and "American plan" in every guise.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Employee Stock Ownership.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 47-48, the committee reported as follows:

Employee stock ownership has been used in some cases as a substitute for wage increases. As such it makes the workers share in the hazards without the functions of real partnership.

Many firms have perverted such stock ownership plans into a weapon against organized labor, thinking to encourage an employers point of view and offering profits instead of adequate wages to the worker.

Employee ownership has been used in a few cases as a means of giving the worker a voice in directing industrial policies by his vote as a stockholder. In the majority of plans any chance of control has been directly prevented by restricting stock sold to employees to non-voting classes. Workers should be warned against this development of employee ownership plans where the purpose is to prevent the workers from organizing and functioning effectively as a trade union. Indeed, all such plans are unworthy of our favorable recommendation.

This problem is, after all, a part of the question of investment and your committee feels it should be considered as such. While encouraging thrift and saving, employee stock ownership plans do not necessarily lead to wise investment. Workers' investments should be most carefully considered and expert advice obtained with a view to placing the money where it will be most safe and where it will bring steady returns. It is not considered good investment prac-

tice to put all one's investments in one industry. The wage earner is best protected against business fluctuation who has sources of income outside the industry from which he draws wages. This points to the need of an investment service through our labor banks which can keep in touch with the whole field and give expert counsel. Your committee feels that the development of such services should be promoted wherever feasible.

We also recommend continuance of the study of this subject being made by the Executive Council and the report submitted by it.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Banking and Insurance.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 48-49, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that we commend the action of the Federation in complying and making available summaries of statements of labor banks. These summaries will develop materials for comparative study and evaluating tendencies in this development. Because of the very vital relationship between labor banking and trade union virility, we urge that increasing study be given labor banking so that unions may be on guard against dangerous practices and harmful developments.

We further suggest that study of this field be followed by recommendations as how best to safeguard labor banks by provisions for examination and consulting with official bank examiners and by the development of standard accounting methods.

Your committee recommends that the convention commend the progress in establishing labor insurance and urge the further development of such undertaking. That there is the need of placing the trade union benefit systems upon an

efficient and stable basis is unquestioned. That great good can be accomplished in the pooling of the workers' life insurance and the trade union benefit insurance potentialities must be apparent to all. We are confident this end can and will be attained. We recommend the efforts being made in that direction and recommend approval of the Executive Council's report on these subjects.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Legislative Draft Proposals.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 68-69, the committee reported as follows:

The way equity courts have used the injunctions in industrial disputes has created in the minds of wage earners a general distrust of our courts. Injunction writs in labor disputes have by no means ceased. To the contrary they have increased. Hence we welcome the report of the Executive Council that draft proposals will be introduced in the next session of Congress to limit the equity powers of Federal courts and to free organized labor from the conspiracy interpretation which has hampered unions in the performance of normal functions.

The problem created by the issuing of injunctions in connection with industrial disputes is becoming more serious. Government by law and duly constituted authorities has in many instances been supplanted by government by injunction, government enforced without statutory enactment, government under which men are held guilty of an alleged offense without indictment by a grand jury and the rendering of a verdict by a jury. The injunction process has usurped the function of government by law in other fields as well. Partisans of certain laws, believing that the equity court in which no jury can function would more speedily enforce the law, prevail upon supine or parti-

san judges to issue injunctions restraining individuals and groups from violating the law. By this method and process there is set aside all established practices in our criminal courts, and persons accused are denied the constitutionally and legally created protection guaranteed to all those accused of violation of law.

These two forms of government cannot function at the same time. Our form of government is one of law, of laws enacted under the authority and guarantees of the federal constitution, and administered by public officials whose duties and authority are clearly and definitely defined and limited.

Equity courts are without authority, constitutional or statutory to interfere with or infringe upon government by law. That they are progressively doing so has created one of the nation's gravest internal problems.

Government by injunction must cease, if government by law is to function unchallenged.

Your committee recommends that we approve the course of the Executive Council in these matters as well as in their recommendation that Labor should seek to secure state legislation prohibiting injunctions in industrial disputes.

We recommend endorsement of the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Frey, Molders, said in part: The report which the committee has just made deals with a problem which affects our trade movement probably as vitally as the so-called open shop or the misnamed American Plan, and affects our status as citizens and our rights more than any other condition which has developed in our country. It is of so much importance that I feel justified in asking you for a few minutes to consider what has transpired during the last thirty-five years, and to do so I mention a few of the un-American orders which have been issued by judges sitting in equity.

Since we have been meeting in De-

troit, the trade unionists in the building trades of Cleveland went on strike. A judge issued an injunction restraining them from remaining idle and instructing them to return to work. A judge ordering free men to go back to work under penalty of being found guilty of contempt and punished according to the judge's own idea of what the sentence should be!

It is interesting to know why these men in the building trades in Cleveland went on strike. They struck because the contractors forced non-union men on the job in an effort to establish the misnamed American Plan. So we find the injunction court, designed for the sole purpose of protecting property when there is not adequate remedy at law, instructing free men when they shall work. If that had been the only injunction which had been issued, in itself it would deserve the most serious consideration of the American Federation of Labor; but it is only one of the thousands equally destructive of our right to maintain trade union organizations and to make use of them to overcome the injustices which develop in our industries.

That injunction in Cleveland, by the way, has not been carried out. I am proud as a citizen of Ohio that the building tradesmen of Cleveland determined that their rights were set down in the constitution of the United States and not confined to the conscience of an injunction-granting judge. I stand with them, and I know the American Federation of Labor will approve of the stand of free American citizens in refusing to go to work when a judge orders them to do it.

The building trades have had some other experiences with injunctions. Some years ago the building trades men of Lynn, Massachusetts, were faced with an organization of employers similar to the one which endeavored to throttle the clergymen of Detroit, and in order to destroy the building trades organizations in Lynn the contractors forced non-union men on the job. The building trades men did what free men and trades unionists would do in protection of the existence of their organizations and went on strike. A Massachusetts judge issued an injunction declaring the strike to be illegal. The injunction was carried to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and that Supreme Court, with its tradition of decisions in support of human liberty in the past, sup-

ported the injunction which had been issued and declared that for men to go on strike because non-union men had been placed on the job was illegal in the state of Massachusetts, regardless of the rights given to citizens by the constitution of that state.

Using that state to illustrate another angle of what the injunction courts are doing—the United Shoe Machinery Company desired to destroy the organization of machinists in their Beverly plant. The foreman went to the machinists with what we call a “yellow dog” contract informing them that unless they signed that contract they would be discharged. Had they all signed the contract the Machinists’ Union in that shop would have passed into a company union. The machinists went on strike. An injunction was issued against their being on strike. The Machinists’ international union was restrained from paying them strike benefits, and again the supreme court of Massachusetts decided that for men to go on strike to resist being compelled to sign a “yellow dog” contract was illegal in the state of Massachusetts.

As a result of injunction decisions the right of voluntary organization in Massachusetts does not rest upon any inherent right, does not rest upon our right as free men to enjoy the privilege of lawful association for lawful purposes, but seemingly depends upon two considerations, first, what passes through the mind of a judge sitting in equity, and the other upon the employer’s consent, and if the employer desires to use his association for the purpose of destroying trade unionism among his employes the equity court will lend him every possible assistance through the issuing of injunctions.

There is one organization that has suffered as much from the issuing of injunctions as any in this Federation, the United Mine Workers. A short time ago the Pennsylvania Coal Company, a signatory of the Jacksonville agreement, desired to violate the agreement it had entered into and open its mines under the 1917 scale. Their mines are in the Pomeroy Bend, Meigs County, Ohio. The Pennsylvania Coal Company advertised its intention to break their agreement, published its notices in the daily papers and put up posters around the mining camps. They opened their mines and a few men went to work. The United Mine Workers took the proper action in

view of the circumstances; they declared the mines of the Pennsylvania Coal Company in Ohio on strike.

There is no judge in Meigs County who would dare issue an injunction, and so a judge was imported from another county and he issued an injunction forbidding the miners to strike. The court used its influence to assist an employer in violating an agreement he had entered into. To such depths have some of our courts of equity descended that they stand ready to assist employers, particularly if they are so-called American Planners, in violating the agreements they enter into. I might go further and speak of the injunction issued by Judge Anderson to the Borderland Coal Company which was in its provisions intended to destroy collective bargaining in the coal industry, because under its terms many coal operators doubted whether they could have any further agreements with the United Mine Workers without being in contempt of court.

That injunction was carried to the United States court of appeals and Judge Baker, the presiding judge, handed down the decision of the court that Judge Anderson had so over-reached his authority, had so invaded the constitutional rights of the mine workers that the injunction could not stand and must be modified. Shortly afterwards Judge Baker was called to his everlasting reward and when the time came to fill the vacancy caused by his death, the President of the United States appointed Judge Anderson to succeed him. I wonder whether that was as a reward for the injunctions he has issued.

Only a short time ago there was a strike of the Railway Shopmen and the then Attorney General of the United States, the notorious Harry M. Daugherty, the leader of what is called in the newspapers “the Ohio gang,” went to a judge who only a few months before he had appointed as a Federal judge to secure an injunction which was intended to prevent the Railway Shopmen from doing anything which would make it possible for them to win their strike. These, Mr. Chairman, are purely trade union cases. I have no intention to weary the delegates by quoting hundreds of others equally flagrant, equally repugnant to the feelings of any intelligent man, but I want to call attention to an insidious attack on government by law. We are all familiar with the so-called padlocking laws under which

business establishments are closed by a judge's edict. These padlocking laws have never been enacted by any state legislature; they are simply an order issued by a judge without the exercise of the advice and opinion of a trial jury. Without any of the ordinary processes of law a judge merely says to a man, "You close your place of business," and that ends it.

Where do these courts derive their power? They derive it from nothing which has been enacted on the Federal or any of the state statute books, it is purely a self-arrogated authority. Judges sitting in equity in the future can go farther than they have ever gone before. They have restrained free speech, they have restrained a free press, they have restrained men from organizing, they have restrained men from going on strike, they have restrained organizations like the United Mine Workers from making any effort to organize unorganized miners in West Virginia.

In the Railway Shopmen's strike an injunction was issued against all of the strikers in all of the states; in the case of the miners' union in West Virginia an injunction was issued covering two or three hundred coal mining companies restraining the United Mine Workers' Union, their friends or agents or anyone else from endeavoring to organize the miners. If the injunction was issued against all the mine workers in the country, and if the mine workers obeyed the injunction there would be no more work done among the non-union miners.

There are some things that are known as the basic rules of equity, the rules which must govern every injunction granted by the court. One of these blanket rules is that an injunction shall not be issued except to protect property from irreparable injury when there is no adequate protection by law. Another rule is that an injunction shall not be issued to curtail personal liberty. Another basic rule is that the injunction shall not be used to punish crime. I submit to you that the record of the injunction-granting courts in this country supply a mass of incontestable evidence proving that state and Federal judges have violated every one of the basic rules of equity in issuing their injunctions.

I don't know what the remedy is. I think in the first place the position of this movement, already stated, must be that we stand upon our rights as American citizens, as they have been an-

nounced in the great charter of our country. I think the second one is that any state judge who issues an injunction should be prevented from ever holding state office again. The man who uses his temporary judicial power to tie the hands of labor behind its back, to gag its mouth so that it cannot express itself during an industrial conflict, and at the same time assists anti-union employers to carry out their program is something which no red-blooded American citizen should stand for. If he does, the red corpuscles go out of his blood and he becomes spineless.

The subject is one which this convention might well consider for much more time than I have occupied, but I would like to say in closing that so far as I am concerned—and I believe I merely voice the sentiment of everyone here—the judge who issues the type of injunction just referred to may have forgiveness in Heaven, but there should be no political forgiveness for him while he remains on earth.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, said in part:

The previous speaker has recited just a few of the usurpations practiced by judges sitting in equity. I want to call your attention to the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Arizona case—the proper title of which I have forgotten—decided that the constitutional provisions of the State of Arizona prevented an injunction being issued in a labor dispute was not valid and was contrary to the Constitution of the United States, because it denied equal rights to others. In other words, it was what is called, in the State legislatures, by the name of special legislation.

The speaker asks for a remedy. My conviction is, Mr. Chairman, that the remedy is as plain and as easy of understanding as anything that happens in occupations or conducts of daily life. There is nothing wrong with the use of the writ of injunction; there is nothing wrong with the properly applied power of the equity court; there is nothing wrong in preventing a jury trial where an injunction properly issued, has been violated. We have been dancing around trying to find a method through which this usurpation could be stopped, and as a matter of fact it is not a difficult thing to find if we would spend enough time on it outside of the convention of the American

Federation of Labor or outside a union meeting—to consider it, I mean—but outside of those places we very rarely give any thought to it unless somebody has been immediately hurt.

At the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor an entire day was set aside for the discussion of this question. There wasn't one single illuminating phrase, not one single illuminating word on the question coming from the floor of the Federation in that entire day, and I walked out of that convention like a whipped dog, promising myself that I should not bother with the thing any more.

Then came the question of the Clayton Act and it was not possible for me to keep out altogether, but when the Clayton Act was passed I told the convention that it was a fraud from beginning to end, that it was granting more power to the judiciary than it had ever had, and that we would find it out before we grew much older. Well, the Supreme Court passed upon that in the machinists' case, the Duplex case, and there wasn't one single thing that I had expressed as fearing that the Supreme Court did not justify.

Now, then, what is the remedy? No court will consider anything over which it has no jurisdiction, and when you attack the use of injunctions in labor disputes you are tilting against wind mills. The thing to attack is the jurisdiction of the court. The Constitution does not give them jurisdiction, it has been obtained through crawling slowly, little by little, over the field of jurisdiction, taking a little now and a little again until it has displaced government by law in every direction when the equity court feels so disposed.

How do they arrive at it? The equity court came to us in exactly the same way as the writ of habeas corpus. In England the jurisdiction was limited to protection of property, where there was no remedy at law, and it grew out of a new bill of rights signed by William and Mary when they became joint monarchs of the British nation. When it came to us we added the word "adequate." Then we added the word "complete," so as to make it "adequate and complete remedy at law," and now we exercise jurisdiction and it read "No better remedy at law."

Let us see what the Constitution of the United States says about the matter: "The judiciary power shall extend to all

cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof." But what is the thing upon which jurisdiction rests? The destruction or danger of property. When the political economist began to study political economy he went to the merchant, the manufacturer and looked at his books and found the cost of production and distribution divided under different heads—real estate, buildings, machinery, all tangible property. He had the cost of that and the cost of labor, putting it on an equality with tangible property—and there he taught us to use the expression, "the buying and selling of labor," treating labor power as property.

Labor power is not property under any definition that law ever knew, because it is not transferable. The products of human labor, yes, but human labor itself, no, because it lacks the one essential of property, that of being transferable. It grows with the growth of the child or boy or young man, it lessens in sickness and it ceases at death, and no one inherits it, no one can buy it, no one can sell it without buying or selling the body in which that labor power is. It can't be divided from the body.

So that the real trouble is the misuse and the extension meaning of the word "property." Therefore, the only way in which you are absolutely sure of reaching your goal is by legislation, because that is the particular province of the legislative branch to determine the jurisdiction of courts. The Constitution provides for a court and lays down its jurisdiction, and then it says that the legislative branch may establish other courts, and determine their jurisdiction, so that if you want to reach these things you must attack the question of jurisdiction and have it determined and limited by the legislative branch of the government. What really constitutes property and what is the real jurisdiction of the equity court? When you do that you will be through with the question of the misuse of the equity power.

Now I don't think that it is a simple or an easy thing to do, not at all. Mr. Gompers, just before his death, showed me two drafts of laws that were designed against the misuse of the equity power. I went to my room and read them and I got so disgusted over them that I sat down, half in madness, and wrote an entirely different kind of

a bill. I went back to Gompers and said, "The lawyers that you have had advising you in this are either dishonest or ignorant. Here is what I would do, and it contains the meat of the question, although it is not drawn in the proper language."

After reading it over he said that if there was no objection it would be and he sent me to Senator Pepper for the purpose of getting him to put it in shape to introduce the bill and fight for it. I said to Senator Pepper: "Senator, I have come to you, sent by Sam Gompers. Mr. Gompers could not come himself and he asked that you would listen to me for a moment." He said, "All right." "Very well, Senator, the thing that I have to bring to your attention is of such a nature that if you are committed in favor of the present use of the equity power it would be a waste of your time and of mine to discuss it. If, however, you are not so committed and if you are, as we believe from the case that you had dealing with the question of baseball, interested in the fundamentals of this thing, then I ask on behalf of Samuel Gompers that you listen to me for a while." He said, "Go ahead."

I said, "Here is a rough draft of an anti-injunction bill. It is on an entirely different line from anything that has been proposed so far. In this proposed draft we undertake to limit the jurisdiction and not to interfere with the judicial power. As we understand it, the judicial power under the Constitution, once granted, cannot be curtailed on questions coming before the judge, but the legislative branch has the absolute right to curtail jurisdictions, to change jurisdictions, to abolish the entire judiciary outside of the Supreme Court of the United States if they so feel inclined."

He said, "To the last I agree entirely." I said, "Why not to the fact that the legislative branch has the power to limit jurisdiction of the equity court, as well as of every other court? If it has the power to destroy the equity court outside of the United States Supreme Court itself, it necessarily follows that it has the power to limit it and to prescribe the boundaries for it." "Well," he said, "there is certainly something in what you say that is worthy of consideration. Will you please leave it with me for a time, a couple of weeks, until I get a chance to look it over carefully?" I said, "Here it is, Senator, only I want you to remember that the one who drew it is nothing but a rough-

neck sailor trying to understand American institutions at their foundation." And he said, "All right! I don't care where it came from, that does not do it any harm."

He spent a considerable amount of money of his own sending to all the courts of the United States for copies of injunctions issued. Finally, he made an address to the Bar Association advising the judiciary or the bar going over to England to study what they were doing in England and see whether or not there was any manner in which they could domesticate the injunction—in other words, properly control it for home consumption.

When I got to him again to discuss the question he had turned somersault completely, because he recognized without the slightest question of a doubt that in this had been found the right way, and in a way that, once enacted, it would never be interfered with, either by the Supreme or any other court.

So that the method of approach here is not to speak of injunctions in labor disputes.

Who is a laborer, anyway? Do you mean to say that a judge is not a laborer, or a merchant, or a newspaper man is not a laborer? Is a laborer only the man who uses his hands? If that is the definition of a laborer you have no more chance on this earth than a snowball has in a crematory. But if labor is the use of human faculties as defined in law, for the human purpose of doing anything except play, then you place upon the same identical plane the lawyer writing a brief, the newspaper man getting out the paper, and the digger of a ditch. They are all using their creative faculties, given to man by God for the purpose of doing something that is useful for humanity.

So that there is no question that as long as you hold it upon the question purely of labor disputes in the narrow sense, you will meet nothing but defeat at the hands of the courts, because you are then interfering with their judicial power, which you cannot interfere with under the Constitution. If, on the other hand, you will recognize that labor is the use of the human faculties for every other thing except play or amusement, then you will get a bill drafted on the lines of jurisdiction that will stop the use of injunctions for the purpose of padlocking, for the purpose of interfering with writing, for the purpose of interfering with the right to work,

for the purpose of interfering with your right to organize. The trouble comes, as I said a little while ago, in the construction that is put on the word "labor" and the eternally false philosophy that labor is property. It can't be, unless man is property.

You must deal with this thing more fundamentally than you have dealt with it before. You have complained of the hurt and forgotten the knife that made it; you have complained of the pain and forgotten the cause of it. I am asking you today to give the most serious consideration to this question, because unless you can dispose of it right—and you can dispose of it right if you go at it fundamentally and directly—you had better not try to dispose of it at all outside of this. The most necessary thing for you to do is to do what those who fought for religious freedom had to do, what those who fought for political freedom had to do, it may be necessary for you and me and everybody else to say to the judge, "I refuse to answer any of your questions or deal with this thing at all, because I deny your jurisdiction," and take the consequences as they may befall.

Vice-President Woll, secretary of the committee: I quite agree with the last speaker and the previous speaker that the subject under consideration is of extreme and grave importance to the life and liberty, not only of the wage earners, but of citizens generally. I am not going to touch upon the historical development of the equity powers and how it arose and constantly developed until today it has engulfed not only the great mass of wage earners, but likewise the men and women of other classes of life. Indeed, this injunctive process has proceeded so rapidly that I should not be surprised some morning to wake up and find in the newspapers that one court had enjoined another court from enjoining some other body. I am sure that the thing will run almost to this ridiculous position if it continues as it had.

I want to call attention to several errors made by both previous speakers. We speak of the creation of equity power and of the usurpation of power by the equity courts, implying that that is not granted to them in all instances constitutionally. Insofar as the national government is concerned, that statement is true that no equity powers are granted to the courts by the Constitution, but when we analyze the

forty-eight constitutions of the forty-eight individual States, we will find a number of constitutions that give the courts equity powers and deny the legislative authority any control over the equity courts. That is a fact, that is not speculation, and examination of the constitutions of all of the States of the Union will verify that fact.

Let us understand, too, that the State governments were formed first, and that with one exception they adopted the common law as the basic law of the several States, and of course the injunctive processes as then defined and limited solely to physical property were made part of the State laws, the only State being that of Louisiana not having adopted common law. And in a number of these States, by constitution, equity powers and equity courts have been created, so that it is not solely a legislative question, but in some States it necessarily is, and if it is not, it will become a constitutional question.

And then might I also call your attention, because I think we are seeking for light, to the fact that if you will analyze the statutory enactments of legislatures within recent years, declaring certain acts to be illegal or contrary to public policy, you will oftentimes find that the enforcement of that law is delegated to the courts of law and to equity courts, so that even our legislative bodies are guilty of the offense of giving this authority to our equity courts.

Don't let us assume, then, that it is merely usurpation by the courts; it is often, I believe, deliberately and subtly done by our legislative bodies who dare not inflict certain punishments, but who use the equity processes as a means of carrying out the end and devising these methods toward that end. So that the injunction evil of which we suffer today is due, constitutionally in some States, usurpation so far as the national government is concerned, and likewise due to the legislative bodies in some instances.

Really, I can't conceive that our legislators have permitted the courts so far and so long to usurp powers which are purely legislative functions of government. The great care exercised by the forefathers that founded this nation in dividing the powers of government into three branches in order that not one might invade the liberties of the people through the exercise of power by another has been almost wholly swept aside, and today

the judicial power of the nation is the greatest power in our government and is the agency by which the executive power of government and the legislative power of government has been shorn of all its effectiveness and the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness of each and every individual is constantly endangered by the greater enlargement and usurpation of authority intended for all the three branches of the government being taken by the judicial branch.

So let us clearly understand our problem, that it is not any one single remedy that will bring about that which we desire. In so far as our national government is concerned, Delegate Furueth accurately interpreted that section of the Constitution creating the United States Supreme Court, which is created constitutionally, and leaving to Congress the creating of all other inferior courts, and the Congress of the United States has the authority of defining the jurisdiction of the Federal courts and regulating their power within the jurisdiction granted to them, and the bills prepared by the American Federation of Labor are in accord with that recommendation and along the philosophy and opinions expressed by Delegate Furueth. Should we be so fortunate—and I hope that we shall be very soon, but supposing that were the law today and the Federal courts were restrained from issuing injunctions violative of the personal rights of individual citizens, we still are confronted with the courts in forty-eight States, because the national government has no authority of defining the jurisdiction of the equity courts or courts at law of the several States unless there is a violation of the Constitution of the United States.

And seek where you will, you will find nothing in the Constitution taking from the State governments that power and that right that is accorded to them as autonomous States within the Union. So that our remedy, even though applied from the national point of view—and I confess that our Federal courts have wide jurisdiction, while they have jurisdiction over matters interstate they have gone so far in interstate matters that that in itself is a dangerous development—but by the jurisdiction grant of the citizen of one State seeking the protection of the laws of another, they have almost complete jurisdiction over all relations and manifestations of life, but

even if shorn of that power, we still have the forty-eight States within the Union and their courts, and we must apply our remedies there as well, and when we go there then we shall find ourselves, as stated originally, confronted with constitutional methods of trying to safeguard the rights of individuals.

Yes, I think the most effective remedy is that last suggested by Delegate Furueth and that is, like red-blooded men, when our rights are invaded, law or no law, to protect the rights of free men! That is the way our rights were first established, and the time has arrived that that is the only way they can be safeguarded or retained.

We have made these declarations, they are in the records of our proceedings, but we have not inculcated that spirit where men will stand in that light and take these chances. The whole question is one of conflict between personal and property rights. Our national constitution makes no distinction, it says nothing of personal or property rights. The only three words upon which our courts have developed this philosophy of property and property rights rests upon the words, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," interpreting those to mean that to have life, to have liberty, and to have the pursuit of happiness carries with it the right to property and the protection of property. It is one of the many thousands of legal fictions never enacted into law by the people, but simply imposed upon them by judicial interpretative action and construction. But that is how property and property rights are recognized indirectly by judicial fiction in our land.

The constitution, however, more fully speaks of personal rights, and it is this clash of personal and property rights that the law seeks to protect through the medium of the law courts with its various avenues of protection and guarantee. But the equity courts know no such guarantees, they know no such things as the constitutional provisions to protect the individual person in his life, in his liberty, in his pursuit of happiness, unless he has much wealth and then they will only protect him when he appeals to them in the property sense to protect his property and not to protect his life.

There is the great evil, and that is the evil that not only affects you and I as wage earners, but it will continue to affect us, because the equity courts are specifically designed or particularly cre-

ated and today are particularly administered to protect property and property alone, and where property and personal rights intervene, property must reign supreme and individual liberty must be ground down.

I believe, with Abraham Lincoln and I think we all do that when there is a conflict between property and personal rights personal rights must reign supreme and property and property rights must be subordinated, and even if we must have a new equity court to enjoin the equity courts of property, let us then have the courts that will protect personal rights. And I know of no court, no institution better designed for that purpose than the great labor movement. So let us be the pioneers to go forth and challenge that development in our land and make reign supreme the personal rights, liberties and pursuit of happiness of the great masses of our people who have little, if any property.

Delegate Furuseth: May I ask a question? Did I understand you to say that since we have got an equity court to protect property we must have a court to protect personal rights? Did I understand you right?

Delegate Woll: Yes sir, you did, and I said that court should be our convention and the labor movement.

Delegate Furuseth: Well, it can't be done.

Delegate Ramsay, Order of Railroad Telegraphers, said in part: We have all in the labor movement at one time or another smarted under the sting of the crack of the injunction whip, and the Order of which I have the honor of being a representative is no exception to the rules. Like all the other organizations in the labor movement, we began to creep and then to crawl before we could walk, and in the creeping days of our great organization of which I speak, I had the honor to be the presiding officer—in those early days we knew quite a little of injunctions. We did not have the splendid organizations that you have, we did not have the able leaders in the movement, like my friend Furuseth, who is a better lawyer than he is seaman, and I imagine if he were out at sea today he would sink, because I don't believe he could swim.

In the last fifty years we have developed considerably. I have carried a card in my pocket for over forty-five years, and therefore I know something

of the labor movement. I remember in 1881, when this great American Federation of Labor was organized, I opposed it because I was a good Knights of Labor man.

But getting back to the injunction proposition. Like the rest of you, in the last twenty-five or thirty years I have heard this matter discussed on the floor but I did not see fit to ask your indulgence. I remember some two years ago at Cincinnati that our good friend Woll and some of his legal talent from Chicago took up the afternoon talking about the injunction, and I happened to be the man they were talking about.

I remember about thirty-three years ago when an injunction was issued by Judge Jenkins of Milwaukee in the Federal court against our organization when we had a strike on the Northern Pacific Railroad. The road had gone into the hands of a receiver to make a little more money for the privileged few and to reduce the wages of our men from \$1.50 to \$1.00 a day. It enjoined our men from organizing and enjoined us from paying out money to the men for relief, but I took money to St. Paul and distributed it to the men.

Delegate Furuseth said to defy these injunctions. That is what I did, and I was taken to Milwaukee in chains, yes, in chains, because if you don't give bail you are in chains. I appeared before Judge Jenkins and I denied his right to enjoin me to speak to my brother, I denied him the right, as an officer of that organization, to restrain me from returning to my brother the money he had given to me to return to him when his children cried for bread. And I told him that he was usurping power not given to him by law or by any other agency, man-made or Divine.

And do you know what he said to me? When I said to him that if he could usurp the power to reduce the wages of the telegraph operators from \$1.50 a day to \$1.00, then by the same logic he could reduce it to 50 cents a day and we would not have enough to eat and he would make slaves of the telegraphers. He said, "Well, what of it?" I asked, "What will the men do?" Judge Jenkins said, "Let them go to hell or Texas. You are discharged." I used to wear a lawyer's hat then, so I picked up my little Stetson hat, went down to Chicago, had a congressman go to Washington and an investigation resulted.

This injunction matter can be taken care of only in one way. When the

delegates in this convention and their constituents will go and vote for a judge that understands the labor movement they will have a man on the bench who will not issue one of these damnable injunctions. So long as you vote for men from the corporation offices who know nothing about the labor movement, while you may have a man who is conscientious and believes he is doing a great duty in protecting money from you bolshevists of the American Federation of Labor, you will have injunctions issued. Take my advice and elect men to the United States Congress who understand the labor movement. If they are labor men they will not turn over in one night as the Senator did of whom Mr. Furuseth spoke. Elect judges who know that the equity courts, as they are called, are all right, that they are the same as the lower courts, and it is just the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee.

What is an equity court? Blackstone says that equity is the correction of that where, by reason of its universality, law is deficient. It is almost impossible to make a statute to fit every imaginary nature of case; therefore we must have something we call equity that is flexible. Equity is the correction of that where, by reason of its universality, law is deficient. Now, the statutory law may be too slow and it may be necessary to save property and some order must be made to protect it. If you have a judge who has been educated according to the rules of the corporation office, naturally you will have a judge who thinks he must protect it by injunction. If you have a judge on the bench who thinks these men like pie as well as anyone else and that they will go back to work in time, he will not issue an injunction. But here is where the trouble comes in. When a judge issues an injunction and there is a question comes up about the violation of it, what happens? The judge is going to support the injunction he has made. There is no restraining power to hold his hand, and he can hold you as long as his grip holds out. What we have fought for in the past is to have questions where a judge issues an injunction and claims there is a violation of it placed in the hands of a jury.

Explanation by Resolutions Committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

The secretary of the committee read

the following explanation of the committee:

Notwithstanding the explanation of the committee report made by its secretary, some newspapers persist in the assertion that this convention negated the reputed aspirations of Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York for Presidential preferment. This is most emphatically untrue. It is a fact, well known to labor, that during all of the political activity of Governor Smith, both as a member of his party and while holding public office, he has been active in support of protective measures for the toilers. This has been notably true as to amendments to the labor law and the compensation law of New York State. He has, as Governor of his state, repeatedly appointed men to office who were recommended by labor. In his present candidacy for reelection as Governor he has the support of the New York State Federation of Labor and of labor both organized and unorganized, as was set forth in the report of this committee. It is not a departure from our non-partisan policy to make the assertion that Governor Smith has been one of the foremost supporters of the doctrine that labor should have the first consideration, and that it is incumbent on legislative bodies to surround labor in its employment with adequate safeguards against accident and disease, and to fairly compensate the toiler when injured in that employment. Your committee submits the foregoing so that any attempted misconstruction of its former report in an effort to injure Governor Smith politically may be discountenanced and refuted.

Secretary Wall: This is merely an explanation and no action is required.

Wages.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 46 and 47, the committee reported as follows:

We heartily recommend the statement of the Executive Council that there

is no simple formula to which wage theory can be reduced. High wages is the American policy. An additional problem with which organized labor must deal is that of adding wage increases in proportion to increased production and indicating the sources from which such increases may and should be paid. As one of the means to this end we recommend study of the organization of business and of accountancy and of all essential factors and considerations related to and involved in this subject. To this end the co-operating service of the Workers' Education Bureau can be made of great service.

The industry that cannot pay high wages is an industry self-convicted of inefficient management and wasteful methods. Organized labor may help to indicate the sources of waste and inefficient methods so that management may make the necessary changes. Co-operation in this field will lead finally to consideration of the conditions under which work orders should be formulated.

In addition to the perfecting of production technique there is the development of units of measurement so that industrial output may be evaluated per individual and per plant. For help in this field we must turn to technicians. This work is now being undertaken by the United States Department of Labor. It is hoped this will form a permanent service in addition to that now rendered in the gathering of cost of living and other forms of essential data. We earnestly commend these various problems to our unions for study. They are problems that demand our intelligent consideration.

Because we seek to settle wage problems at the conference table where we must deal with experts in various fields rather than on the industrial battle field, we must check their data with data drawn from labor experiences. Such data could be accumulated regularly and made available when needed at the minimum expense. We commend to unions

provisions for the cumulation and compilation of this information.

With increasing mechanization of industry and perfecting of the assembling of materials for fabrication, articles to supply existing and probable demands can be produced in much less time than formerly. It has become of utmost importance that wage earners be organized into trade unions in order to protect their rights and interests in changing situations. With improvements in production technique hours of production must be reduced in order to prevent surplus of products, wages must increase so that wage earners may benefit from the material wealth which they help to create and that financial depression may be avoided.

Progress in these material standards will open opportunities for wage earners for beauty and pleasure in living and for that development essential to the production of a higher citizenry.

In addition to recommending this part of the Executive Council's report, your committee recommends that the "American Federationist" make available during the year all possible information and discussions on this subject.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Gainer, Letter Carriers: I rise to make one observation commending the report of the committee upon the subject of wages, which confirms the policy of steadily increasing wages and steadily descending hours of labor. That report says that it is the only protection against financial depression. Now it follows that if the nation as a whole does not accept this policy as fundamentally and economically sound, any depression that may ensue will be charged against them and not against the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Cooperation Between Unions and Management.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under this caption, pages 51 and 52, the committee reported as follows:

That modern industry is organized upon a basis of interdependence of process, makes it imperative that many groups work together in related processes. The ideal is cooperation between all in furtherance of definite plans. Cooperation comes through a common will. The differences between working together and cooperation are psychological but plainly manifest in concrete products.

Many "open-shop" managements in recognition of the interdependence of process have organized channels for employe representation and company unions, which it is alleged have some of the external aspects of trade unions. But they are essentially and fundamentally different in the potential spiritual and substantive forces that constitute the difference between merely working together and cooperation.

Labor recognizes to the full the necessary and natural and rightful functions of management. As the Executive Council says, management "secures the finances, makes ready the plant, keeps abreast of technical progress, purchases, plans and directs." But actual production, the carrying out of the plans, requires not only labor but the intelligent, voluntary and responsible cooperation of the labor force. Joint decisions must be reached and labor must have its organized channels for reaching these decisions in cooperation with and not in subservience to the management.

Your committee urges concurrence in the forceful presentation by the Executive Council of the need for cooperation and the spirit of intelligent responsibility in industry and their statement of basic principles upon which all satisfactory industrial relations policies must rest; regularity of employment, stability of income, uniform and high standards of employment, protection against industrial injury or disease.

Your committee believes that cooperation between all groups concern-

ed with production results in a very genuine partnership that brings reciprocal benefits of the highest value: to the workers it means opportunity for creative expression, to the management it means achieving the purpose of industry under the best possible conditions. In view of the attention focused upon company unions, shop representation plans, American plans and the like, at this time your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor arrange for a comparative study of the results of union-management cooperation and employer controlled unions and like schemes. After analyzing and classifying the results of these two policies we shall be in a position to let facts speak for themselves.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Relations with Other Groups.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under this caption, pages 60 and 61, the committee reported as follows:

Labor has much to gain from friendly contracts with outside groups which constitute opportunities for promoting a wider understanding of Labor's problems and ideals. If public as well as industrial decisions and policy are to be determined after full consideration of wage-earners views and needs in the situation, wider circles of citizens must understand labor's problems and the workings of the labor movement. Outside groups convinced of the righteousness of our cause can help us with influence and opportunities for wider contacts and information.

We recommend that relationships with the Personnel Research Federation be continued. An increasing range of problems arising out of human relations in production are being studied from the approach of psychology and physiology and it is important that

labor have representation in the organization that is serving as a national clearing center.

We note with satisfaction the report on relationships with the American Bar Association, the American Library Association and the American Legion, colleges, and universities and certain religious organizations interested in social and religious problems. We urge continuance of these friendly and helpful relationships and their extension wherever and whenever possible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Samuel Gompers Memorial.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 62-63, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends concurrence in the suggestion that authority be vested in the Executive Council to carry through the plan outlined for securing voluntary donations to a fund to create a suitable memorial to Samuel Gompers. We believe that every detail of such an undertaking should be in accord with the spirit and the principles which Samuel Gompers helped to build into the architecture of the labor movement. He was the great pioneer in our trade union movement whom we would honor. We feel wage earners everywhere will seek the privilege of contributing to the Samuel Gompers Memorial Fund.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Federation of Labor Room at Geneva.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 63, the committee reported as follows:

We note with gratification the accomplishment of instructions to provide furnishings in a room in the International

Labor Office at Geneva. In addition to the report of the Executive Council your committee has been advised of the completion of the undertaking and the receipt of official letters of appreciation from the Executive of the International Labor Office. The spirit of the gift will in our opinion be appreciated as an expression of international fellowship with Labor of all countries.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legal Information Bureau.

Upon the portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 63 and 64, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee wishes to point out the constructive work which this bureau has been performing so effectively. The information on legal problems which it furnishes regularly through its bulletins is of distinct merit and constitutes a reference file of very practical service in the decision of policies.

We wish to recommend to the convention that the Executive Council not only continue this service agency but consider carefully the possibilities of developing within the bureau a legislative reference division that shall be responsible for making available experience with various legislative principles and governmental practices. Such a division instituted in a modest way would serve as a clearing house for legislative experience and supplement the service the bureau renders in the legal field. This service would facilitate the work of both federal and state legislative agents.

Your committee further recommends that the convention express our deep appreciation of the generous and helpful cooperation given the Legal Information Bureau by persons both within and without the labor movement. Their assistance has enabled the Bureau to perform a wide and valuable service within definite financial restrictions upon expenditures.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Conscription.

Upon that part of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 67, the committee reported as follows:

One of the forms of "preparedness" propaganda that is the aftermath of the late war are legislative proposals to authorize plans for future mobilization of materials and men in event of other wars. Your committee recommends that we commend the Executive Council for its opposition to the Johnson-Capper Bill.

Your committee believes that such measures involve serious dangers in that they would provide machinery that could be diverted to purposes of repression

and recommends that the Executive Council continue its opposition to all such measures embracing the dangers herein indicated.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Military Training.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption; page 67, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends greatest vigilance to prevent the passage of legislation providing for compulsory military training. Labor is unalterably opposed to both the principle of compulsion and to militarism.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

At 5:30 p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, October 14.

Tenth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Detroit, Mich.,
October 14, 1926.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Mullaney, Boyer, Schulte, Coulter, Gillot, Siemer, Bock, Bruck, Hannah, Burke, Johnson (R. H.), Lawson, Barry (J. L.), O'Hanlon, Gorman, Hill, Stewart, Fox, Kutz, Ryan (Jere), Wenger, Mullen, Alden, Henley, Augustino, Murphy (J. H.), Woodling, Murphy, Harris, Frampton, Fagan, Hollcraft, Coifelt, Herder, Bower, Tarbett, Johnson (A. C.), Marsh, Shea, Elwell, Eckhardt, Walker (W.), Doyle, Woodmansee, Wood, Trimmer, Hope, Covert, Keeny, Saylor, McGeary, Tinney, Bohm, Albert, Ruben, Ellstein, Shipplacoff, Shaw, Campbell (A. C.), Purves, Darrington, Powers, Ryan, Portway, Fuchs.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from the following organizations and individuals urging that the 1927 convention be held in their respective cities:

Los Angeles, California—F. Sesma, President Southern California Labor Press; A. E. Parmer, Secretary San Pedro and Wilmington Central Labor Council; Harvey E. Garman, Secretary-Treasurer Allied Printing Trades Council.

Birmingham, Alabama — Women's Union Labor League, Florence, Alabama; D. E. Bailey, Secretary Journeymen Barbers' Union No. 290, Sheffield, Alabama; C. A. Cardwell, Secretary Birmingham Trades Council; J. B. Pippin, Secretary Tri-City Central Labor Union, Sheffield; J. R. Olly, Secretary Ministers' Association, Florence, Alabama; J. B. Campbell, Secretary Organized Motorists of Muscle Shoals District; W. H. Eastep, Mayor, Florence, Alabama, W. W. Jones, Secretary Union No. 87, United Garment Workers, Birmingham; Walter H. Glenn, President Florence Real Estate Board; Florence Times-News and Sheffield-Florence Typographical Union No. 802; Floyd Simms, Secretary Auto Mechanics' Union, Florence, Alabama.

Sacramento, California—G. T. Peterson, Secretary Culinary Workers' Alliance No. 561.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Mugavin, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee has examined the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International — Oizer Shachtman and Hyman Sorkin, 78 votes.

WALTER SNOW, Chairman.

FRANK HUGHES.

JOHN T. MUGAVIN, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Flynn, Newspaper Writers:

Delegate Frey made a very interesting address before the Detroit Ministers' Association last Monday, and I move that the address be printed in today's proceedings.

The motion was seconded and carried.

ADDRESS OF MR. JOHN P. FREY

To the Ministerial Association, Y. M. C. A. Building, Detroit, Michigan, October 11, 1926.

The opportunity that has presented itself in connection with the convention of the American Federation of Labor in this city is one that all of the active leaders in the trade union movement have welcomed. This morning I feel the responsibility, as well as the opportunity and privilege of talking to you for a few moments and endeavoring to present the trade union understanding of some of the problems in which you are as deeply interested as we are, and of perhaps giving a little better understanding of the great issues that our people consider in connection with the trade union movement and what it is doing, and thinking that it may make me feel a little more at home if I take a text, I have selected one from Genesis, I think (and I cannot recall the verse or the chapter) but it is like this, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

I am very proud as an American citizen that I do belong to the trade union movement which, from the beginning, has been moved by that one

thought—"Am I my brother's keeper?" and I have always answered it in the affirmative.

You are students of history; you are familiar with what has taken place in the development of those institutions which make our civilization a possibility. You are undoubtedly acquainted with the struggles that man has passed through. You know of the time when there was no such thing as human liberty, and when men began to believe that they were entitled to liberty and they struggled to secure it, and we had those contests where men determined that they should have religious freedom. They did more than pray in order that that freedom might come to them, and they believed that if religious liberty could be established that the great problems of life would be solved, and religious liberty, to a more or less limited extent, was established. We enjoy it today. When men had won religious liberty they found that that was not enough. They found that they lived in a material world and that there were material considerations they could not escape and so they believed that they should have political liberty as well. Again men did more than pray, and eventually because they translated their convictions into action, political liberty to a greater or less degree, was established, and we enjoy it today. Then men learned that religious liberty and political liberty were not sufficient to make men truly free, but owing to the fact that civilization had developed under a form where large numbers of men worked for wages for other men, they learned that industrial liberty was necessary. The trade union movement believes that these three constitute the Holy Trinity of human liberty—religious liberty, political liberty and industrial liberty. In this country industrial liberty has not yet been established and it is to bring it about that the trade union movement carries on its very beneficial work.

We are told that as free men and American citizens that we must be law-abiding, that we must be governed by the law and we know the influence that the law has upon our activities in life. The use of our streets by pedestrians and automobiles is an illustration—both have the right to use the streets but there must be regulation. We take up our problems and we endeavor to solve many of them by law, so that we are a people who

live under government by law; but there is one law which is made that is not enacted according to democratic, self-governing principles—a law which affects men's opportunities in life as much if not more than the laws that are placed upon the statute books. That law is the law in industry. It is the law which determines what the hours of labor shall be and what the wages shall be, what the relationship between employer and the employed shall be. That industrial law has more to do with the opportunities that men and their families have in many industrial communities than the law of the land, the law which has been placed upon the statute books. For, after all, these conditions in industry translate themselves into the standards of living.

The trade union movement believes that those who are employed in industry have as much right as free men to have a voice in the determining of the conditions under which they shall work as they have to have a voice in determining the laws of the land under which they shall live, and we call that industrial democracy and we carry it out under what is known as collective agreement.

There is a question in the minds of a large number of the people, not in Detroit alone, as to whether our trade union movement is beneficial or not. Much fault can be found with our trade union movement; we are composed of men, we are not university graduates; we think directly and we speak bluntly. When that greatest, probably with one or two exceptions, that greatest of Americans of this generation, Samuel Gompers, was living he assisted in the settlement of a strike of the longshoremen employed by the late Senator Mark Hanna, and the Senator formed a very high opinion of Mr. Gompers and used to call to see him in his office. And about six months after this settlement had been made he dropped in to see Mr. Gompers and talked about the settlement and he said it was all right except for one thing. He said, "If you only could get the right kind of men on the committees here to come and talk things over with me. They do not seem to know what they want; they do not seem to be able to explain their own problems and they don't talk to me as men should. You ought to try and train your people to be a little more diplomatic." Mr.

Gompers then said, with a twinkle in his eye, "And, Senator, what kind of diplomats do you expect to hire for nineteen cents an hour?"

I want to talk upon a question which is highly controversial, not for the purpose of fault finding but for the purpose of presenting certain facts with which you are all familiar and perhaps when expressed will help you understand the merits of the controversy a little better.

There has been in this country for some time an industrial philosophy which teaches that the wage earners not being sufficiently advanced in intelligence must not be permitted to have a voice in determining conditions in industry, and as these are facts, and the trade union movement is not animated by the most proper motives, trade unionism must be prevented and the employer must have every opportunity to operate his industry to suit himself and to make all of the laws in the industry which he thinks will work most advantageously to his purpose which is not primarily service to the community, but consideration of private interests.

Everyone of you has read of the terrible conditions that have existed in industry; you have read of the women in the mines in England who, on their hands and knees, dragged out the small coal cars. In our own country you have time and again read the story of the little children in the cotton mills in the South. You have read of the conditions under which women have been forced to labor which were not only injurious to them physically but injurious to them mentally and sometimes even morally. You have read of and have perhaps visited industrial communities in this country where the shacks in which the workers live were not as proper places to house people as the barns in this state and in Indiana and our other agricultural states.

What I ask you to remember is this—that all of the conditions developing in industries injurious to those who work had their origin and development where the workers had no organization of their own to protect themselves and all the helpless victims of whatever industrial law the employer cared to enact for his own selfish interests. So, we have had in this country all of the illustrations we want of the danger to the community and the nation of permitting any set

of men no matter who they may be and how able and no matter how necessary their ability may be to our civilization, to have the power in their hands of autocratically making the law which will govern all those who are employed in industry.

I might say something in defense of or rather in proud praise of our trade union movement. We have been the pioneers in what we have done. What debt does American civilization owe to us as trade unionists? First of all, I want to call your attention to the fact that this public school system of ours with all that it means to our country is more the result of trade union activity than of any other force except the wonderful genius and courage of Horace Mann, and he found little sympathy in employing circles, he found none in educational circles because they feared a free public school system under state control would deprive them of their profession. It was the trade union movement during the period from 1825 to 1835 that gave to us our public school system. I know of no more illuminating, inspiring record in our country than that of the efforts of the trade union movement for ten years to make clear to the conscience of the American people that the poor man's son must be given equal opportunity with the wealthy man's son to secure an education, not only as his inherent right but so that this country of ours could endure, so that there would be knowledge among all of the citizens and self-government would be a success instead of a failure.

May I say that no one has appreciated more than our trade union movement the support which you and all other clergymen have given in our efforts to abolish the crime of child labor, the coining of little children's bodies into profits. There is another effort of ours of which we are not ashamed. We have done much to make life safer in the industries. It is the trade union movement which initiated legislation to place safety devices around dangerous machinery. It was our trade union movement which initiated legislation to provide for sanitary conditions, for a certain amount of pure air in the work shops. It was our trade union movement that developed the conviction that those injured in industry should be compensated and so the trade union movement of this country initiated the

movement which led to the enactment of Workmen's Compensation acts in almost every country. So with our shorter hours and higher wages. I happened to be an iron molder by trade. I worked eleven hours daily as an apprentice boy. I can remember a little part I took in organizing the molders. When we went to our employers and said we wanted ten hours, he said we were injuring or destroying business, that we wanted to limit our output and to kill the very thing that made it possible for him to pay us wages. I have listened to that argument every time we endeavor to secure shorter hours or higher wages, that we would destroy the industry. I leave it to you whether the American industry is more prosperous now than it was in the day of long hours and low wages.

We believe that we are the defenders of American principles and institutions. Whether we are or not is for others to say. We know our own convictions. In the United States, in the city of Detroit there are those captains of industry who believe that no one should question the law that in their industries they must be left unhampered to determine all of the conditions which affect labor while employed. Let me tell you this, and I hope you will always remember it, that in the efforts which the American trade union movement has made to secure the conditions to which I have just referred, and particularly when we have gone to the legislatures and to Congress, we have always met with opposition. We meet with opposition now when we endeavor to abolish what remains of child labor, when we endeavor to secure legislation protecting women in industry, when we endeavor to provide safer conditions under which labor shall be employed, and this opposition comes through the organized groups of employers who believe that there shall only be one law in industry and that they will make all of it and that they will enforce it. The opposition to these humanitarian measures which we are establishing comes from those who advocate what has been misnamed an "American Plan."

I must be brief, time is passing and there are a few thoughts I want to express. Some thought has been expressed in the city of Detroit by some employers who believe that the wage earners must be prevented from or-

ganizing, that we are anti-government and dangerous citizens and unpatriotic. I hope you will take the time in your studies to go over the record. Before President Wilson went to Congress to declare that a condition of war existed with the Central Powers, three weeks before that date, the leaders of the American trade union movement met in Washington to consider what their position would be if war was declared, and by a unanimous vote pledged themselves to do everything that lay within their power to assist this government if we did become involved in a war. We have delegates at our convention who were volunteers during the war, who served as officers. We have men in our convention who risked their lives to assist the Allies to overcome the dangerous propaganda being spread behind the lines. There is no reason why we should say anything to indicate our patriotism. Our record will show it. And you will find that since the war no trade unionist has been forced to disgorge the money he took from the United States government as a profiteer. Thank God for that. (Applause.)

There is an American Plan and we believe in that American Plan and we think it has been quite clearly stated for us. If my memory serves me right, it is in this form, that all men are born equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these being the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and any so-called, misnamed "American Plan" which does not measure four square with the Declaration of Independence is not an American Plan, it is un-American because it seeks to deny to one group of citizens the right to organize while they not only enjoy that right but apply it for the purpose of denying equal rights to others. There is no problem in industry that can ever be solved through an organized effort on the part of one group of American citizens to deny another group the same rights and privileges they have. I wish that the clergymen had some way of stopping the clock because I do want to leave a few more thoughts with you. Thoughts are the most important thing in the world, more important than industry, machinery, inventive genius or scientific attainments.

I want to ask you whether industrial peace would bring prosperity or not. Does everyone engaged in busi-

ness in the United States desire industrial peace? My conviction is that if we had that share of democracy in industry which would establish industrial peace that it would be destructive to certain very profitable businesses. These employers who apply the right to organize so that they may use it for the purpose of preventing us from enjoying the same right, find that in this country it is a rather large task and so they have brought certain forces to bear to assist them. Our unions are honey-combed with spies; all over the country private detective agencies have sprung up whose sole source of employment is the American Plan employer. One of these corporations called the Sherman Detective Agency two or three years ago paid an income tax of approximately \$250,000. This is one profitable business which would be destroyed if industrial peace was established. Read the court records and they will inform you as to the type of men who do the work for these associations, these private detective associations. They drum up business, they commit overt acts, they break the law. They must do some of these things to convince the American planner that he must employ the detectives in order to carry his un-American plan into effect.

We have had the problem of free speech in this country since the war. We have heard a great deal about restrictions placed upon free speech and free press, and some of us know a lot about that. Let me suggest to you that there is a possibility of a free pulpit being questioned in this country. I hold it as a fact that so long as there is evil to overcome, it must be attacked and that we must not be afraid of making enemies, we must not be afraid of having our conscience become our guide when serious, vital issues are at stake. I heard a remark about war, what an awful thing it is. I want to agree that the taking of human life is one of the most frightful things we can contemplate. I visited a museum in Switzerland, I went to see just one or two things, two objects placed side by side in a case, having apparently no relation to each other, because one was a Bible worn from much use, and beside it was a battle axe, also worn and dented from much use. That Bible and that battle axe were the property of Ulrich Zwingley, who believed in the freedom of the pulpit

and took his Bible as his guide and inspiration and his battle axe and went to war to see that religious liberty was established in Switzerland.

You have some of the noblest inheritance of any group of American citizens. When I came into Detroit the other day for the first time I saw a tablet and it said that here was the end of the underground railroad. I live in Ohio and I know the Ohio clergymen, too, know their history. There was a time when human slavery was an institution, when it was constitutional, that chattel slavery should exist under Federal statutes regulating the conditions under which human slavery could be carried on, and finally the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred-Scott decision decided that it was the duty of every law-abiding citizen to return the runaway slave to his owner. So there was no place in this United States of America where the runaway slave could find refuge. That stirred the conscience of the clergymen of Ohio and of this section of Michigan. They asked themselves the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" and they answered it by organizing the underground railroad, which permitted thousands of slaves to pass out of the territory of the United States and get into Canada, where they were safe. Their conscience let them ignore the constitution of their own country, to set aside its Federal statutes, to defy the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States because they believed that human liberty after all was what this nation had been established to protect. That was putting their faith into practice. They went through days of trial but what do we do? We erect monuments to their memory, we call them blessed because they helped to inspire the American people through their courage. Their deep-seated convictions led them until the institution to which they were opposed had been abolished for once and for all in the territory of the United States. So we must have law and government by law but before establishing laws we must have a conscience and we must have courage and the determination to prevent the American people from being humbugged through misstatements as to which is involved in what is called the industrial problem.

The American trade union movement has done its share to put that thought

into practice. Nothing encourages our movement more than the knowledge that you and your associates throughout the United States have joined hands with us in favor of collective bargaining instead of industrial autocracy that you joined hands with us when we endeavored to provide that every child shall have all possible opportunities to develop into manhood and womanhood in a way that will prepare them to play their part as citizens.

You have given us an encouragement which you may not be able to appreciate and we know that when you are in your study, when you are on your knees praying for guidance that you will carry out the traditions of the Protestant Ministry of this country from Colonial times and attack injustice fearlessly, regardless of temporary consequences and temporary opposition, no matter from what quarter it may come even if that quarter may be the wealthiest men in the community.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Observance of Contracts.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 49 and 50, the committee reported as follows:

Trade union agreements are completely dependent upon good faith on the part of all with whom we have relations. We are therefore opposed to violation of trade union agreements, either by employers or workers.

The trade union agreement — the agency through which we establish employment relations in the industry — is the means by which we establish work standards and rewards. Each agreement becomes the foundation upon which new conditions may be negotiated. The importance of holding all achievements is apparent. Especially important is that feature to which the Executive Council calls attention — provisions to safeguard the fulfillment of trade union agreements through conciliation

and arbitration of differences arising under and during the life of such trade union agreements and by trade union machinery as distinguished from legal machinery. Any attempt to enforce trade union agreements by processes of law or equity necessarily and essentially endangers the freedom of trade union agreements, enlarges the control of the courts over industrial relations and unwarrantably restricts and encumbers the solving of industrial problems by voluntary methods and agencies. The enforcement and observance of trade union agreements must therefore rest upon the good faith of all and not by compulsion or punishment of law administered either through the law or equity courts.

That improvements are possible in the observance of trade union agreements is not to be denied. That observance of trade union agreements by employers as well as wage earners is equally essential.

In the opinion of your committee a study of voluntary methods and means for the observance of trade union agreements and by trade union institutions and methods is deemed advisable and desirable. We recommend that the president of the American Federation of Labor make or cause such a study to be made of this problem and to make recommendations.

With the foregoing understanding and interpretation your committee recommends approval of this part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Campaign.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 71 to 74, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends approval of this part of the report of the Executive Council.

Any one reading this report of the Executive Council cannot fail to understand the non-partisan policy of organized labor. No clearer illustration has ever been presented of the methods by which labor opposes the election of hostile candidates for Congress than is found in the story of labor's primary campaign against Finis J. Garrett, leader of the minority party in the House of Representatives.

Labor opposes reactionary Democrats and reactionary Republicans without distinction and rightly so. It shows no favoritism in its loyal and effective support of progressive forward-looking candidates for public office. In every state and in almost every Congressional district labor has decided upon its candidates for the ensuing election. Partisan political considerations have had nothing to do with that decision.

The Executive Council calls attention to the fact that "The people, for one reason or another, forget their political duties between elections and while they are asleep the political 'bosses,' through their propaganda agents, manufacture sentiment in favor of objectionable candidates of principles that are a detriment to the people. The American labor movement will be untrue to itself unless it makes it one of its most important duties to keep alive the political spirit of the people."

Five years ago the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee was made permanent for this very purpose. It has lived up to its instructions so far as is allowed by the resources at its disposal and the time its members were able to give to these political activities.

The Executive Council remarks that the people "must not be permitted to forget or forgive any unjust act of public men." In this respect labor has been able to do its full duty. But the selection of good and reliable

men in the place of those thrown on the scrap heap is a more difficult task requiring more time, effort and means—especially for the cooperation with other popular groups, such as the organized farmers, and the popularization of constructive measures and policies supported in common by progressive elements.

The necessity of such cooperation is fully recognized in the statement of the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, and especially in relation to the farmers. The Executive Council points out that labor urged Congress to pass the farmers' program and is willing at any and all times to aid the farmers seeking legislation that will advance their economic interest. It refers to the efforts of the industrial and financial interests to prejudice the farmers against labor and warns them that they must defeat the attempt to enroll them on that side.

Labor's campaign, as the Executive Council states, is to defeat candidates controlled by reactionary industrial and financial interests and to elect forward-looking candidates. In this there must be no shirking or slacking.

Organization and adherence to the principles and policies of American organized labor's non-partisan political campaign is essential if American labor's organized economic, industrial and social ideals and program are to be fully realized. Active participation of all wage earners in this non-partisan undertaking in the political side of our nation and its several states is imperative if our industrial relations are to be freed from state domination and from autocratic industrial and financial control. In this field of endeavor the workers must rally as in all other fields of activity.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Support in Maintaining and Promoting Conditions and Organization of Textile Workers

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates Ar-

thur McDonald, George Creech, Thomas J. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy and Francis J. Gorman.

WHEREAS, Local 33 of Salem, Massachusetts, affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America and the Massachusetts State Branch of the American Federation of Labor, is a 100 per cent union of over 2,000 members engaged in the manufacture of Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases, and with the United Textile Workers of America, is conducting an educational and organizing campaign to standardize the sheeting industry; and

WHEREAS, All other sheets and pillow cases are made under open shop and unorganized conditions, with wages 20 per cent less, working hours as high as 55 and 60 per week, with the vicious multiple system in effect compelling the running of 28 to 30 looms on reduced piece rates; and

WHEREAS, Local 33 of Salem with its 2,000 members making Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases, enjoy harmonious union relations, with collective bargaining in its fullest sense, with seniority rights and no multiple system, running 10 to 12 looms on piece rates unchanged, and no cause for strike since 1919; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of American Federation of Labor held at Detroit, Michigan, and its affiliated organizations lend their support in this campaign (to maintain and promote organization) by the appointment of publicity committees to urge upon merchants, hotels, hospitals, state institutions and members, the promotion of sales and purchase of Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases as a product of the finest quality, made under most highly skilled, sanitary and union conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That organized labor here assembled, display its solidarity and cooperation in promoting the union conditions enjoyed by the 2,000 members of Local 33 of Salem, and assist in the organizing campaign of the other sheeting plants that they may also enjoy equal wages, working hours and conditions, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee, having carefully reviewed and considered this resolution, finds itself in sympathy with the desire for the complete organizing of the workers engaged in the sheeting industry, and recommends in lieu of the resolution

submitted, the following:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assist in every way possible the United Textile Workers' Union of America in the organizing of the sheeting industry and that all affiliated unions are hereby urged to do all they can to help promote the purchase of sheets and pillow cases manufactured under union conditions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Asking That a Statement Be Published by the American Federation of Labor to Manufacturers of Woolens and Worsteds That Dumping of Wool Is Injurious to Employees and Employers in the Industry.

Resolution No. 85. — By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, George Creech, Sara A. Conboy, Arthur McDonald and Francis J. Gorman.

WHEREAS, The Wool Sorters' Union, affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America, has by resolution adopted at our convention, requested aid in opposing an evil in their trade known as "wool dumping," a process originally instituted by a large woolen and worsted concern, and later copied by some others engaged in similar manufacture, this process eliminates the wool sorter, injures the product of the mills, is partly responsible for the unsettled conditions, and encourages the influx of foreign made goods; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of the employer in dumping is to save the sorting cost of approximately one cent per pound, a charge always recognized as essential by reliable and fair manufacturers, but now being evaded by some employers who are not only injuring the workers employed in the industry, but also the buyers of "top yarn and cloth" and the consuming public to the end that an observation of the woolen and worsted industry over a lengthy period will reveal a real reason for the depression; and

WHEREAS, Our organization can prove that the mills who do not dump the wool are kept in operation steadier than the others, and we believe that an exposure of the facts herein contained will greatly assist in stabilizing the woolen and worsted industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Fed-

eration of Labor shall cause to be published a statement suggesting to the manufacturers of woolen and worsteds that they avoid the dumping of wool, believing that this process is not only injurious to the wool sorter and other employees but is an injustice to everyone in any way connected with the industry, and that we offer all possible assistance to the United Textile Workers of America in opposition to this menace.

This resolution calls upon the American Federation of Labor to publish a statement suggesting that manufacturers of woolens and worsteds should avoid dumping of wool. It is alleged that this practice is an injustice to everyone in general and to the workers employed in particular. In the opinion of your committee, the American Federation of Labor should not be called upon to take such action as is directed in this resolution until the Executive Council has first had an opportunity of inquiring into the situation upon which it is requested to issue a statement.

In order that that procedure may be followed, your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for such consideration and action as it deems best.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging That All State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies Assist in Organizing Laundry Workers.

Resolution No. 86.—By Delegate Joseph Regnier.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Industry is steadily increasing in the United States and Canada and there is only a small part of the workers that are organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this section ask that all State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies do all in their power to try to organize the Laundry Workers in their vicinity.

Your committee is in accord with the proposal that all State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies do all

within their power to assist in the organizing of laundry workers, and thus understood, the committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Woll: The committee has one or two resolutions dealing with thanks that it desires to present later on in the sessions, and now presents its concluding summary:

Statement Resolutions Committee

In conclusion and in view of the recommendations which we have made on the important matters presented to you, we desire to present some thoughts which we hope will meet with your approval and which seem to your committee to require expression.

As we are well aware, and as we have indicated in previous declarations, the development of our industrial life, from the standpoint of mechanical changes and changes in its general method of operation, is proceeding at an ever increasing rate of speed. The rate of change today is immensely more rapid than was the case even ten years ago or five years ago.

With the change in mechanical construction goes a corresponding change and growth in the control of industry. We point out that the change in the mechanical phase of industry brings with it, in the absence of any counter-balancing development, an entirely automatic change and growth in the extent of consolidated control, and this without any conscious effort or desire on the part of those who do control. It is a part of the sweep of change and takes place as such.

Thus, where labor has not found a way to balance the constantly accelerating growth in control it has developed precisely as has the development of mechanical operation, bringing larger and ever larger units into

unified operation and unified domination.

The overwhelming necessity for trade union action to meet this condition is not alone so that the workers may today have better wages, better conditions and fewer hours of labor. It is that civilization itself may be saved from the development of an industrial imperialism, an industrial despotism so enormously powerful and consequently so arrogant as to bring about its own destruction and the destruction of what we have achieved for human welfare at the hands of a citizenry no longer able to bear the burden of routine service at the wheels of production without voice in their direction.

It is that larger view, that overpowering need for the preservation of human freedom, that must urge us on to a task that involves the very foundations of our organized industrial society.

We have set forth, in our adoption of the reports of other committees and in our resolutions in this and in past conventions, our fixed purpose to reduce the hours of labor, not necessarily to any fixed number, but when and as far as circumstances and the conditions of our time make possible and desirable. It is our great goal to wring as much of life from the world of toil as may be possible. And we have declared our purpose, in our words and our deeds, to raise wages progressively and steadily, so that there may be the best possible balance between our productivity and our enjoyment of wealth and so that amassed and unmarketable commodities may not bring upon us disaster and retrogression.

But with these things, necessary as they are, must go a growing and ever more enlightened voice in the democratic direction of our destinies. Without that we shall have around us and bearing down insufferably upon us a

paternalism, a despotism, an autocracy, that will be none the less tolerable because of occasional evidences of benevolence.

To that end we have approved the resolutions placed before us, providing for great campaigns of organization and for the development of our movement in every direction. The task of the labor movement is of magnificent and heroic proportions. There is no other agency through which the masses may check the arrogance and the autonomy of an automatically growing concentration of industrial power.

The statement of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Woll moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions as acted upon by the convention as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The committee will be discharged later, when they have submitted their report on one or two resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Request for Appointment of American Members of Joint Commission to Consider Problem of Mexican Immigration

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Don M. Witt, of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At a special meeting held in Washington, D. C., in August, 1925, by representatives of the American and Mexican Federations of Labor, it was agreed that all phases of the Mexican immigration problem were to be further considered and dealt with by a Joint American-Mexican Commission to be appointed by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Although a year has passed since the Washington meeting and although California is confronted by a serious Mexican immigration problem, the Joint American-Mexican Commission has not been appointed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, that we hereby direct the President of the American Federation of Labor to at once proceed with the appointment of the American members of said Joint Commission.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Witt, California State Federation of Labor: I would like to take the liberty at this time to explain to the delegates, especially the eastern delegates, the situation that confronts California. The importation of Mexican labor into the State of California is constantly increasing. Work that a few years ago was done by citizens of America, namely, on the railroads, street railways, in the gas, electric light, telephone and water plants, such as track laying, repair work, ditch digging and the like, is done today with 90 per cent Mexican labor.

I also wish to say that this is not introduced in a spirit of criticism, but merely that we might acquaint the delegates from other States with the true status of affairs in California. In addition to the number of Mexican workers on that kind of work they are constantly spreading throughout the State until now they are engaged in nearly every line of endeavor, especially any line that requires common laborers' work.

In the vicinity of Oakland there are two organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, namely, the common laborers and the gardeners, that have practically been put out of existence within the last two years. Just last year the city of Oakland voted bonds to the amount of \$35,000,000 to bring into the city of Oakland a water supply, with the promise of Mr. Davis, the engineer in charge of construction work, that he would use his influence to see that citizens of the United States had the preference in this work. You can go over the work that is being conducted at this time from Oakland to the Koluima River and you will see that 50 per cent of the common laborers on that work are Mexicans. If I could take the delegates of this convention through the State of California from the southern portals at San Diego to the northern port of San Francisco, and from the Pacific shores to the State boundary line and let you witness that which is in every hamlet, town and city, the gather-

ing of this multitude of Mexican workers, you could then understand the difficulties confronting California and which will, within a very few years no doubt confront your own States of the east and middle west.

I would just like to tell you a little incident that confronted the Executive Board of the California State Federation of Labor this year. A committee was appointed by the Fresno Labor Council and the Building Trades Council to act with a committee appointed by the Farmers' Bureau and the Chambers of Commerce of seven counties of the San Joaquin Valley to discuss immigration of Mexican labor. The proposition that was put before the committee from the two Councils by the committee from the Farm Bureau and the Chambers of Commerce was to this effect: that after a survey of the agricultural district, if sufficient laborers could not be found to harvest the crops, they be permitted to import from Mexico a sufficient number of laborers to do the work, and after the crops were harvested these workers were to be returned to Mexico. This was supposed to be done under government supervision. The Executive Board of the State Federation immediately opposed any such proposition, believing that it was not a question for the Farmers and the Chambers of Commerce of the valley counties of San Joaquin to decide on any proposition of importing Mexican labor, also believing that if this proposition was agreed to that these laborers thus imported would be under absolute bondage to assure their return to Mexico and to prevent them from accepting more remunerative and more agreeable occupations.

It was for these reasons that this resolution was introduced again, knowing that the subject matter had been taken up by the American Federation of Labor before, and I appeal to the delegates and to the Executive Council to help us in this matter whenever and wherever they can.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolution No. 38 and that portion of the Executive Council's report under the sub-caption:

**Machinists vs. Street and Electric
Railway Employees.**

**Machinists vs. Street Railway Employees
Resolution No. 38.—By Delegates A.**

O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, Daniel P. Haggerty, Fred Hewitt, Chas. F. Wills and Robert Fechner of the International Association of Machinists

WHEREAS, A controversy has existed for several years on the question of proper jurisdiction between the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees over men engaged in the manufacture, maintenance and repair of the machinery of street cars and auto. busses; and

WHEREAS, Numerous conferences have been held between the respective parties and also with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, all of which have failed to adjust the dispute; and

WHEREAS, The work in question is, in the opinion of this convention, clearly and properly under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees to relinquish claim to all men engaged in the manufacture, maintenance and repair of the machinery of street cars and busses except such minor work usually known as running repairs necessary to keep a car or bus on its run without being removed from service; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That, failing to comply with this instruction within sixty days after the adjournment of this convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to revoke their charter.

Your committee considered this resolution in connection with the section of the report of the Executive Council, page 44, under the sub-caption, "Machinists vs. Street and Electric Railway Employees."

A hearing was had at which the parties interested attended and made full statement of their position before the committee. The representatives of the Street and Electric Railway Employees expressed both a desire and an intention to carry out the recommendations of the Executive Council in interpreting the action of the convention dealing with this long standing controversy.

Your committee is of the opinion that the Street and Electric Railway Employees' Association should be made to understand that they should no longer undertake to exercise jurisdiction or control over the work properly coming under the jurisdiction of the I. A. M. and that they be instructed to proceed without delay to dissociate from their organization all men who are doing machinist work exclusively, whether employed in machine shops or car barns; that the executive officers of the Street and Electric Railway Employees' Association should immediately move to apprise all their local organizations of this decision, and to instruct their subordinate officers to take steps at once to put this decision into effect.

For this reason, your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Electrical Workers—Steam Engineers.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under this caption, page 43, the committee reported as follows:

On page 43, in the Executive Council's report under the sub-caption "Electrical Workers vs. Steam Engineers," will be found a decision of the Executive Council interpreting the decision of the Cincinnati convention. This decision having been accepted by the parties at interest, your committee recommends that the action of the Executive Council be approved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Bricklayers-Plasterers.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above sub-caption, page 44, the committee reported as follows:

Under the sub-caption, "Bricklayers vs. Plasterers," page 44, the Executive

Council reports the form of agreement entered into by the representatives of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, and the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association, providing for the arbitration of the matters in dispute between these two organizations, and the selection of Hon. Elihu Root as arbitrator.

Your committee congratulates the organizations involved on having so unreservedly approached a definite determination of their individual rights, and we also congratulate the American Federation of Labor movement on the imminent solution of this dispute, which has so long interfered with the harmonious relations all so earnestly desire. Your committee recommends that the action of the Executive Council in connection with this matter be approved.

Thee report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

State Compensation Legislation.

(The committee submitted a report on the section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, which was discussed and amended by Delegate Lynch to include in paragraph five the words "Occupational diseases should be defined in compensation laws as injuries and compensable as such." The report of the committee, as amended, follows):

In the Executive Council's report, under the caption "State Compensation Legislation," pages 69-70, will be found a review of the progress made during the past year. In connection with the reference to the Missouri State Compensation Act, which is now pending before the voters of that state, your committee wishes to direct the attention to the action of the convention at its last three sessions and to emphasize the advice given by President Green in addresses made in Missouri, that it will be well for the voters to accept this law. Not because your committee feels that the American Federation of Labor

should assume to dictate to the people of any state what form of laws they shall adopt for their own government. But because it is a far easier and more facile process to amend a law after it is on the books than it is to enact a law originally, we urge the workers of Missouri to accept this law. Whatever its defects, it is better than no law at all. Once it has been accepted by the voters of Missouri, and has become a part of their statutes, its defects will be made apparent through experience and the application of the remedy can be easily had through amendment, to the end that in time the workers of Missouri will find themselves covered by a law workable and fairly meeting the requirements of a compensation measure.

We wish to congratulate the workers of Missouri on having been able to accommodate the differences which had divided them on this great question. That they are now presenting a united front in support of a measure to which they have agreed presages success.

We urge the workers in the states where no compensation laws have been enacted to continue unremittingly their efforts until all are made secure under an efficacious compensation measure.

Your committee would recommend that the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor continue to co-operate with the Longshoremen to the end that no effort be spared to bring about the condition wherein the men working along the waterfronts of the United States will be no longer deprived of the right of compensation that is now denied them. It should be understood that it is the expressed conviction of your committee that men employed as seamen within the meaning of the law should not be included in the proposed act to provide compensation for Longshoremen.

It is gratifying to note that more states are realizing that occupational disease should be included among causes for

compensation. Experience has proved to the sad cost of the worker that a disease which is proximately the result of the occupation is as deadly in its effect as though he had been torn or dismembered by a machine. Occupational diseases should be defined in compensation laws as injuries and compensable as such. It is for this reason that the American Federation of Labor in 1915 declared that occupational diseases should be considered as compensable and that the victim should have the relief so necessary, the same as though it had been awarded because of an industrial accident.

Your committee would call again to the attention of the organized workers of America, and particularly to the State and City Federated bodies, that the Executive Council has, acting under instructions from the convention, prepared various drafts of laws and sections of laws, which are recommended to be enacted in connection with compensation legislation. The Executive Council has also prepared a survey in which will be found general and special recommendations on the subject, for the guidance of legislative committees in dealing with these laws before their several legislatures.

Your committee realizes how unlikely it is that all states will adopt uniform compensation laws. Such action is no more to be expected than we might look for uniform laws on any of the many subjects on which the states have exercised their rights to deal with, according to the views of their own people. But the underlying principle of compensation is the same throughout all industry. It is a humanly devised plan whereunder some of the economic waste of industry can be compensated for. Regrettable as it is, the fact remains that with our advance in all directions that mark material progress we yet regard seemingly with cynical indifference the ever-growing list of workers killed or maimed in the industrial plants of our country.

The juggernaut of industrialism drives ruthlessly on, crushing, crippling by

thousands and hundreds of thousands, our people. It is not because note has not been taken of this dreadful sacrifice to mammon. It is because human flesh and blood remain the cheapest commodity on the market, and those who are responsible for the failure to provide the necessary safeguards have made their choice. In their estimation, it is cheaper to get a new workman when the old one has been destroyed than it is to provide the appliance that might have saved the life or limb of the worker who is to be replaced.

In the mining of soft coal, for example, certain processes have been developed by which considerable degrees of safety may obtain, such as the dusting of the face of the seam with stone dust to prevent the rising of dangerously explosive coal dust. Yet, from day to day, the public is shocked by the accounts of accidents in which lives of miners are blotted out by the demon who lurks underground, whose presence is known and against whose approach some precaution might be taken. In no other civilized country does the ton of coal cost as much in human life as in the United States. Until our compensation laws can be brought to such a degree of uniformity and perfection of protection to the workers, we will still carry on our great industrial activity at the appalling expenditure of human life that now marks it. One step toward the goal has been taken in Ohio, and, your committee is informed, about to be taken in New York. This is the establishment of the State Insurance Fund.

Under the operations of the Ohio law, no insurance company, no insurance lawyer, no insurance doctor, is permitted to operate in the state in connection with industrial accidents. The administration of the compensation law with this insurance feature is wholly within the control and management of the State of Ohio.

Two things should be clearly noted as having been accomplished by this law.

First, it has eliminated the coyotes of the legal profession, the ambulance-chasing lawyer. Too often, the ambulance goes about the streets in Ohio, but it is never attended by a lawyer seeking to get the victim out of the ambulance and into his own clutches. The law has destroyed him effectively. The other is that there is no longer profit for an insurance company to be derived from human misery arising out of mishaps to workers in Ohio. The law completely eliminates the insurance company and whatever money or funds are created under the law as a charge on the industry are administered entirely for the purpose of providing compensation for the injured and not one penny of it goes to the private coffers of a liability insurance company. This achievement of the workers of Ohio should stand as a beacon to guide the workers of other states on to the same high plane. When it is made the rule that no profit can be gathered by anybody out of the tremendous toll that is taken of human life and limb, when the anguish, the suffering, the misery of the victims will not be transmuted into dividends payable on stock issues of insurance companies, the general cause of humanity in America will have been set a long distance ahead.

One more point should be covered before leaving this subject. At a recent meeting of the National Hospital Association at Atlantic City, the question of hospitalization of industrial accident victims was given consideration. It was then set forth that as a general practice provisions made by insurance companies for hospitalization were inadequate. Frequently the victim was required to choose between leaving the hospital at too early a moment or paying for his needed further care out of the meager sum allowed him as compensation. The alternative to this being that the hospital carry the charge itself, while the money that is rightfully due it is transferred in the form of dividends to the pockets of the insurance company stockholders. This

point is perhaps a little outside of our immediate interest in the compensation laws, yet, it is one that bears directly on the general subject and as such it deserves careful consideration.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lynch, Typographical Union: May I inquire from the committee if the statement covers a standard to be set up as a definition for industrial diseases?

Delegate McCullough: In reply to that I may say that the committee has in previous reports made reference to this, and we didn't feel at this time that it was necessary to repeat those references because of the fact, as I understand it, it is not as yet an easy matter to exactly determine the standards for industrial diseases, but we believe it is expressed there where we say "diseases the cause of which is approximately the employment," that is, where the employment itself is the proximate cause of the disease.

Delegate Lynch, Typographical Union: The only definition that has been successful in its operation in connection with industrial diseases is that which is a part of the California law, which defines an industrial disease as an injury instead of attempting, as in so many compensation acts, or at least in some of them, to name these diseases. In New York state, as far as my experience goes, the only disease that is compensated, notwithstanding the number that are set up, is lead poisoning, and that only when the evidence is absolutely conclusive and incontrovertible. And I say again, as I said before to this committee, that the only standard that has been successful is the one that defines an industrial disease as an injury. Then it is only necessary to establish the industrial disease, no matter how many divisions it may have, and the victim is compensated.

I am fearful that this language, the approximate cause and all that, will subject us to contention and opposition from the insurance companies. I agree that these compensation laws will differ in different states because of conditions that exist in these states, but there may not be much difference as to industrial diseases, and the most simple definition is the section that compensates the disease, if it

is traceable to industry, by defining it as an injury. I think that there is very little dispute as to that among the people who are acquainted with the administration of the compensation laws. I am satisfied if I can get this on the record and perhaps that, linked up with what the committee has said, may result in some clarification of this subject.

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee: Without wishing to prolong the discussion—and I want to state that I am in hearty accord with what Delegate Lynch has said—I think we included that in our reports at El Paso and at Atlantic City, that it is a fact that the courts, in passing on this question, have always rested finally on what is the proximate cause of the injury or the disease. I know of one case that was decided in favor of the workman by a court where he had inadvertently struck his shin against an exposed timber with scarcely more than enough force to abrade the skin, not break it, and yet that injury awakened a latent disease and the victim became a severe sufferer. The court held that he was entitled to recover because the encounter of his shin with the exposed timber was the proximate cause of his injury, and that the employer, in failing to protect that timber was responsible for the injury.

Now I agree with Delegate Lynch that the California law is the only law that has stood the test of the courts.

In the attempt to define, your committee would not undertake to list the possible diseases, but I think that we are safe in resting in our previous record and on our statement made in this report, that the proximate cause of industrial disease arising out of the occupation, the occupation shall be regarded as the approximate cause of the disease.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: There is an expression in the report which I presume has caused some query in the minds of the delegates, and which I think might very well be explained, not only because of the misunderstandings that might arise, but because of the very serious and great importance of the thing itself.

You will notice that the committee says that it is the opinion of the committee that compensation should not be made applicable to seamen as de-

fined under the law. No doubt those of you who are especially favorable to compensation wondered why that position is taken, and it may therefore be of some value to explain to you why the seamen take that position. When a man in a harbor or on shore is instructed by the foreman or those in charge of the work to do certain work where, in the workman's opinion, there is great danger of being killed or injured, it is within the power and the right of the individual workman in the harbor or on shore to quit his employment right then and there, put on his coat and walk away. But with reference to the seaman there is an entirely different situation. Whenever a seaman on board a ship is instructed to do certain things, no matter what danger there is in the doing of them, he is bound to do it not only by the sense of his duty to the rest of the men on board the ship and the passengers, but because the law specifically makes it punishable by fine and imprisonment if he fails to do it.

The sea is a peculiar affair. Employment at sea is a joint venture in which we undertake to protect each other, and especially to protect the passengers that are on board, so that there is no such thing for a seaman as saying, "no, I won't do that." If he does, and it is important enough and serious enough, he may be compelled to do it at the point of a gun, and the officer in charge is justified by the courts and by popular opinion and by the class of work at sea in so doing. Then if it is not of sufficient importance, for that he is logged, as we call it, a report of it is made to the port on shore, and he is sent to prison for disobedience of a lawful command.

Those laws may seem harsh to you and you may think that the modern condition should lead to a change in that, but as a seaman I want to say to you that those are developments of the ages for the purpose of yourselves in a position to make an efficient fight, and those laws cannot be changed without destroying safety. So that there is an entirely different aspect as between the men in harbor and the men on shore and the actual sea. The seaman must obey. His very calling calls upon him to obey at the price of his life, if necessary, and therefore, you have to deal with questions that are not accidents in any sense of the word. They are there as a result, and come in men, lack of understanding and

very often as a result of lack of skill proper training, and the ship owner under the law is made responsible in our present status for the taking care of the sick or injured at once. He must do that, and if he fails to do it he is subject to damages, and the damages for that have always been heavy.

It is called in law the failure to treat. That comes down to us from the Romans, and is about three thousand years old, so that we have, in a sense, a compensation law that actually does give attention at once, and, so far as it can be given, medical attention of some kind at once.

In addition to that we have, under the Supreme Court of the United States, a decision in the *Oseola* case in which the seaman is entitled here, as elsewhere, to his wages going on until the end of the voyage of the vessel. In addition to that, of course, we have the employers' liability in the same way as the railroad men. It was taken over bodily from the railroads and put upon the vessel. As a result of this the ship owners and the liability companies are combining together for the purpose of compelling the seaman to accept compensation in lieu of all other remedies. Our position has been that we will accept compensation in addition to existing remedies, and the right of the choice after the accident has occurred or the injury has happened.

Now the ship owners came before the Congressional committees in the longshoremen's compensation case and urged very vehemently that the seamen should be included. When the committees, however, realized the fundamental distinction that the men in the harbor or the men on shore may quit and refuse to take the risk, whereas the seamen cannot, but must obey orders, the committees put into the bill a provision similar to that you have got in the report of this committee.

Now we have out in California a man by the name of Peterson who represents the ship owners, or who represented the ship owners in the last session of Congress. He was trying in every possible way to get a compensation act applied to the seamen and has failed so far. He claimed that he represented seamen, and, of course, that was taken with a grain of salt. Now he is occupied in getting petitions from seamen, asking Congress to include the seamen in the compensation of the longshoremen or harbor workmen. These peti-

tions are laid before the man and he knows that if he fails to sign the probabilities are that he will not obtain employment, because they have got absolute control over the employment through their employment office, through registration and through selection being taken from the master of the vessel and put into the hands of these employment officers. These petitions recite, of course, that the men signed them without any coercion or inducement whatsoever and of their own free will. That is a euphemism that everybody will apply to put over at once anything that is fundamentally rotten.

Having this in mind the committee put this provision into the report. I am explaining it to you in order that you may understand, so that it would not be possible for somebody to come and tell you that the seamen want this thing, want to have the compensation in the same way as others, or that the seaman is better treated because he hasn't got it. It is for you to remember, then, that it is the insurance companies, the protection and indemnity insurance companies and the ship owners that are trying to compel the seamen to accept that compensation service as provided.

There is another reason why the seamen should be specifically excepted, and that is that the compensation commissions sit, of course, in the United States, whereas a seaman may be in South Africa or the South Sea Islands or in any other part of the world. If you take away from him the protection of care and cure as this thing would do, the result is he might be thrown ashore to be eaten by strange dogs and if he gets back to the United States he will have to get back the best way he can, and then when he gets there the men who were on board the vessel are scattered to the four winds of heaven, he can't get any evidence, he can't get any witnesses, and he is utterly and absolutely helpless.

I think it is due you that this explanation should be made. I am, of course, in entire agreement with the report of the committee.

Delegate Doyle, Painters: Delegate Lynch has submitted to the committee the definition of what he thinks ought to be embodied in an occupational disease bill. There isn't any question but that it is right. My experience

with the compensation law is of a large volume. We find in New York state that about eighty-five per cent or better of occupational disease cases are appealed, with the result that the employee is defeated from obtaining his compensation because of the fact that the law is not described as an accidental injury.

Take a man working in a chemical factory handling sulphuric acid or any of the other ingredients used in that factory, the man sustains burns on his body that have incapacitated him from work. In order to recover under the law as it is, under the occupational disease provision of the law, you have got to go in and specify the particular thing that caused his condition, what kind of an acid it was, or salts, or anything else.

Take a stone cutter, the stone cutter is subject to tuberculosis, and under the compensation law it would be a mighty hard thing to prove tuberculosis traceable to the occupation, but everyone that is acquainted with quartz or silicas or any of those things knows that a stone cutter is in constant danger of contracting tuberculosis, and the only way that the law is going to be successful is to have a blanket bill to cover all occupational diseases as an accidental injury traceable to the occupation.

I agree with Delegate Lynch that that must be a very important proposition in all the states. We must lend every effort to include every occupation there is as an occupational disease by classifying it as an accidental injury, instead of forcing a definition of what was the cause, whether it was a burn or the stone or anything else. I think that is the proper method and I concur with the committee in their report, with the addition as suggested by Delegate Lynch.

Delegate Manson, Montana State Federation of Labor: The state of Montana maintains a hospital with a capacity of about five hundred patients, supported by the taxpayers of the state. The chief mining company of the state supplies 56 per cent of the inmates of that institution. There is a constant stream of men suffering from miners' consumption, en route from Silver Bow County to the miners' hospital for treatment. The hard rock miners of Montana, in spite of every precaution that has yet been installed, are constantly inhaling rock

dust of the most poisonous character. That dust, as was demonstrated and fully explained by an expert from the United States Bureau of Mines who spent nearly two years investigating conditions in Silver Bow County, clings to the lungs and there is no possible way on earth that the person who has inhaled that can ever rid himself of it.

We have tried for a number of years to secure an occupational disease clause in our compensation law in Montana. On every occasion that we have made this effort the attorneys for the biggest mining companies in Montana, employing more than 20,000 men who work in hazardous industry, have said that if an occupational disease clause is inserted in the compensation laws of Montana, their company and all other employers employing quartz miners in this industry will demand of every one of these men that he pass a physical examination by their physician. The consequence has been that, in spite of the efforts of the Montana State Federation of Labor and all of those who have worked with us seeking a correction of that condition, the miners, the smeltermen themselves in large numbers have petitioned that that clause be not enacted, because of the fear that they would lose their jobs.

It has been estimated, and the estimate is based on a careful survey of conditions, that the average life of the average quartz miner in the deep rock mines of the west is not more than nine years. It is true that the larger companies, like the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, make provision for the care of as many of these crippled workmen as they can. There is no complaint that they make every possible effort to supply employment to these men after they become disabled as miners, but the citizenship of the State of Montana is being diminished every day, every week, every month, every year, by hundreds of good men who might be saved if proper precautions were used.

I have contended all the while, and I have made this contention to the miners and smeltermen, that if we can enact this law it will compel these big companies to so safeguard them at their employment that it won't be long until no such condition as this will exist. The attorney for the Anaconda Copper Mining Company appeared before our legislative committee that was considering our compensation legislation and said, "Our company has installed millions of dollars' worth of pumps and safety devices and

all that sort of thing," and actually made the statement that no man who was not willfully negligent need inhale any dust whatsoever. The men working in the mines dispute that, and yet the threat of permanent loss of position, with no other place to go, has kept out men in a frame of mind that has compelled them, as a matter of personal safety, to oppose legislation of this character.

I don't know how we are going to get relief. New men are entering these mines every day and placing themselves in position to become subject to this dreadful disease every day that the mines in the State of Montana operate. A constant stream of prospective victims is entering these death traps, and yet we can do nothing because of this threat that everlastingly hangs over their heads.

I believe, with Delegate Lynch, that the only adequate remedy is the remedy found in California, and I am hopeful that the same way will be found by which a clause of that kind can be inserted in every workmen's compensation law in this country.

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee: With the permission of the convention we would like to withhold action on that portion of the committee's report until Delegate Lynch has written his suggestion, so that the committee can include it in his report.

President Green: That suggestion seems to be satisfactory to the committee and I feel that it is satisfactory to the delegates, consequently if there is no objection we will postpone action temporarily and proceed to the consideration of other matters.

Later in the session Delegate Lynch submitted the amendment noted at the beginning of the report, which was adopted and made a part of the report.

The report of the committee, as amended, was then adopted unanimously.

Individual Contracts.

Your committee desires to call attention to the development and use of an alleged form of contract which anti-union employers are compelling employees to accept.

Under the guise of a contract for employment, wage earners, are compelled to surrender their trade union membership, and pledge themselves to take no collective action with fel-

low employees relative to their terms of employment, or to become members of trade unions while remaining in the firm's employ.

The employee, as a price of securing or retaining a job, is forced to surrender his right to voluntary association. Such alleged contracts contain a fundamental injustice, their existence constitutes an imminent danger not only to the workers but to all the people of the United States.

The employers who make use of them are advocates of the so-called and misnamed "American Plan." They are members of powerful organizations. Having applied their right to free association and organized their city and state bodies, federating these into national associations they apply the individual contract to their employees for the purpose of making it impossible for them to exercise their right as free men and American citizens, to organize for self protection and the promotion of their welfare.

The employers making use of individual contracts in many instances organize for the specific purpose of devising and applying ways and means of preventing their employees from enjoying their equal right to organize.

The individual contract popularly known as the "yellow dog," is intended to so deprive the wage earners of one of their most necessary and essential rights as free men that industrial autocracy can be established and function unchallenged.

The Declaration of Independence asserts that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," but supporters of the so-called American Plan denounce this basic and divine truth. They deny the existence of equality of rights and of opportunities for all American citizens and announce that employers

alone shall have the right of organization in the industrial field.

There is no mutuality in the "yellow dog" contract. Being devoid of this it lacks the vital essential of a contract. The employe surrenders his right to voluntary association, while the employer's right to organize remains unquestioned and unlimited.

There is but one purpose in these contracts. They do not guarantee continuous employment for any definite period of time, they do not guarantee the payment of any specified wage rate. They contain but one specific condition, the provision that in return for the privilege of working the workman will completely surrender the right of taking any collective action with fellow employes, or become a member of a trade union.

Such alleged contracts are contrary to public policy, for their specific purpose is to prevent American citizens who are wage earners from exercising an all important right. They are contrary to public policy because they seek through the law of contract to destroy one of the basic rights established by the Federal constitution.

Such contracts have but one purpose, the creation of class rights and distinctions in the industrial field, through the building up of a legal fiction that under the law of contract, workmen may lawfully surrender the right to voluntary association. The recognition of such contracts as valid instruments, their application to workmen in general, would soon establish a condition in industry under which organization would no longer be possible for workmen.

The employers, through their associations would dominate the lives of the workers, as thoroughly as the barons dominated their serfs, or as the masters did the peons before the enactment of the anti-peonage law.

The "yellow dog" contract is a chal-

lenge to our American institutions. It is intended to destroy the exercise of a most essential right. Its existence creates a condition which our movement must recognize and prepare to overcome.

The negro was prevented from being forced into a second condition of slavery by the enactment of the anti-peonage law. No one in the United States can now enter into any contract to work for another for the purpose of paying debts. Such forms of contract for labor are illegal. The employer forcing one upon a workman is punished by imprisonment.

The "yellow dog" contract is as fully destructive of human liberty as a condition of peonage. It shackles the workmen's hands, it prevents him from voluntary association with his fellow workmen, it prevents him from having a voice in determining the terms of employment and conditions of labor. It makes him a voiceless human cog in the machinery of industry. It transforms him into a helpless victim, made such so that the employer may establish autocracy in industry.

The American Federation of Labor has always been pledged to vigorously oppose every form of autocracy. It denounces and condemns in the most vigorous terms any system of industry which tends or undertakes to subjugate free men by reason of their necessities or weaknesses. It now calls upon trade unionists to meet this present challenge to human rights and unflinchingly and intelligently attack that form of autocracy which is manifesting itself through "yellow dog" contracts.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Statement by the Committee on the Report of the Executive Council

Discussion that has developed on the floor of the convention since it as-

sembled in Detroit, has brought out sharply one subject that your committee believes it may, without infringing upon the rights of any other committee, deal with.

Modern industrial development has gone forward so rapidly that even the closest observers are unable to keep fully abreast of it. In some aspects this development has taken the form of financing on a basis that is leading to a point where no one may say exactly what will happen. Able men, notably Professor William Z. Ripley of Harvard University, have pointed out the extreme danger that lies in the direction along which our business affairs are now traveling. Before this new era dawned, the business world was familiar with the device known as the stock dividend. Originally, this was resorted to for the legitimate purpose of permanently fixing in the capital employed the accretion accumulated and held as surplus. Any such stock dividend was accepted as notice to all, and sundry, that the business had been profitable beyond the sum needed for defraying reasonable dividends, and the excess earnings had been employed in the work of carrying on the enterprise, to the end that even greater dividends might be declared and a large surplus accumulated. This was also a notice that the wage rate in any such enterprise might be advanced without jeopardizing the success of the undertaking.

Since the dawn of the post war era we have known such manipulation of enterprise as makes the high finance of the earlier part of the century appear like the innocent amusement of amateurs. One of the most elastic and readily controlled agencies for this form of jugglery is the stock issue of "no par value." It means exactly what it says, that the purchaser of that stock buys nothing. He

pays his money for the prospect of accumulating dividends at whatever rate a board of directors may determine. Through the issue of non-voting stock, or the central control device, the purchaser of stock has no voice whatever in the management or direction of the affairs of the concern to which he has turned over his money. The danger residing in such a practice is so apparent that only the most reckless of investors or the most gullible will resort to the purchase of such stock for the employment of their savings.

Another dangerous practice is that form of stock issue which is commonly referred to as "employee ownership." Thousands of employees of the various great manufacturing or transportation concerns of the country have invested large portions of their savings in these concerns, lured on by specious and attractive promises from stock promoters or from the management.

Your committee would not in the remotest sense discredit thrift among the workers of America, nor discourage any ambitious worker from trying to make himself secure against possible want in the future, but we would urge that all give careful consideration to the subject that is so tremendously important to them. When it is possible for a man of William Z. Ripley's standing to publish in one of the most conservative American magazines the names of one after another of great corporations whose financial statements to the public and to their stockholders are inaccurate, misleading and in some cases contain downright untruths, it is time for the ordinary mortal to "Stop, Look and Listen."

Your committee also wishes to call attention to a practice that is prevalent and which exemplifies one of the most unsound and dangerous contrivances known to high finance. We re-

fer to the capitalization of prospective earnings. Under this process it is the common practice for financial buccaneers to secure control of a prosperous business and then through the process of reorganization or reincorporation to increase the capital stock by two or three times the original sum, basing this increase on the earning capacity of the plant and the anticipation of future sales of its product. This is such an extreme form of speculation that it amounts in the end to downright gambling, presenting to the stock purchaser only the prospect of winning a return on his investment in the event that the anticipated increased sales of output be realized. Such stock issues are dependent for value entirely upon the ability of the manipulating group to maintain the enterprise at its full productive capacity. In the event of any diminution or cessation of purchases by the public the payment of dividends must cease or be provided for from a surplus which has been created through the accumulation of excessive profits. When such adversity overtakes one of these companies the device most swiftly applied to preserve the shrinking surplus is that of reduction in wages. At the same time the investor will note the decrease in the quoted price of his shares in the stock list and may easily compute for himself the extent of the loss he is incurring through having "taken a chance" in the game that is being played by the financial captains of the day.

Your committee would urge therefore that all workers wherever situated proceed in their purchases of corporation shares with the same caution and prudence that they would exercise in other investments.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hayes, (M. S.) International Typographical Union, in discussing the

report of the committee, said in part: I believe the question of stock ownership that is being very widely promoted and articles are being written by very learned gentlemen for magazines and ponderous editorials are being printed in leading newspapers, in the hope of chloroforming the general public to the sinister scheme that is now being developed in conjunction with or connected up with the so-called company union is one that we ought to give very serious consideration to and one that ought to be very generally discussed in our local unions and central bodies in order that the rank and file may understand just what this means.

Of course, those who make a study of industrial developments can realize that the scheme is simply to further that general tendency to establish this new feudalism that overshadows this country. It is simply chaining workers who invest in these stocks to their jobs and establishing more securely ownership of the labor power of the workers by the corporations that dominate them.

Of course the stock ownership swindle, like all other bunco schemes or gold brick propositions that are held out to labor as a substitute for trade unions will fool a certain number of workers, and particularly those who are afraid of their jobs; those who, knowingly or unknowingly, make these investments and part with some of their wages in the hope of having permanent employment.

After all that we have heard in the newspapers and on the part of noonday lunch orators of stock ownership we find, in a report of an investigation made by a New York banking house that, for example, the Pennsylvania railroad, which is, I believe, one of the pioneers to initiate this scheme, has sold to 19,000 employees 88,000 shares of a total value of \$4,800,000, or a percentage of the Pennsylvania stocks of nine-tenths of one per cent. The Manhattan Transit railway, where the shop union workers became disgusted and discouraged with the exploitation to which they were subjected, also has sold 15,000 shares representing \$958,000, or one and one-half per cent of the total. Now they are joint stockholders and yet the employers go into court and are suing them for damages because they struck against their own company union.

The Bethlehem Steel Company, at the head of which is our sanctimonious

hypocritical friend, Charles M. Schwab, was another one of the pioneers in this flim-flam game. They sold stock to the amount of 35,000 shares, representing \$3,500,000, or one and three-tenths per cent of the total stock. The General Motors sold to 6,900 employees 24,000 shares for \$3,000,000, and those employees are joint owners in a percentage of one-half of one per cent of all the stocks of General Motors. I don't know whether they got any of the stock dividend that was distributed recently which the dear people and the employees will pay.

It has been estimated that before the workers can secure control machinations, at least two centuries will have elapsed, and we won't see much of that. It will take more than two hundred years at the present progress of the purchase of this stock, but there is a little colored gentleman in this wood pile besides the open and above-board robbery that is taking place on the part of the management in separating the workers from more of their wages, and that is that the manipulators maintain the power to pump more wind and water into these stocks and sell this wind and water to the employees to such an extent that while a stock has been purchased which aggregates about \$8,000,000, while the employees were buying that \$8,000,000 of stock with their wages, the corporations put about \$1,300,000,000 of value in the stock; in other words, proceeded to increase their stocks twice as rapidly as could be purchased by laymen.

Delegate Thomas, Commercial Telegraphers: The American Bell Telephone Company is capitalized at \$1,500,000,000, and it has its scheme for selling stock to the employees. The Western Union Telegraph Company has an approximate capital of \$200,000,000. The other communication companies also have plans for the enrichment of the employees. The Western Union Telegraph Company characterizes its plan as "the rainy day plan," that is, it was supposed to provide for the employees' rainy day.

The New York stock exchange has listed in bonds, preferred and common stock, about forty-two billions in capital, or what is supposed to represent capital. If those bonds and securities were ever squeezed well there would be a rainfall that has not been exceeded in intensity since the flood. That forty-two billions probably represents in real worth not more than seven and one-half per ten billions. I hope we

will take into consideration in the next convention the establishment of a statistical committee that will keep labor throughout the world informed of what is going on in these manipulations.

Secretary McCullough: Delegate Hayes referred to magazine articles that were intended to lull to sleep or awaken a false sense of security. The article referred to is by Professor William Z. Ripley, and was intended to do exactly the opposite thing—it was intended to awaken the American investor to the fact that the directors and managements of the great corporations, of whose stock the public holds millions and millions, deliberately withhold information to which the stockholders are entitled. He points out where deliberate untruths have been published by these executive officers or directors of great corporations.

Our good friend, Comrade Russell, a few months ago, wrote a series of articles pointing out the shift that had taken place and how far the management of these great concerns is separated from the ownership, and showing that the actual owners of the concern have little or nothing to do about the management. One thing for the delegates to take home to their constituents in relation to the ownership of a job, how much ownership of a share or any number of shares of stock will guarantee the possession of the position or the right to earn wages in that corporation.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Secretary McCullough: Your committee has carefully considered all matters referred to it by this convention and has made herewith full report on the same, all of which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES WILSON,

Chairman;

T. W. McCULLOUGH,

Secretary;

GEORGE L. BERRY,
THOMAS KENNEDY,
CHARLES SUMNER,
JERE L. SULLIVAN,
WILLIAM P. CLARKE,
J. J. HYNES,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
JAMES G. SHANESSY,
ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK,
COLLIS LOVELY,
JOHN P. FREY,
WM. A. CAMPBELL,
JAMES T. CAVANAUGH.
Committee on Report of
Executive Council.

The report as a whole was adopted and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green presented to the convention Mr. William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railways, a resident of Detroit, to make a brief statement and present a gift to one of the delegates.

Mr. Mahon prefaced his presentation of the gift with the statement that he was conveying a message from the citizens of Detroit. He spoke briefly of the growth in population and in the importance of industry in Detroit, and then proceeded to speak of the fine climate. Following this he referred to the fact that in the Portland convention, when an invitation from Detroit was extended to hold the convention the following year, one delegate said that if the convention was brought here in October the weather would be so cold the delegates would be walking down Woodward Avenue with icicles on their whiskers. He called attention then to the pleasant weather the people of Detroit have been enjoying during October, and presented to the delegate who made the statement in Portland, Mr. James B. Connors of the Switchmen, a handsome sealskin cap.

Delegate Connors made reply in the same humorous vein employed by President Mahon, but stated that he had referred to November weather, not October weather, in the Portland statement.

Delegate Manning, Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department, obtained unanimous consent to have the following resolution printed in the records of the convention, without action:

URGING USE OF UNION MADE WALL PAPERS

Resolution No. 87—By Chas. A. Alexander, National Representative, United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.

WHEREAS, The 45th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Atlantic City, N. J., passed

a resolution presented by United Wall Paper Crafts of North America urging affiliated bodies of the Federation to use every effort to encourage the use of union made wall papers; and

WHEREAS, Results have shown that this effort has been made and that the non-union mills have not made any material progress. On the other hand, the union mills are steadily increasing their output, and are to all intents and purposes satisfied with union conditions. This is evidenced by the fact that we, the United Wall Paper Crafts of North America, have on July 15th negotiated a three-year contract with a 47 1-2 weeks guaranteed employment period, with a healthful increase in pay; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor and its friends, having come to our moral support in such a generous way, we hereby tender our thanks and appreciation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the affiliated organizations continue the agitation to the end that the non-union mills will see the advantages of organized labor and the use of the union label.

Committee recommends concurrence in resolution.

Report of committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Frey: A telegram has reached me from the President of the Washington State Federation of Labor which I would like to have the privilege of reading. It is as follows:

"Seattle, Wash., Oct. 12, 1926.

"John P. Frey, care American Federation of Labor, Graystone Hall, Detroit, Mich.

"Dr. Henry Suzzallo, president of Washington University, whom you know has been removed by Board of University Regents recently appointed by our open-shop Governor for that purpose, and the position has just been tendered to Stephen Miller, educational director for National Bankers Association. The basis of Governor Hartley's antagonism to Suzzallo is the latter's vigorous stand on behalf of the eight-hour day for the lumber industry during the war period when he served as chairman of State Council Defense. Governor Hartley is lumber operator and was one of strong opponents of eight hours. Governor Hartley is part of National Big Business Association that defeated child labor amendment and opposed to all forms of humanitarian progress and are particularly

antagonistic to free education. Believe firing of Suzzallo part of same national campaign to now subordinate our educational system and particularly institutions of higher learning to their reactionary policies. Believe Detroit convention should take cognizance of situation and warn labor movement to be on guard against such encroachments on free education and cite the Washington example. If you agree as to the importance of this suggestion, suggest you take matter up with President Green and arrange for permission to introduce resolution on same from floor as time for introduction of resolutions undoubtedly has expired. Wire me reply collect to 508 Maynard Building, Seattle.

"W. M. SHORT."

Delegate Frey: I believe that it would not be necessary at this time to prepare a resolution in conformity with their request, but it may be quite appropriate to call attention to the many evidences which we have had during the last few years of the strangle hold which many large financial institutions seem to have upon our higher institutions of learning. President Suzzallo is not the first head of a university to feel the weight of the wrath of the misnamed American Planners. We have had evidences since we came here of the way in which they work; we have found them going so far as to attempt to throttle the clergymen in this city. Men who will attempt to determine what will be the policy of the church will have no hesitancy in trying to determine the policy of our higher institutions of learning.

I would therefore move that this convention place itself on record and call public attention to the constant menace which exists to our higher institutions of learning because of the continuous efforts of Big Business to dominate the administration of those institutions. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Frey moved that the secretary be instructed to wire President Short the action of the convention. The chairman announced that that action would be taken without the necessity of a motion.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Young, Secretary of the

Committee, reported as follows:

Economic Measuring Rods.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 50, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee fully concurs in this part of the Executive Council's report in which they call attention to the need and value of having complete records of all developments in the trade union movement, such as records of membership, funds, services rendered to the membership, investments, collective agreements and other machinery created for the purpose of dealing with production and personnel problems developing from day to day.

As stated by the Executive Council, the Federation has begun the work of gathering together data compiled by affiliated organizations. In this way the Federation offices may become a clearing center for data in the whole labor movement and there may be available information which shows the total strength and the total achievements of collective efforts under the Federation. Such material in effect constitutes labor accounting, disclosing investments and benefits flowing therefrom. Members of organized labor have a right to this information and on the other hand the information itself constitutes a convincing organization argument.

We recommend that the Executive Council be requested to develop methods for doing as much of this kind of work as can be undertaken. Out of such studies may come suggestions to local unions as to what kind of data to keep and how to keep records. Such material is needed by every union in presenting its case to management, to fellow workers and to the public. If labor is to present its case by an appeal to intelligence, it must be able to present all the facts.

Your committee therefore urges the co-operation of all affiliated organizations by response to all requests from headquarters for information.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

American Federationist.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 52 and 53, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee desires to call attention to the marked improvement made in the appearance and the content of the "American Federationist," the official magazine of the American Federation of Labor.

As an educational medium within the trade union movement and an aid to those interested in the study of trade union and industrial problems it is unsurpassed by any other publication. We note with gratification the list of distinguished contributors to the magazine and deeply appreciate this concrete evidence of co-operation in the definite undertaking in workers' education which the magazine represents. We are also gratified at the increasing number of trade unionists who contribute to discussion of labor problems.

Attention is called to the need of increasing its circulation, if we are to maintain and further extend its usefulness and service to the trade union movement. The value of the magazine emphasizes the need for securing more readers for our official journal. We therefore recommend and urge that affiliated unions and all trade unionists co-operate to that end and that the Executive Council take definite steps to secure subscriptions for the "American Federationist." We recommend that every official of central bodies and local unions be urged to work to this end.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Legal Information Bulletin.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 52, the committee reported as follows:

The committee recommends that the Executive Council continue the valuable and unique service rendered by this publication. It is of immediate value to union executives to whom such records of legal experience constitutes a hand book invaluable for reference purposes. The bulletin is valuable to all students of legal labor problems.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

News Service.

Upon that portion of the report of the committee under the above caption, page 52, the committee reported as follows:

Publicity is necessary in order that workers and the general public shall know labor happenings and include labor interpretations in the materials upon which they base opinions. Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue and develop the news services that cater both to the labor and the general press.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Pamphlets.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 53, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee wishes to recommend both the character and the appearance of the pamphlets the Federation has been publishing in the past two years. These publications deal with matters of immediate and practical importance and provide inexpensive materials for the worker who wishes to study, that he may contribute to developing plans to deal with labor problems.

The wide use of reprints from the "American Federationist" we wish also to commend. We wish to call attention to the high distinction of the "Divinity of Toil," by Thornton Oakley.

These drawings and verses, portray the high idealism of labor that we urge the widest use of this reprint.

Your committee wishes to call specific attention to the charts and compilations prepared during the past year; a chart showing the provisions of the compulsory education laws of the several states; vacations with pay secured by trade union agreements; trade union benefits paid by central offices for the past year, a compilation showing assets of trade unions in internationals, and quarterly statements of labor banks.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue and expand this work.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Organizing Literature.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 53, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue the policy of developing special organizing literature. It is of utmost importance to organization success that printed material make compelling appeal.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

History and Encyclopedia.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 53, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee wishes to voice the general appreciation of these volumes as handbooks on official actions of conventions and recommends that the Executive Council advertise these books widely and urge trade union executives and members to secure copies for their personal use. We suggest furthermore that every central body see to it that the local library has copies.

The report of the committee was

adopted unanimously.

Sesqui-Centennial.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 53, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends endorsement of the action of the Executive Council in authorizing an exhibit of the American Federation of Labor at the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition and commends the enterprise and judgment shown in taking advantage of this splendid opportunity of placing before the public and foreign visitors an exhibit representing the work and purposes of our trade union movement. Your committee feels that Labor ought to be represented in such a national undertaking and wishes to commend the character of the exhibit prepared for the Philadelphia Sesqui-Centennial.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Local Committees.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 53, the committee reported as follows:

In the opinion of your committee, the formation of local committees on education by central labor bodies is a most natural step to the actual participation by organized labor in the concern of public education throughout the country. We therefore recommend that every Central Body provide for the appointment of permanently maintained local committees.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Compulsory School Attendance

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 53, the committee reported as follows:

The committee believes that the

study of compulsory school attendance laws made by the permanent Committee of Education will pave the way to an understanding of the extent to which the neglect of parents to require the school attendance of their children, and the truancy of children, may be reduced or wholly prevented. But while laws will certainly help to reduce neglect and truancy, it is also true that the introduction of interesting subject matter in the school curriculum will still further reduce truancy, and without the great pressure necessary to enforce the law.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McCullough, in discussing the report, said in part: This matter of compulsory school attendance is directly connected with the other great question of child labor. And there is perhaps no provision of our laws that is more systematically and deliberately evaded than the law requiring the attendance of children of school age during the specified term. It is not necessary to single out any community or any state as being especially flagrant in this matter, because they are all involved, and one of the reasons why this abuse goes on from year to year is because the citizens put the enforcement of the law into the hands of school authorities and then neglect to follow up and find out if those laws are properly enforced.

I imagine that a great many of you, like myself, have cognizance of instances in which the school authorities have been complacent and have connived with employers in the violation of the compulsory education law by issuing certificates which permit the employment of children of school age during the period when the law says they should be in school. It isn't a question of public school, of private school, of denominational or parochial school, it is a question of the child at school.

At this point Delegate McCullough discussed at some length the reasons why families sometimes feel it necessary that children go into industries when they should be in school. The principal reason was that men employed in some industries do not make

a wage sufficient to maintain their families, and suggested that communities make an effort to remedy that condition as the first step toward allowing the children in such families to obtain an education. In concluding his discussion, he said:

As long as we allow that condition to prevail we are remiss in our duty, we are doing the things for which we are organized, and every delegate should go home with a realization of the high obligation that rests upon him and all the members of his organization to see that the compulsory school laws of the various states are observed.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

President Green, at this point, announced that the railway organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor desired to present to Mr. Bromley, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, a gift as a mark of their appreciation "of a member of the railway workers of Great Britain, their comrade, their friend."

Delegate Ryan, President of the International Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, presented to Mr. Bromley a handsome, mahogany clock, trimmed with silver, containing a beautiful set of chimes, and just below the face of the clock a portrait of George Washington, and below that a small, but exquisite painting showing Mount Vernon, the home of Washington.

Fraternal Delegate Bromley, in a brief address expressed his appreciation of the gift. He expressed regret that Mrs. Bromley was not present at the presentation in order that she might also express her appreciation of the gift.

In referring to the organization to which he belongs, Mr. Bromley said in part: I will endeavor, if I can, to say to my good comrades of the railway unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor how much I appreciate this very fine gesture of good fellowship and brotherhood. I take it that while it has

to be handed to myself as the representative of the railway workers' of Great Britain, it also tends to convey to the organized railway workers of Great Britain a gesture of fellowship and solidarity from the railway men in this country. It will be among my most cherished possessions, not only for its beauty, but for the splendid spirit of which this is another

exemplification I have met with from every brother and sister in this country.

Delegate Ryan stated that a gold plate, properly inscribed would later be affixed to the clock.

At 12:45 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

Tenth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

lor, McGeory, Tinney, Bender, Bohm,
TENTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Kasten, Jilison, Boyer, Quesse, David, Schulte, Coulter, Snow, Gillot, Siemer, Smith (W. R.), Barry (E. P.), Wilson, Hannah, O'Connell, Jewell, Wade, Lawson, Manson, Barry (J. L.), O'Hanlon, Gorman, Hill, Stewart, Fox, Kutz, Rohr, Ryan (Jere), Barrett, Quinlan, Doll, Hammer, Wenger, Mullen, Alden, Henley, Augustino, Murphy J. H. (Kensington, Ill.), Woodling, Colbert, Murphy (J. H., Lynn, Mass.), Harris, Evans, Frampton, Fagan, Hollcraft, Coffelt, Herder, Bower, Tarbett, Johnson, (A. C.), Shea, Elwell, Eckhardt, Walker, Woodmansee, Wood, Trimmer, Hope, Covert, Seehaffer, Fitzpatrick, Keeney, Say-Ruben, Ellstein, Polakoff, Shiplacoff, Shaw, Campbell, Flynn, Purves, Scannell, Darrington, Powers, Ryan, Portway, Fuchs.

Delegate Lewis, Mine Workers: I would like to ask permission of the Chair to make a motion relating to the parliamentary business of the convention and have it considered at once. I move that the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor and the selection of the 1927 convention city be made a special order of business at 5 o'clock this afternoon, with the proviso that if the convention finishes its regular business prior to that hour, it may then take up the election in due form.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Report of Committee on Education.

Delegate Young, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Text Books.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council dealing with this subject, page 54, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends highly the work of the permanent Committee on Education in making a careful, unbiased examination of textbooks in the social sciences. Labor wants only an unprejudiced statement of the facts as they relate to its cause and its work. Labor, however, will do all in its power to prevent anti-labor propaganda from being used in the textbooks in the schools.

Your committee commends the cooperation of the Executive Council with the Research Department of the American Federation of Teachers in having a study made of the selection of textbooks in the public schools and also the selection made of current magazines for public school libraries. Teachers are in a tactical position in which they may be of great service to labor in protecting the minds of the children from coming into contact with prejudiced material.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Recreation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council dealing with the sub-

ject, page 54, the committee reported as follows:

The growth in the movement for the provision of adequate means for supervised recreation in towns and cities is significant of an increasing concern for the health of the people. Since the cities are the product of the aggregation of great economic forces, it is but fair that they should put forth every effort to overcome any disadvantage to the freedom of movement, and the conditions of health which their very existence entails.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Teaching Science in Public Schools.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council dealing with this subject, page 54, the committee reported as follows:

The committee believes that when organized labor makes its own studies of new developments in education, it will not be at the mercy of those in charge of educational systems who may have selfish reasons for the introduction of a particular educational device. When a school system desires to carry on an experiment on new lines organized labor should be equipped with the necessary information to enable it to give intelligent support to the school system that is making an honest effort to estimate the value of the new method.

Your committee believes that the labor movement is benefited by keeping alive the spirit of scientific inquiry. Science is organized truth, and in this the labor movement has every reason to claim its part as a heritage.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Industrial Health.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with this subject, page 54, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends highly the work of the Executive Council in

making the arrangements for a careful study of the conditions relating to health in the industries, and also for preparing the pamphlet containing the sixteen rules of health. Although the conditions favorable to good health have greatly increased in the past generation, the high pressure characteristic of the great industries tends to carry the workers back to former evils from which others are escaping. A well organized campaign of education concerning ideal health conditions is necessary in all the industries.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workers' Education Bureau.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 55 and 56, the committee reported as follows:

The educational service of the Workers' Education Bureau to American working men and women during the five and a half years of its existence has been a significant achievement in the history of American labor and in American education. To labor and to the membership of the American Federation of Labor the Bureau stands as the symbol of a new approach to the whole subject of industrial relations. It represents the point of view as expressed by President Green in his eloquent tribute to the service of this Bureau when he said, "We have come to understand more and more the value of knowledge and education in our work. We realize that now since we have reached the point where we must assume responsibility and where we must deal with difficult problems that arise through the processes of collective bargaining, we must be educated so that we can present the facts and present our case in such a way as to convince the other side that our cause is just and our case is well made."

In the field of American education the systematic study of cultural and non-vocational subjects carried on by adult wage earners in a democratic manner upon a voluntary basis, in co-operation with competent scholars is equally a fact of historic significance. Through this movement and under the leadership of this Bureau, wage earners have come to a fuller understanding of the problems of their life and work in industry and in society generally. In addition they have come to think of education not as mere formal learning but as a continuous process—a vital form of self-activity that is concerned with life and with service. Furthermore, this alliance between Labor and Education that has been realized in this movement has pushed forward the possibility of a genuine reunion of industry and culture that is indispensable for the future of our industrial civilization.

Accordingly we desire to record at the outset our appreciation of the great service of this Bureau to our membership, our movement and our country.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Affiliation and Support.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above sub-caption, page 55, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee has given careful consideration to the remarkable growth and development of the Workers' Education Bureau and of the vitally important educational services which it has created for American wage earners. We have seen the way in which the various organizations of labor have given to this Bureau of their moral and financial support. It is a matter of particular satisfaction for us to know that over 530 nationals and internationals, state federations of labor, central and local bodies and edu-

cational enterprises are in active affiliation. We believe in the need and in the future of this movement and this Bureau. We believe that its years of pioneering service deserve an increasing measure of support from our membership. We would enable this Bureau, in the language of President Green, to be carried on in a still broader manner.

We do, therefore, heartily recommend that this convention request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to provide a more adequate annual contribution for the promotion of the work of this Bureau.

We do further recommend to the national and international unions that their annual dues for the support of the Bureau be adjusted so as to range from a minimum of \$25.00 a year up to an amount not to exceed \$1,000.00 per year to be apportioned among the affiliated organizations on the basis of one cent per member a year.

We do further recommend that the affiliation of local unions be increased to three dollars a year so that the educational service of the Bureau to the local organizations may be expanded to meet the increasing interest and needs of these groups.

We do recommend finally that all State Federations and city and central bodies undertake active affiliation with this Bureau so that we may make of our movement, a great educational, as well as economic movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

State Federation of Labor.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council, page 55, under this sub-caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is genuinely impressed by the constructive leadership which the Federations of Labor have given to the subject of workers' education during the past year. In a country so vast as our

own the administration of any educational program must be decentralized, yet it must be unified and co-ordinated. The State Federation of Labor is the logical administrative unit for an educational program for wage-earners. The Portland Convention outlined a plan for the creation of educational departments in each State Federation and provided for the appointment of educational directors. This plan was affirmed by the El Paso and Atlantic City Conventions. It represents in our judgment the wisest course to follow.

We heartily commend the President of the American Federation of Labor in again urging all the State Federations this year to establish such departments and appoint educational directors if they had not already done so. The report of the response of these State Federations to his letter has been as encouraging as it has been important. In a number of cases full-time educational directors have been appointed to give to the subject of workers' education their earnest consideration.

We recommend to this convention the continuation of this program—the creation in all State Federations of Departments of Education and the appointment of educational directors. The employment of such directors on full time where possible will be a profitable investment. Along this path is the direction of constructive educational progress for Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Significance of Workers' Education

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above sub-caption, pages 55 and 56, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with interest and satisfaction the progress that has been made with the publications of the Bureau. Its books and pamphlets are now used as texts in the study classes and workers colleges. Frequently these publications find a much wider audience of

readers. The value of such literature at once interpretative and accurate yet non-technical, is of the greatest service to Labor. For these reasons, we are glad to learn of the recent incorporation of the Workers Education Bureau Press to give a greater permanence to this publication service.

The establishment of a Research Department under the direction of the Bureau in close co-operation with the Federation for the study of problems of workers education and of the labor movement is an event of genuine importance. The careful study of the various problems of teaching methods, curriculum and textbooks will do much to contribute to intelligent planning for this movement. Equally the research services as developed should prove of immense value to the movement.

Your committee accordingly desires to congratulate the Bureau on the development of its constructive program of publications and research and recommend both of these services to the American trade union movement.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: In connection with the question of research, may I for a moment occupy the attention of the convention and offer a suggestion? It may not appeal to the average individual until it is brought to their attention that they are overlooking, to use the language of the streets, a number of good bets.

I have in mind a number of instances of women who are connected with the catering industry who are forced into that industry because of circumstances over which they had no control. In one instance that I recall a workman who had carried a card in one of the building trades, a man raising a small family, went out to work with a smile on his face, was brought back in a maimed condition, and a few days later he died. The wife, without any knowledge of the trade, came to the conclusion that she can fit herself into some line of endeavor and she chooses the catering industry. She finds that to a large extent that industry is not as well organized as it ought to be, and it occurs to me that it is a part of education to bring this

thought back to your people, so that whenever they have the opportunity they will help these women to organize, not particularly in our industry, but in the several industries in which women are engaged. That is a thought on education, Mr. Chairman, that I think is worth while.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I am not going to oppose the report of the committee, I am not going to say very much on this, but I think it would be worth the while of the membership of this convention and of the officers of the American Federation of Labor to read, with some real desire for proper understanding, those books that are being issued. If they are not the direct opposite of the fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor, I don't know anything.

The report of the committee was adopted with one dissenting vote.

Workers' Education Enterprises.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 56, the committee reported as follows:

The education of the trade unionist should begin in his local union. This association with his fellow workers should be made one wherein all the problems of the union, the industry, and the community are discussed and decisions made upon the presentation of the facts. In a great number of local unions throughout the country the development of educational hours in the local unions at periodic intervals or prior to the union meeting have not only added interest and attendance but have also given to the union a more clearly defined function as a training school in social economy for its members.

Your committee recommends that a special effort be made during the coming year to have local unions through their educational committees work out such educational meetings for the instruction of their members.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workers' Colleges and Study Classes.

Upon that portion of the report of

the Executive Council under the above sub-caption, page 56, the committee reported as follows:

Under that section of the Executive Council report under the above caption on page 56.

The increase in the number of adult wage earners who have been engaged in a program of systematic study in their own study classes and workers colleges during the past year has been most encouraging. It is a clear indication of the interest in and need for such education on the part of workers to prepare themselves to adequately meet their industrial and civic responsibilities.

The study groups are essentially educational institutions. They are devoted in general to the free and impartial study of such subjects as are of interest to the workers. The study groups are democratically managed, and financially supported by those who participate. They bring together for the purposes of study and fellowship working men and scholars. For all these reasons, these groups have become in fact "power houses" for the development of educational ideas.

Your committee unhesitatingly recommends that the widest encouragement be given to all such study classes and workers' colleges for the free and impartial study of subjects as are of interest to wage earners. Their contribution to the education of American working men and women is unquestioned.

The report of the committee was adopted with one dissenting vote.

Summer School and Labor Institutes.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above sub-caption, page 56, the committee reported as follows:

The more recent development of summer schools and labor institutes as a part of the educational program for

wage earners have proved to be important links in the whole workers' educational program. For many these schools provide an opportunity to spend a part of one's holiday in the fellowship of study and discussion. It makes of education a continuous activity. The plan to extend these summer schools into the south is the proper recognition of the educational interests of southern workers. The further plan to use the campuses of state supported institutions for such summer schools is a proper use of the institutions which are supported by the people.

The value of the more specialized labor institutes for the study of particular industrial problems by a single or group of unions has been demonstrated. Such institutes enable workers to meet together with technicians and economists for the intensive study of their problems.

Such institutes to be of the greatest value must adapt themselves to the needs of the workers in a given locality. In a word they should be established where workers are rather than require workers to come to them.

Your committee adds its word of complete endorsement to the general purposes of such summer schools and institutes. They should be intimately associated with the whole educational program so that they can meet the continuing educational needs of the workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Child Labor.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, pages 57 to 59, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

That part of the Executive Council's report which deals with child labor is such a concise, informing summary of present situations that your committee recommends that the

convention direct that this section be printed in pamphlet form and given wide circulation.

This pamphlet will suggest to widely different groups specific undertakings which they may initiate in order to have toward the abolition of child labor.

We urge that all State Federations of Labor and city central bodies continue their efforts to secure ratification of the child labor amendments. The facts contained in this section completely contravert the statements of those who deny the need of this amendment and further federal legislation to prevent child labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Library Association.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with this subject, page 61, the committee reported as follows:

The co-operation of librarians is indispensable to all educational work and especially to undertakings in adult education. We recommend that unions everywhere seek the friendly aid of librarians and that the American Library Association be kept advised of our needs and plans. This association is concerned with developing various types of services and can perform its full service only through co-operation with other social groups. We suggest that the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to advise the American Library Association of our appreciation of its work and our desire to share the reciprocal benefits of co-operation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Legion.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with this subject, page 61, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that friendly relations with the American

Legion be continued in furtherance of undertakings in the interest of all.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Religious and Educational Groups.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with this subject, page 61, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends the development of relations with all groups and institutions that can make constructive contributions to our movement. We believe that the message of labor must be carried to all persons and all quarters in order that there may be the understanding necessary to the good-will which expresses itself in cooperation. We believe that we have something to give as well as something to gain from such contacts.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor's Specific Days.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 62, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends unreversed endorsement of this section of our Executive Council's report which emphasizes the value of specific memorial days to call attention to the ideals which are the labor movement and sustain those spiritual qualities which make the movement dynamic.

We recommend that workers be urged to observe with fitting ceremony Labor's Memorial Sunday, Labor Sunday, and Labor Day.

Teachers' Retirement Law.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above sub-caption, page 66, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee calls attention to the more favorable retirement law for the teachers of the District of Columbia than the retirement law for the fed-

eral employees, a difference which may be ascribed to the very general movement for teachers' pensions throughout the states.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Curtis-Reed Bill.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above sub-caption, page 67, the committee reported as follows:

Since the year 1918 the American Federation of Labor has been on record as in favor of national legislation establishing a Federal department of education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet. Every year since that time a bill has been introduced in Congress, and has received the support of this organization. However, we believe that the sentiment throughout the country generally has become increasingly unfavorable to the national control of education. In response to this opposition, the various bills relating to the establishment of this department have tended to eliminate more and more those provisions which might be interpreted as providing for a system of national control. Objection was raised by the Executive Council in February, 1926, to the Curtis-Reed bill now before the Congress for the reason that it contains a provision which would establish interdepartmental conferences. In the opinion of the Executive Council, this provision would open the way for the domination of the new department by other and more powerful departments that might have educational programs of their own of national extent and character.

In the opinion of your committee the American Federation of Labor should not approve any bill for the establishment of a department of education, unless it specifically provides for the autonomy of the department, and unless the proposed department is to be a department of research and distribution of information. It seems to your committee that a de-

partment of research would be especially valuable as a means of providing the country with facilities for meeting the menace of the establishment of a national authority owned and controlled by the great foundations that are even now building up their power through a national movement in education. But because of the grave and important questions that have arisen in connection with the establishment of a federal department of education, your committee recommends that the Executive Council authorize a thorough investigation of the entire subject before the American Federation of Labor commits itself further upon the issues raised in relation to this legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COPYRIGHT LEGISLATION

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above sub-caption, page 67, the committee reported as follows:

In this part of the report the Executive Council directs attention to the fact that during the past year the several interests affected by copyright legislation, including the trade unions directly concerned, have come to an agreement regarding copyright legislation and which includes trade union labels, shop cards and buttons.

Attention is also directed to the support given by the American Federation of Labor to this legislation and which is in accord with the wishes of the trades unions directly interested.

Your committee therefore recommends continuance of this approval and support by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Young: Mr. Chairman, this concludes the report of the committee, which is signed:

JAMES P. NOONAN,
Chairman;
WILLIAM YOUNG,
Secretary;
JOHN H. WALKER,

PAUL DULZELL,
JOHN T. COSGROVE,
H. C. GRIFFIN,
HENRY F. SCHMAL,
WILLIAM A. NEER,
THOMAS E. BURKE,
WALTER WISDOM,
MORRIS SIGMAN,
HENRY R. LINVILLE,
JAMES F. MORIARTY,
A. O. WHARTON,
A. J. BERRES,
WILLIAM GLOCKLING,
Committee on Education.

Delegate Young secretary of the committee, moved the adoption of the report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green: I want to transgress upon the regular order of business for just a moment. We have present with us some distinguished visitors from Great Britain. These visitors, who happen to be in the city of Detroit, are members of a commission appointed by the government of Great Britain for the purpose of investigating industrial conditions in the United States of America.

The chairman of the commission is Sir William Mackenzie, and the commission is composed of representatives of labor men, representatives of employers, representatives of the government, and, I presume, of the public. I felt that you would be pleased to know that they were here and have them introduced to you, so that you might be acquainted with them and have one of them make a few remarks.

This commission is touring the United States. It is investigating industrial conditions. The members of the commission called upon us to co-operate with them, and in response to that request the President of the American Federation of Labor communicated with representatives of national and international unions asking them to meet this commission when they arrived in the different industrial localities and assist them in their investigation, help them to understand the relationship of the organized labor movement to industry and what we are doing, through the processes of collective bargaining and co-operation. I want to emphasize that request just now. As they come among you, please give them a full measure of co-operation and support.

First I want to introduce to you Mr. Ernest Bevin, General Secretary

of the Transport Workers' Union. Most of you remember Brother Bevin, who attended the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor as a fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. Then we have Mr. James Caylor, member of the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. I understand that the Amalgamated Engineering Union is an organization of metal workers, and in our country we know them as machinists, so that he is a member of what we term the machinists' organization. Then we have Mr. C. Randolph Smith, the employers' representative, and Mr. F. W. Leggett, the Minister of Labor. I am sorry that Sir William Mackenzie is not here so that we could present him to you.

I now take pleasure in introducing Mr. Bevin, and he will address you for a short time.

ADDRESS BY MR. ERNEST BEVIN

Mr. President and delegates to the convention: I regret my inability to reach Detroit in time for your conference, and therefore, on its behalf and on behalf of the whole delegation, I want to express our gratitude to your President and his colleagues in Washington for the very ready way in which they responded to the delegation's request to assist us in getting, shall I say a correct view of conditions in the United States?

We are here with a view of trying to present to our own countrymen a true picture, uncolored, impartial, of the situation as we see it in this great country, and I am sure that there will be a ready response to the President's request to give us all the facilities you can so that we may see both sides of American working life.

We believe that just as no man has a monopoly of knowledge, neither has any one country a monopoly of knowledge or experience, and we take the view that by getting correct data and being able to present it in a true manner, it will help to increase the knowledge between the two countries and avoid each other's evil effects but probably endeavor to copy the

good, in the hope that it will add to the sum total of human happiness.

I don't propose to take up your time except to thank you. I have, Mr. President, to be impartial, and this is an awful job, but still the British government has given us an absolute free hand to get the facts. We are under no orders, no instructions to present any particular kind of report, but simply to present a true report, and I am quite certain that the American Federation of Labor, in its usual characteristic way, will help us to take back a correct picture, so that we may help our fellow countrymen in the country we have come from. I thank you very much.

President Green: I am sure that we appreciate the remarks of Brother Bevin, and we want him and his associates to know the best of us and the worst of us. We want them to have a true picture of the industrial situation here. There is a deep impression in the minds of many of our trades unionists that some delegates from Great Britain who have visited us have not had the opportunity—shall I put it that way—of getting a true picture of the industrial situation. Now we want to make special efforts to help these men, so that they may know the truth and the facts.

We thank you for your visit and for the address you delivered.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BOYCOTTS

Delegate John J. Doyle, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Molders Request Reaffirmation of Action Declaring the Holland Furnace Company Unfair

Resolution No. 36.—By Delegates M. J. Keough, John P. Frey, J. W. Mara and Pierce F. Hayden, of the International Moulders' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Holland Furnace Company, through its opposition to the International Molders' Union of North America, has made it impossible for a friendly relationship to be established; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its action at the Atlantic City convention in 1925 in declaring the Holland Furnace Company unfair.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Stove Mounters Request That Affiliated Unions Be Informed Upon the Attitude of the Estate Stove Company, Hamilton, Ohio

Resolution No. 41.—By Delegate W. L. Funder Burk, of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Estate Stove Company of Hamilton, Ohio, for more than twenty years operated the assembling and mounting department of its shop under a written agreement with the Stove Mounters' International Union, Local No. 8, which agreement specifically provided that none other than members of the union should be employed at the mounting of stoves; and

WHEREAS, The Estate Stove Company, after laying off a number of members of the local union, did, on February 10, 1926, begin the assembling and mounting of stoves with non-union workmen, refusing to employ members of the union; and

WHEREAS, At the request of the Estate Stove Company the Central Labor Union of Hamilton, Ohio, made an investigation of the matter and then fully endorsed the position of the Union, condemning the attitude of the firm as unfair; and

WHEREAS, The local union and representatives of the Stove Mounters' International Union have made every effort to effect a settlement of the grievance in accordance with the terms of the existing agreement, the Estate Company at all times arbitrarily refusing any and all propositions for employing union labor, stating that it was their intention to employ non-union labor on the work in dispute; and

WHEREAS, The Estate Stove Company manufactures stoves, ranges, furnaces and heaters under the trade name of "Estate," and is now specializing in the manufacture of a parlor heater sold under the trade name of "Heatrola"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled direct the secretary to give this matter full publicity, by circular, to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, immediately after the close of this convention; and be it fur-

ther

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor refer the matter to the Executive Council for the purpose of making every effort to adjust the trouble.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Metal Polishers Request Assistance in Strike Against Hillerich & Bradsby Company, Louisville, Ky.

Resolution No. 43. — By Delegates W. W. Britton and Ray Kelsay, of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Hillerich & Bradsby Company of Louisville, Ky., manufacturers of baseball bats, sold under the trade name of "Louisville Slugger" and also manufacturers of golf clubs, have declared for the open shop; and

WHEREAS, When the firm began discriminating against and discharging union men, the committee waited upon the firm and the committee was immediately discharged and a general strike of all the employees of the Polishing, Buffing, Plating Departments was called April 2nd, for this firm took the stand they would refuse to pay the union rate of wages, refuse to re-hire or employ any union men and refuse to deal with members of organized labor, and have been placed on the unfair list by the Metal Polishers' International Union and the Louisville Trades Assembly, and many state conventions of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, This firm manufacturing the "Louisville Slugger," a baseball bat and also golf clubs, they depend upon the general public for the sale of their goods therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Hillerich & Bradsby Company of Louisville, Ky., be declared unfair to organized labor, and all International Unions, Central Bodies and Federal Labor Unions, be so notified, and that the A. F. of L. give this strike full publicity by requesting these various organizations to appoint committees to visit sporting goods stores, amateur, semi-pro and professional baseball leagues, explaining our grievance, and urging their assistance in helping us win this strike.

The committee heartily endorses the spirit of this resolution and recommends that same be referred to the

Executive Council for their consideration and action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Doyle: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the committee, which is submitted and signed:

WM. J. TRACY, Chairman.
JOHN J. DOYLE, Secretary.
JOHN H. REARDON.
JOHN DOHNEY.
CHARLES D. DUFFY.
W. F. FUNDER BURK.
TIMOTHY HEALY.
S. P. LUZZO.
CHARLES J. CASE.
LEO E. KELER.
G. R. SMITH.
EDWARD CANAVAN.
THOMAS MALLOY.
OIZER SHACHTMAN.
ISIDORE NAGLER.

Committee on Boycotts.

Secretary Doyle: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Boycotts as a whole. (Motion seconded.)

Delegate Bolander, Tailors: May I say just a word in connection with the committee's report? I want to get a matter on record in reference to a resolution adopted last year by this convention. At the Atlantic City convention a resolution was presented by the Tailors' Union in reference to the unfair attitude of the National Woolen Mills of Parkersburg, and that resolution was adopted by the convention. I want to say that there is no change in the situation at Parkersburg and that the lockout is still on. However, I am pleased to say that through the assistance of organized labor we have been able to drive that company's retail stores out of the industrial centers where they formerly had retail stores, and I understand from a letter that I have received from the secretary at Parkersburg that the company is practically in the hands of a receiver.

We will appreciate continued support along that line from the labor movement of the United States.

The motion offered by Delegate Doyle to adopt the committee's report as a whole was carried by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Delegate Hirschberg, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Proposing That International Unions Require Local Unions to Affiliate With Central Bodies

Resolution No. 42. — By Delegate Samuel Seehaffer, of the Uniontown, Pa., Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Certain delegates representing the local unions in their district fail to attend the official meetings of the Central Bodies or the Trade and Labor Councils; and

WHEREAS, The local unions fail to pay the per capita tax to the Central Bodies or Trade and Labor Councils; and

WHEREAS, Due to such failure to pay the above per capita tax, and on account of the failure of such delegates to attend such meetings of the Central Body or Trade Councils, the power, authority and facilities of such Central Body and Trade Council is hampered and curtailed, with the result that it cannot function as intended; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all Internationals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor insist and require that they compel all local unions of the same to send their delegates to the official meetings of the Central Bodies and Trades Councils and to pay to the Central Body the required per capita tax; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. insist that all Internationals affiliated with the same shall require their local unions to pay a penalty for the non-observance of the above resolution. The penalty to be agreed upon by the International

Your committee is in accord with the spirit of the resolution, and acknowledge the necessity for locals to be affiliated with their respective Central Labor Unions and Trades Council, but cannot concur in the resolve as presented because of the compulsory legislation recommended therein, which is contrary to the voluntary principles of the American Federation of Labor as so frequently emphasized and illustrated by this and prior conventions, and therefore recommends the following Resolve as a substitute which eliminates the mandatory verbiage:

"RESOLVED, That all Internationals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor insist that their respective locals become affiliated with the Central Labor Union and Trades Council within their locality, pay their per capita and attend the meetings regularly."

Respectfully submitted,

JACOB FISCHER, Chairman.
A. HIRSCHBERG, Secretary.
JOHN T. BRISCOE.
L. E. SWARTZ.
F. J. CULLUM.
LOUIS PINKOFSKY.
JOS. M. MARSHALL.
PIERCE J. HAYDEN.
RICHARD JOHNSTON.
R. C. BONNEY.
W. G. POWLES LAND.
R. L. O'HARA.
JAMES B. CONNORS.
J. W. BUZZEL.
GEO. H. CARTLIDGE.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies

Delegate Hirschberg moved the adoption of the committee's report, and the motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Vice-President Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee on International Relations has had under consideration and deliberation all matters referred to them, and makes the following report:

British Miners' Appeal for Assistance.

Upon the portions of the Executive Council's report under the above captions, pages 40 and 42, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes that the Executive Council in the line of justice and humanity, issued an appeal for financial assistance in the interests of and for the relief of the struggling miners of Great Britain. This timely action shows our great movement recognizes no boundary limitations, that its good intentions and helpfulness and generosity reach beyond our jurisdiction and our own country.

The struggles of the British miners

against adverse conditions and great obstacles challenge our thoughtful attention. To be helpful and to render financial assistance to the defenseless women and helpless children, who, after all, are the greatest sufferers in this great economic conflict, is commendable and has our hearty approval.

We concur in the action of the Executive Council in this connection.

International Federation of Trade Unions.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 62, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with approval that the Executive Council has continued its correspondence with the International Federation of Trade Unions but regrets to learn that so far no agreement has been reached that satisfies the justified demands made upon which the American Federation of Labor predicates its willingness to affiliate.

We note, however, with satisfaction that the International Federation of Trade Unions has been a potential factor and stalwart bulwark in restraining the machinations of the Communists' groups and that it has refused to submerge constructive trade union principles to Communist activities.

We express the hope and hazzard the opinion that ultimately the organized labor movement of the world will be in full accord on the question of trade union principles and activities. We look forward with anticipated pleasure to the time when organized labor will be fully united and affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions and, in which the principles and fundamental philosophy of trade unions will be fully adhered to.

We are in accord with the action of the Executive Council on this important question and recommend approval of this part of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Pan-American Federation of Labor.
Mexican Federation of Labor.**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 61, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with commanding attention and hearty approval the Executive Council's report upon this far-reaching and outstanding subject.

In the early struggles of our own beloved country to establish justice, freedom, liberty, self-government, free press, free speech, and freedom of worship, to more effectively show the world at large that interference with any of these inalienable rights would not be tolerated nor would we brook outside interference even in South America, and to accentuate and emphasize this great principle the Monroe Doctrine found life and substance.

In order that the A. F. of L. might more effectively extend its useful experience and knowledge gained in our trade union movement it assisted and encouraged the formation of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, with which we are now affiliated and in which we are taking a leading part.

Our advice, assistance and good will have been helpful in establishing orderly, united and progressive action on the part of labor in those countries through the trade union movement. Heretofore, discord, encouraged by the ruling powers, held full sway which always reacted to the disadvantage of labor's interests, rights and welfare. Our attitude has always been one of tolerance and helpful assistance. In so doing we have adhered to principles of self-government. The labor movement in some Latin-American countries are still in their formative stage. They need our advice, our assistance, our sustaining moral force.

We note with especial interest and hearty approval that the Executive Council has followed without deviation the fundamental policy and principles

of the American Federation of Labor of confining its efforts to the inculcation and promotion of the principles and philosophy of the constructive trade union movement as enunciated and practiced by the American Federation of Labor through its long period of existence.

We moreover note with interest and approval that the Executive Council has approached the situation in Mexico with tolerance and in keeping with our own declaration of the rights and interests of wage earners. This declaration and attitude confines itself to the economic and industrial field and relates purely to labor matters, without regard to creed, sex or race. Your committee is in accord with the Executive Council action in not interfering in any issue or question not clearly within the sphere and scope of the fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor as set forth in its report, and briefly outlined and referred to in this report.

We commend the Executive Council for the dignified way in which it has handled a delicate and intricate incident in our foreign relations with a neighbor to whom we have heretofore given our moral support.

In keeping with the foregoing principles and in the interests of all concerned, it is recommended the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to inquire into the relationship of the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Mexican Government for the purpose of ascertaining all the facts possible and with special reference to the relationship alleged to exist between the Mexican Government and the Mexican Federation of Labor, for the information of the affiliated unions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Actors and Artistes, representing Waterbury, Connecticut, Central Labor Union: A day or so ago the President of the American Federation of Labor made a comment to the effect that there must be something in the atmosphere of the city of Detroit

which made the observance of the rules of common decency not to be expected here. We have had one example of deception which has been practiced upon the unsophisticated President of the American Federation of Labor when a gentleman clothed in the sheep's wool of the Y. M. C. A. turned out to be, when stripped of his wool, arrayed in the red underwear of Communist Russia.

In order that there may be no mistaken impression about who I am or what I am, I think I ought to make my identity known to the Chair and to the delegates by telling them a story. A young Irishman one night rushed up to the parish priest and said, "I have something terrible on me mind." The priest said, "Well, what is it, to wake me up at half past one in the morning and tell me about it?" "Well," he said, "I denied me faith." The priest said, "You denied your faith? You, an Irishman?" And he said, "I did." And the priest said, "How did you come to do that?" "Well," he said, "when I was leaving the old country a couple of weeks ago, when I left Queenstown old man Donnelly, he gave me a quart, and two Mahoneys, they gave me a quart apiece, and Mrs. Flannery, she gave me three half pints, Tom Dugan, he gave me a gallon, and the two Fureys, they gave me a gallon apiece. To make a long story short, I drank it all, and I am lying on me face in the scupper when along comes a couple of sailors and one said to the other, 'Give me a hand until I take this poor sick man to his berth,' and the other man said, 'Poor sick man nothing, he's a dirty drunken Roman Catholic.' Whereupon I stood up on my feet and said, 'You're a liar, I'm a Presbyterian minister.'"

Now for the purpose of this discussion I am a Presbyterian minister. Mr. Chairman, I had very serious doubts whether I would agree at all with the recommendation of the committee. There are things in it that I don't like, and I don't approve of and I don't believe, but at least I am willing to admit that it is an honest effort made to find out the true solution of conditions south of the Rio Grande, and it is because this recommendation calls for an investigation of the relationship between the Calles administration and its kept woman, the Mexican Federation of Labor, that I am in favor of it. It is because this committee stands pledged to this convention to present to it, not a hand-picked decision of the Calles government, as was handed to the representatives of the Non-Conformist church who recently

made an investigation of Mexico under the auspices of the paid press agent of the Calles government, Mr. Roberto Haberman. It is because I believe, Mr. Chairman, that this convention wants the truth about Mexico and demands it as its right.

We have stood forever for the principles of free speech, free assemblage, free press and the right to worship our God as we saw fit. We have stood upon the principle and the platform that nobody is obliged to recognize a government which takes away from a man his inalienable rights as a human being. We have interfered in every row in continental Europe. We have freed Ireland, we have saved the Jews from massacres and the Black Hundred in Czarist Russia, we have protested the presence in China of foreign financial interests. Day before yesterday we knocked Mussolini off his throne, and it is high time that if we are going to do that in every other country in the world, we are going to do it in that country which, so far as the American labor movement is concerned, is an incurable cancer.

Nobody who knows anything about the Mexican labor movement has the slightest idea of its character. I am a newcomer in the ranks of organized labor, but there are men in this convention who for years have had positive proof that it is Red from the top of its head to the soles of its feet. We know it, we have always known it, and it is time that we let the people in Mexico know that we know it.

The mere fact that one religious group in Mexico has been made the victim of this foul union of Calles and the CROM has nothing at all to do with the question. They might just as well have been Christian Scientists or Jews or Holy Rollers, as they happen to be Catholics. That is something with which we have no concern whatever, but we have this much to interest ourselves in, that by the action of a government, assisted by our affiliated body, the CROM, we are particeps criminis of what is going on in Mexico, and we can't deny the responsibility.

The fact that the Executive Council has been deceived is apparent, and I congratulate the committee and the Executive Council upon their willingness to go to Mexico to investigate things as they are and report to us. After all, Mr. Chairman, there is something more concerned in this great labor movement of ours besides wages, working conditions, hours of

employment, and the shorter work day. If that is the only purpose of the American Federation of Labor, if it is going to deny the assumption of its responsibility for every noble thing in human life, if it is going to refuse to accept that responsibility, then the sooner we get out of business the better. If we are not going to concern ourselves with something besides a man's right to work, we are in a pretty poor state, and I don't believe that is the attitude of the American Federation of Labor. I believe underneath all this agitation in which we are constantly engaged for the betterment of mankind, the matter of material comfort is the least consideration. We stand, or ought to stand, as an organized labor body, not only for the rights of men to work or not to work, to improve their economic and industrial condition, but we have a higher obligation, we have to look to it that no one shall come to us who is being deprived of the right to think for himself—and that is what has happened in Mexico.

I am glad that the committee disassociated the religious issue, not because I don't think it should be discussed, but because expediency demands, in view of opposition, that it be at least ignored.

We are concerned in Mexico by reason of the fact that the fundamental principles for which the American labor movement has historically stood and for which it has fought from the north pole to the south pole, irrespective of national boundary lines, make it binding on us to see that the rights of freedom of speech, freedom of assemblage, freedom of the press, and freedom of thought are insured our brown brothers south of the Rio Grande.

Mr. Chairman, I am glad to second and to approve of the recommendation of the committee, especially the part of it which has to do with the appointment of an investigating committee to go into Mexico and report to us what they find, and I am sure that when another twelve months rolls around we won't be under any mistaken impression of the character of the men with whom we have broken bread, we won't have any illusions as to whether it is a Communistic regime in the labor movement in Mexico or not, because we have one outstanding proof of it before anybody even goes to Mexico.

The first move of the Communist philosophy is to destroy any sense of spiritual responsibility in the minds of those whom it wishes to enslave. That is what happened in Russia, that is what is happening in Mexico. Once the great spiritual obstacle is removed from the path of the Calles regime and every iniquity for which it stands, there is nothing that is going to stop Mexico from being another Russia. If for that reason alone and no other, we ought to insure the fact that those in Mexico who may or may not agree with us upon the formula which we should follow in worshipping our God should have the right to do as they please, and I am confident, as I say again, that when this convention meets twelve months from today, we won't have any doubt about what the action of the American Federation of Labor must be, what it must be in honor and decency, what it must be as an example to the labor movements of the world, and what it must be to justify our own proud boast that no one, no matter whether he be black or white or brown, whether he be Jew or Gentile, Catholic, Protestant or atheist, ever came to us that we did not rise in our strength and say to him, "You worship as you please, you speak as you please within the bounds of sound decency, you write as you please, and you have the right to be treated, not as a slave, but as a human being."

And until this Federation clears its skirts of the slime which has attached to it through the deception practiced on the Executive Council by the paid propagandists of Bolshevik Mexico, we had better amend our boast that we stand for free speech, freedom of conscience, freedom of the press and freedom of assemblage.

Vice-President Woll, secretary of the committee: I am very happy to notice that the last speaker seconded the report of the committee. It is unfortunate, however, that he seeks to prejudice the outcome of an investigation being authorized and being recommended for authorization to this convention, for if we are to investigate fairly, without bias or prejudice, then we ought to investigate before prejudging that which we seek to investigate.

It has been stated that the Executive Council has been deceived by paid

propagandists of Mexico. If the records in the possession of President Green were known to the delegate who spoke last, if the time would permit to present that evidence to the convention, then I am sure that the delegate who last spoke would not cast such aspersions upon the Executive Council, the duly elected officers of this Federation. I rise merely to resent that statement, feeling that this Council, in this most delicate issue, has to the best of its ability conserved the interests of the American labor movement.

It must be recognized that our movement has not been organized for the purpose of adjusting religious controversies. We have been organized to deal with industrial problems and to advance the economic interests of the wage earners of our country, and, so far as we might within our ability, to advance the economic interests of the wage earners of other lands.

Your committee recommends that an investigation be had, that all of the facts be known, and that thereupon judgments be formed, and I trust that this delegation, in the name of decency, in the name of honor, in the name of orderly trades unionism within our ranks, will not permit a pernicious issue to divide us on any ground whatever, but that we shall go forward as heretofore, brother to brother, without distinction of race or creed or color. Whether we believe in any religious doctrine or not, we are here as trades unionists, and as such let us get the facts, and having the facts we are then in a position to judge without casting aspersions upon any man.

I chance to be of the same faith as the brother who spoke last, and I am just as keen in that faith as he, and I hold dear this trade union movement, to prevent our organization being split asunder in the highways and byways of our trades union cause and the opposition taking advantage of that situation, with all the forces arrayed against us to depress, if not repress us, and I urge that no further discussion be had. It is the freedom of the convention to discuss, but let us resolve that if there is an investigation to be had, we shall proceed as honorable and righteous men in the conduct of that investigation and give the truth to the labor movement and to the world as we, trade unionists find it.

Treasurer Tobin: Mr. Chairman, I

did not intend to say anything on this question, but as a member of the Executive Council I cannot sit silently by and listen to the statement made by Delegate Fitzpatrick. He said in his closing remarks, "until the American Federation of Labor clears its skirts of the slime and deception practiced upon it in the Mexican situation," and so on. Mr. Chairman, I am not going to sit silently and listen to a statement of that character made without resisting it, when I know it to be an absolute falsehood and has some ulterior purpose. As one member of this Council today I want to say that there is no slime nor deception practiced and consented to by the Executive Council in the discussion and consideration of this rather delicate question. I don't know whether Delegate Fitzpatrick has ever been in Mexico or not—

Delegate Fitzpatrick (interposing): I have, sir.

Treasurer Tobin: But I have been there and the conditions I found there were not at all creditable from many aspects. In view of the fact that there is, by the report of this committee, a commission to be appointed to consider it, I am not going any further into that part of the question.

About a month ago the Executive Council was in Plattsburg looking over the training camp there, and while there we were invited by the fighting Father Duffy to attend a meeting in one of the large halls in that part of the country, and in introducing President Green he made this statement to a large audience: "Before I say any more, I want to make this statement, that I have gone into the entire question of the position and declaration of the Executive Council on the Mexican situation and I am thoroughly satisfied that the Executive Council of the Federation has done everything that it could have done under the circumstances."

No one who knows Father Duffy, no one of any denomination who knows his record in France can question the sincerity and the honesty of any statement that he makes. Still we have a delegate standing on the floor, a trade unionist, and telling us that until the American Federation of Labor clears its skirts of the slime and deception practiced on it, that so-and-so, the world is going to come to an end.

Attempts have been made on more than one occasion, Mr. Chairman, to deceive us by practical, but sometimes selfish trades unionists, and we haven't very often been deceived on the Executive Council. Two or three years ago we were confronted with another question of a similar nature in the conventions of the Federation, tainted with religious prejudice. Those of us who come from Indiana or the middle western states know that our organizations of labor were permeated by a certain class, a few who were endeavoring to inject religion and the religious question into our great labor movement, and without getting excited, without making charges and counter charges against the inactivity of the Executive Council, we carefully worked around the situation until we brought about what we considered the best results for the American Federation of Labor.

Every so often, when everything else fails, the old doctrine of destroying confidence in one another by injecting the religious question into our movement is brought in, but in every instance it has failed, and in this instance it will fail because this American Federation of Labor is not going to allow the discontent, the religious discontent existing in Mexico or in any other country to help to set us asunder here in this great American labor movement.

I, too, profess the same faith of Delegate Fitzpatrick, and I am going to say this—and I will take no second place to that delegate or any other delegate in endeavoring to live to that belief of that denomination, but with all the power that is in me I am going to fight and continue to fight to help preserve this movement that has done so much for us by keeping out this religious question, whether it comes from Mexico or from Italy or from St. Louis or from Texas, or from any other place.

We have no right, as an Executive Council, to tell the people of Mexico what they are going to do on their religious situation. We have openly declared, not today nor yesterday, but since the very beginning of this labor movement, that we stand for freedom of religion and freedom of the press. It has never been questioned within this great labor movement of ours. We have so said to the people of Mexico. We have some

documents sent by the Executive Council to those in Mexico in the labor movement which perhaps cannot be made known at this time to this Federation, it would not be policy to do so, but there isn't a thing that could be done that hasn't been done to try to bring about a better understanding, to try to obtain freedom of religion and freedom of the press in Mexico, as it has been done in every instance wherever the question arises in any country of the world.

But that is as far as we can go at the present time. We are not sitting idly by waiting for some delegate to come in here and tell us what we ought to do. We are all practical men in the labor movement, we have handled many of its very serious problems. Every one of us who are serving on the Council have had years of experience, we are doing the best we can, and when men who are high in the church have said openly and in print, "you have done all that you could, you have done as much as you could," I, as one member of the Executive Council am satisfied that we have done our duty. We are going to continue to do that and we are not going to be deceived or have perpetrated on us anything of a slimy nature coming from any source, whether it is within the movement or without the movement.

I hope and trust, Mr. Chairman, that the report of the committee will be accepted. There is much good that we can do other than by threats and denunciations. We have done a great deal for Mexico from a political standpoint, we are still working on it, and we are quite hopeful that we can help the situation, but we can't do it by heaping unnecessary abuse on both the Executive Council and the working people of Mexico or the government of Mexico at this time. I am fully in accord with the report of the committee, and I want no delegate to leave this convention, no matter to what denomination he belongs, with the idea that this Executive Council is not doing everything it can possibly do under the circumstances.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: Mr. President and fellow delegates, I was one of several hundred delegates at the El Paso convention who accepted the invitation of what Brother Fitzpatrick calls the "C. R. O. M.," or the Mexican Federation of Labor, to visit Mexico City and witness the installation of the present president of

Mexico. That gave me an opportunity to learn a little, a very little, about Mexico. What I learned there satisfied me that at the present time the thing for this Federation to do is to keep its hands off, so far as Mexico is concerned.

I have a right to get up here as the former speaker just got up. He got up as a member of the Executive Council; I get up here simply as a delegate to resent the closing utterances of Delegate Fitzpatrick. In my opinion, the position taken by the committee in this matter is the correct position. Let them investigate then come back and report.

I am not going to inflict upon you my views regarding the Mexican situation, except to say this: that any trade unionist who was in Mexico and had an opportunity to see the people of Mexico and mingle with some of the Mexican people who are interested in the labor question, must come to this conclusion, that despite the fact that they have a different language from those on the north side of the border, in spite of the fact that the labor movement there is only a few years old, that the men who are behind that are sincere.

Read their constitution if you want proof. It may be that their constitution is not being lived up to, but any constitution written in the language of the Mexican constitution is such that any labor man who reads it and has any sympathy in his heart for struggling people anywhere can do nothing else except hold out the right hand of fellowship to these people, to say God speed you, and to say that in this tremendous country, with all the maligned influences that are operating in this country to promote intervention in Mexico, we cannot help but come to the conclusion that the thing to do is for us to keep our hands off and keep out of Mexico, and let the Mexicans work out their own salvation.

President Green: The chair is not going to enter into a discussion of this subject, but I want to make just this observation for the benefit of the record. The Executive Council has at no time been deceived, in fact, it has been very wide awake to the situation referred to in the committee's report, and if my good friend Delegate Fitzpatrick only knew how wide awake the Council has been, how thoroughly alive it has been, and how judiciously it has handled a

most delicate and difficult question, he would not have made the statement that he made today.

I have in my correspondence letters which would convince any person, I care not who he is, whether governed by judgment or feeling, that the Executive Council was thoroughly alive to the situation, and in accordance with the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor had done everything it could to protect our interests.

I feel that Delegate Fitzpatrick has been decidedly unfair, that he made a statement reflecting on us that was not justifiable, and I am charitable enough to believe that he made it because he was not in possession of the facts. That is all the chair wishes to say upon this question.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Participation of the United States in the League of Nations, World Court or International Labor Office

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, That part of the treaty of Versailles which establishes the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, and provide for an International Court to construe and give effect to the statutes adopted; and

WHEREAS, The main promise so far as labor is concerned is that the conditions of Labor shall be humane and just without giving and definition of what is meant by the phrase humane; and

WHEREAS, The statutes of the Court provide that the Court shall give advisory opinions to the officials of the League and of the Labor Office; and

WHEREAS, Chattel slavery exists within the membership of the League and the member nations have not so far been stopped from continuing this traffic in human beings; and

WHEREAS, There is no prospect of the member nations coming to any agreement upon some action that will definitely prevent the continuation of chattel slavery; and

WHEREAS, The actions of the International Labor Office stamps is as hostile not only to the abolition of contracts to labor contracts enforceable by imprisonment but definitely hostile to even any discussion on the subject; therefore, it is.

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we are definitely opposed to the United States in any way participating in either the League, the Court or the Labor Office; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we respectfully suggest to the labor movement of civilized nations to take similar action with reference to their countries.

This resolution, unlike the resolution submitted to the last convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City, N. J., calls for opposition, not alone to the World Court, but also expresses opposition to the League of Nations and to the Labor Office at Geneva. In addition it would have the American Federation of Labor call on the labor movements of all civilized nations to take similar action.

A year ago the resolution herein referred to called for opposition to the entry of the United States into the World Court at a time the proposal was pending for consideration and action in the United States Senate. That resolution and the subject contained therein were referred to the Executive Council for study and such action as it deemed best.

Soon thereafter and before this study was completed the United States Senate approved entry into the World Court with certain reservations. At present it would seem that these reservations have not proven wholly acceptable to all other nations.

There is now considerable doubt regarding the possible entry of the United States into the World Court. Neither is there at present, nor is it likely that there will come again before the Senate of the United States, at least for some time to come, the question of the United States entering the League of Nations and the Labor Office. Consequently, there is now no proposal before the United States Senate on this or any of the other issues embraced in this resolution. There is therefore no need for any action at this time other than to refer this resolution and subject to the Executive

Council for further consideration, and such action as future circumstances and events may warrant.

We cannot agree with the last resolve of the resolution, which proposes that the American Federation of Labor shall undertake to advise the labor movement of other nations in respect to the League of Nations and its divisions, the Permanent Court of International Justice, popularly called the "World Court," and the International Labor Office. It is inconceivable that the American Federation of Labor should constantly assert and reassert the principles of complete national autonomy in directing the policies, actions, relationships and activities of our labor movement and of our government and then immediately repudiate these principles in condemning the policies, actions and relationships of other governments and call upon the labor movements of other countries to oppose their respective governments, unless, of course, such policies, actions and relationships affect our own labor movement and the government of the United States.

We must not forget that the Seamen, on whose behalf Resolution No. 30 is introduced, have suffered bitterly in the past from the misuse of the treaty-making powers of our government under which regulations having the force of federal statute law, and an even greater force than state law, have been and may be enacted by the executive upon approval of the Senate without the consent of Congress as a whole.

Treaties are agreements or contracts between governments.

The constitutional status of treaties in relation to our federal and state laws is set forth in Article VI of the Constitution of the United States, as follows:

"2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby,

anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

For these and other valid considerations and in order that the American Federation of Labor may prove helpful at any and all times to secure the peace of the nations of the world and be free to follow these methods procedures and understandings as will best tend toward the attainment of that end, your committee recommends the reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for the purposes herein indicated.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Woll: This concludes the report of the Committee on International Relations, which is signed:

GEORGE W. PERKINS, Chairman,
JAMES DUNCAN,
MAX S. HAYES,
JAMES WILSON,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
JOHN P. FREY,
B. A. LARGE,
D. J. TOBIN,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
JOHN H. WALKER,
C. L. BAINE,
W. D. MAHON,
MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary.
J. A. FRANKLIN,
J. J. HYNES,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
SARA CONBOY,
TIMOTHY HEALY,
E. J. MCGIVERN,
ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK
EDWARD J. GAINOR,
ALBERT ADAMSKI,
EDWARD J. EVANS,
WILLIAM GREEN,
Committee on International Relations.

The report was adopted as a whole and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 88.—By Resolution Committee.

WHEREAS, A number of our broth-

ers, fellow workers with us in the great humanitarian cause of labor have passed away during the last year; and

WHEREAS, Their service and devotion has been an inspiration and an example to us which we cannot forget and which lives on and will live on in the hearts of those who worked with them and in the work they have accomplished; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates and officers of the American Federation of Labor, do honor to the memory of those who have passed away and that we express our gratitude and appreciation of the service they have rendered and our continuing sense of the immortal quality of their tribute to the cause in which we are all so deeply interested; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in a more special way because of the more special service he rendered we again express the affection and the deep regard in which we hold the memory of our pioneer President, Samuel Gompers, and renew our allegiance to the principles of voluntarism which he commended to us in his farewell convention message.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 89.—By Resolution Committee.

WHEREAS, The delegates and officers of the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor have enjoyed the most cordial hospitality offered by the members of the Michigan State Federation of Labor and the Detroit Federation of Labor and we appreciate the untiring service with which they have looked after the needs of our convention and our entertainment and comfort; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we extend both on behalf of our wives and ourselves, our thanks and appreciation to Mr.

Wm. B. Fitzgerald, First Vice-President, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, and to Mr. Frank X. Martel, President, Detroit Federation of Labor, and Hon. John Smith, Mayor of the City of Detroit, and Mr. Frank Wade, President, Michigan State Federation of Labor, and Mrs. Margaret Gilbertson, Garment Workers' Local 74; Ann Levin, Sue Labba, Hazel Kopacz, Stenographers, Bookkeepers, Typists and Office Assistants Local 16812, Mrs. James Fernie, Mrs. Garity and her sister.

AUTOMOBILE TOUR

Mr. Joseph Basso, Electrical Workers' No. 58.
Mr. Arthur Durlin, Pattern Makers' Union.
Mr. James Daar, Metal Polishers' Union.
Mr. Wm. Callagin, Electrotypers' Union.

THEATER PARTY

Mr. Peter Troussel, Stereotypers' Union.
Mr. P. V. McNamara, Steam Fitters' Union.
Mr. Frederick G. Palliaer, Bricklayers' Union.
Mr. John T. Taylor, Pressmen's Union.

DANCE

Mr. Malcolm Harris, Electrical Workers' Union No. 58.
Mr. Evan Pascoff, Barbers' Union.
Mrs. Serraine Berreiter, Waitresses' Union.
Miss Tillie Renkie, Garment Workers' Union.

SMOKER

Mr. John A. McDonald, Motion Picture Operators.
Mr. Jos. Finnegan, Stage Employees' Union.
Mr. Gilbert Light, Motion Picture Operators.
Mr. Milo Salisbury, Barbers' Union.
Mr. Frank Caccia, Electrical Workers' Union No. 58.
Mr. D. F. Erskine, Motion Picture Operators.

BANQUET

Mr. Wm. Whitman, Garment Workers' Union.

Mr. Dennis E. Batt, Editor, Labor News.
Mr. Fred Ballbach, Treasurer, Labor Convention Committee.
Mr. Wm. B. Mahon, Grand Chairman, Labor Convention Committee.
Mr. Fred H. Fljodzal, Vice Grand Chairman, Labor Convention Committee.
Mr. Neil McClellan, Street Car Men's Union.
Mr. Robert G. Ewald, Bricklayers' Union.
Mr. P. J. O'Donnell, Pressmen's Union.
Mr. James Fernie, Electrical Workers' No. 514.
Mr. Wm. Frost, Electrical Workers' No. 17.
Mr. Thomas Ross, Plasterers' Union.
Mr. Fred Prudhonne, Molders' Union No. 31.
Mr. John F. Simmons, Typographical Union.
Mr. Geo. O. Schaab, Red Star Motor Drivers' Union.
Mr. Arthur Durlin, Pattern Makers' Union.
Mr. James Sharrock, Carpenters' District Council.
Mr. Louis Koenig, Waiters' Union.

And to Dr. James Myers for his special service and to all others having contributed so helpfully in the arranging for the holding of this convention and its splendid success.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

JAMES DUNCAN,
Chairman.
MATTHEW WOLL
Secretary.

G. W. PERKINS,
B. A. LARGER,
A. A. MYRUP,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
JOHN L. LEWIS,
THOMAS L. HUGHES,
DAVE EVANS,
P. J. MORIN,
JOHN COEFIELD,
J. M. LYNCH,
JOSEPH N. WEBER,
P. J. SHEA,
HUBERT S. MARSHALL,
Committee on Resolutions.

The report was adopted as a whole and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Delegate Clark, President, Flint Glass Workers, was called to the chair. Nominations for president were called for.

Delegate Lewis, President, United Mine Workers: I esteem it to be the most profound honor and a great distinction, indeed, to be privileged, on behalf of the delegates of the organization I have the honor to represent, to present to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor a candidate for election as the President of our great movement. I shall not undertake to make any particular reference to his many capabilities and his fine, outstanding traits of character, because during the period of time he has been serving as the president of the American Federation of Labor practically all of you, and I am sure the great mass of the rank and file, have had opportunity to decide for themselves and to judge of his qualifications.

There is no doubt that the man we selected to take up the mantle of leadership when it fell from the shoulders of the stricken Gompers has justified the confidence of all the members of our great movement, and has endeared himself in every way to the rank and file of our organization, and there is now every logical reason, I believe, for the convention of the American Federation of Labor to commend and to perpetuate that high degree of leadership exemplified in this distinguished President in his activities day by day in the past two years, and so I take the greatest pleasure, and I esteem it to be the greatest honor which can come to the organization I represent to present for election to the presidency of the American Federation of Labor in the name of that great American and great trade unionist, William Green. (The delegates rose and applauded.)

Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers, moved that nominations close and that the secretary be instructed to cast

the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green for President for the ensuing year. The motion was adopted, the instructions were complied with, and the chairman declared William Green duly elected President for the ensuing year.

President Green: I cannot forego the pleasure of briefly expressing to you my appreciation of your confidence and support. Your action just now has touched me very deeply. I came to this convention for the purpose of reporting to you my stewardship for the past year, and to receive from you such a manifestation of approval of the feeble efforts I have endeavored to put forth in behalf of our great movement is to me the greatest compensation I can receive for the work I have done.

I want to express my appreciation for the great tribute which my distinguished friend and fellow-worker, President Lewis, paid me. It is, perhaps, more than I deserve. I happen to be a member of the same organization which he is so ably leading. I learned my trade unionism as a member of the United Mine Workers of America, and as I look back over the years I could not if I would, exchange the experience and the training I learned while living and working with the United Mine Workers. The noble men who make up that organization, those whose courage knows no bounds, those whose devotion to the principles of trade unionism knows no limitation—to be associated and to live with them and to work with them and to serve them is an experience of which any man can well be proud.

By your action this afternoon you have again commissioned me to serve you as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year. Our late lamented President, Samuel Gompers, was at one time told by an admiring friend that he wished he might be president of the United States, and the great Gompers, with characteristic quickness and alertness, said: "Sir,

I am President of the American Federation of Labor, and to me that is a greater honor than it is to be president of the United State." It is truly an honor and a responsibility to lead the hosts of labor to endeavor to translate their hopes and aspirations into action, to meet difficult problems with a courage and a spirit characteristic of a trade unionist.

Who can conceive of a greater honor than this conferred upon an humble working man? I said to you in Atlantic City one year ago when you called me to service: "Here I am, my body, my life, my service, all I have is at your command." I pledged it to you last year, and I can say with a feeling of truthfulness and conscience that I have given it to you honestly and unreservedly, and during the coming year, come what may, I pray that a Divine Providence may strengthen my arm, brighten my brain, give me courage and strength, and as He gives it to me, I will give it to you. I thank you for the signal honor you have conferred upon me.

President Green in the chair.

James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters, was placed in nomination for First Vice-President by Delegate John P. Frey, of the Molders' Union. In nominating Vice-President Duncan, Delegate Frey said: Mr. Chairman, it has been my privilege for a number of years at this time of the convention's proceedings to place in nomination a candidate. I have that pleasure this year. I realize that the convention does not desire to have its time occupied by a description of all of the sterling qualities this candidate possesses. He has been with us for many years; we have seen him in action; we have been influenced by his advice, and we have been inspired by his character, his integrity and his loyalty to our movement.

At times when men were forced to take positions and stand for prin-

ciples, we have seen him always indicating the courage of a lion. When matters that affected sentiment reached him we found that he had the tender heart of a woman, that everything which touched sentiment found a most ready response, not only in his heart but in his mind.

We are fortunate that we still have with us some of that veteran company of trade union leaders who laid down the foundation of this organization. Too often we are forced to go to other places than a convention hall to come in contact with those who played a man's part in a man's movement. I think it is a special privilege, when we call the roll of the veterans of the American Federation of Labor, to have one with us when his name is called can say "Here," a veteran still with us whom we can honor as he deserves to be honored. His hair has turned silvery white during the long years which he gave all that he possessed so that our movement might function as a trade union movement and accomplish all of its objects. We honor him. He is entitled to all the honor we can possibly confer upon him, and I want to nominate the veteran of our movement who still can answer "Here"—James Duncan of the Granite Workers' Union.

Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, seconded the nomination.

No further nominations were offered, and upon motion of Delegate Clarke the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for James Duncan. The instructions were complied with and James Duncan was declared unanimously elected as First Vice-President for the ensuing year.

Frank Duffy, General Secretary of the Carpenters and Joiners, was placed in nomination for Second Vice-President by Delegate John T. Cosgrove, of

the same organization. In making the nomination Delegate Cosgrove said: I am positive that it is the intention of this convention to select as officers only men with the best thoughts and minds we have in the labor movement, and therefore I will only consume sufficient time to nominate and present for the consideration of the delegates one who has been a delegate to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for twenty-five consecutive years, and who has served the organization he is privileged to be a member of in the capacity of a general officer for that same period. I therefore desire to present to this convention for the office of Second Vice-President the General Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Frank Duffy.

No other nominations were offered, and upon motion of Delegate Koveleski the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy. The instructions were complied with and Frank Duffy was declared Second Vice-President.

T. A. Rickert, General President of the United Garment Workers of America, was nominated for Third Vice-President by John J. Manning, a member of the same organization, who said: I rise at this time, Mr. Chairman, to do as I have done in many previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor. I rise to place in nomination a man of whom I predicted when I first offered his name, that as our movement grew and developed, none would grow more rapidly nor be a more staunch advocate of our organization than the gentleman I am going to name. In the name of the United Garment Workers of America, I present the name of T. A. Rickert for Third Vice-President.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Vice-President Woll the secretary was instructed to

cast the unanimous vote of the convention for T. A. Rickert. The instructions were complied with and T. A. Rickert was declared Third Vice-President.

Jacob Fischer, General Secretary of the Barbers' International Union was nominated by Delegate Shanessy, of the same organization. In placing Vice-President Fischer in nomination Delegate Shanessy said: I rise at this time to place in nomination a candidate for the all-important office of Fourth Vice-President who has been a delegate to these conventions for more than thirty years and who has been International Secretary of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union for the past twenty-five years, Jacob Fischer.

No other candidates were nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Baker the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Jacob Fischer. The instructions were complied with and Jacob Fischer was declared Fourth Vice-President.

Matthew Woll, President of the International Photo Engravers' Union, was placed in nomination by Delegate McCullough of the International Typographical Union, who said: For my last speech in this convention I have the most pleasant one. A number of years ago it was my privilege to present to the American Federation of Labor the name of one of the young labor leaders of the United States. I made at that time certain definite promises in presenting his name. I am proud to stand here today and say that those promises have all been redeemed, and more than redeemed. I doubt if there is a delegate, or a labor leader, or a man connected with the movement in the United States who has not followed the course of this young man with interest and approval. The people of the United States are coming to be acquainted with his excellent qualities, and I pre-

dict for him greater achievements to come with the years that lie before him. He has not yet attained the full fruition of his powers, but he is growing just as I promised he would grow and is greater and stronger and cleaner before the convention and the public every day of his life. Mr. President, I desire to place in nomination again for the office of Fifth Vice-President, Mr. Matthew Woll.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Nagley, International Ladies' Garment Workers, the secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll for Fifth Vice-President. The instruction was complied with and Vice-President Woll was declared re-elected.

Martin F. Ryan, General President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, was nominated for Sixth Vice-President by Delegate Manion of the Railroad Telegraphers, who said: I desire to place in nomination a man I have worked with for many years while he was wrestling with some of the big problems of labor. I will not take much of your time, because your time is short, but I want to place before you the name of a sterling trade unionist, Martin F. Ryan of the Railway Carmen of America.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Hyland, of the same organization, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Martin F. Ryan. The instructions were complied with and Martin F. Ryan was declared Sixth Vice-President.

James Wilson, President of the Pattern Makers' League of North America, was nominated for Seventh Vice-President by Delegate O'Connell, President of the Metal Trades Department, who said: I have the pleasure of presenting to you for your nomination the name of a man whose ability is so far beyond doubt that I have no hesitancy of placing his name

before you. He is, I believe, the youngest member on the Executive Council, yet I believe also he is one of the brainiest men that make up our Executive Council, that sterling trade unionist, Mr. James Wilson.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Tighe, of the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the Secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Wilson for Seventh Vice-President. The instruction was complied with and Vice-President Wilson was declared duly elected.

James P. Noonan, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was placed in nomination for Eighth Vice-President by Delegate Joyce of the same organization.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Rose Sullivan of the Electrical Workers.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Paulsen, Electrical Workers, the secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James P. Noonan for Eighth Vice-President. The instruction was complied with and Vice-President Noonan was declared duly elected.

Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, was nominated for Treasurer by Delegate Hughes of the same organization.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Mahon, Street and Electric Railway Employees, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Daniel J. Tobin for Treasurer. The instruction was complied with, and Treasurer Tobin was declared duly elected.

Frank Morrison, International Typographical Union, was placed in nomination for Secretary by Delegate Taylor, Printing Pressmen, who said: On behalf of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America

I desire to present a man who has served this Federation most faithfully and loyally, Mr. Frank Morrison.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Connors, Switchmen, the President was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary. The President cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Secretary Morrison, who was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green announced that, following the usual custom, two fraternal delegates would be elected to the British Trades Union Congress and one delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

John Coefield, General President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, was nominated by John Mangan, of the same organization, who said: It has been well said that brevity is the soul of wit, and as the representative of the chief metropolis of the Mississippi—notwithstanding what my friend Bill Mahon said this morning about what Detroit is and is going to be—I have the honor, on behalf of the Chicago Federation of Labor, to present to this convention the name of the man who possesses the necessary diplomatic qualifications to fill the position, and, so far as his physical ability is concerned, I think that he is even willing to swim the English channel. I take pleasure in nominating Brother John Coefield of the Plumbers and Steamfitters.

No further candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Doyle the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for first delegate to the British Trades and Labor Congress. The instruction was complied with and Delegate Coefield was declared duly elected.

Albert J. Berres, Secretary-Treasurer of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., was nominated for second delegate to the British Trades Union

Congress by Vice-President Wilson, who said: The convention has just elected a worthy representative of the American Federation of Labor as fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, and I arise at this time for the purpose of placing in nomination for second fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress a man who will well represent this great movement of ours to the great movement of labor of Great Britain. Much could be said of his qualifications, but his daily life is a living example of the great work he has performed in behalf of the labor movement of our country, and I take pleasure in presenting for the consideration of the delegates of this convention the name of Albert J. Berres.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Gainer, Letter Carriers, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Albert J. Berres. The instruction was complied with and Delegate Berres was declared duly elected.

Thomas McQuade, International Plate Printers and Die Stammers' Union, was placed in nomination for fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress by Delegate Manning, Secretary of the Union Labor Trades Department.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Morton, Firemen and Oilers.

No further nomination was offered and upon motion of Delegate Regnier, Laundry Workers, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Thomas McQuade. The instruction was complied with and Delegate McQuade was declared duly elected.

Selection of Convention City.

Los Angeles, California, was nominated by Delegate Buzzell, Los Angeles Central Labor Council.

The nomination of Los Angeles was seconded by Delegate Daisy Houck, United Garment Workers.

Birmingham, Alabama, was placed in nomination by Delegate Marquardt, of Atlanta, Georgia Federation of Trades.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Connors, Switchmen.

St. Petersburg, Florida, was placed in nomination by Delegate Atkins, St. Petersburg.

Upon motion of Delegate Doyle, Painters, nominations were closed.

Secretary Morrison proceeded to call the roll on the cities nominated, Los Angeles, Birmingham and St. Petersburg. When the secretary had completed the roll call of the list of affiliated national and international organizations and had begun to call the roll of state federations, Delegate Atkins moved that the roll call be discontinued and that Los Angeles be declared the unanimous choice of the convention. The motion was seconded by Delegate Marquardt and adopted unanimously.

Los Angeles was declared the unanimous choice of the delegates at the city in which to hold the 1927 convention.

The chairman announced that if there were no objections a supplemental report of the Executive Council containing the reports of Fraternal Delegate Connors to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and of Fraternal Delegate Mahon to the Mexican Federation of Labor would appear in the last day's proceedings. No objections were offered, and the reports are included in the proceedings, as follows:

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Conforming to established procedure we herewith lay before you the following report:

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO THE CANADIAN TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS.

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

Detroit, Michigan, October 1st, 1926.

I arrived in Montreal at 7:00 a. m., Monday, September 20th. Went direct to the Mount Royal Hotel where I met

Brother P. M. Draper, Secretary-Treasurer of the Congress, who arranged for hotel accommodations for me.

The Convention was called to order promptly at 9:30 by Brother J. T. Foster, President of the Montreal Trades Council and A. Mathieu, Vice-President of the same body, who acted as Joint-Chairman and translator. Addresses were made by the Honorable Mederic Martin, Mayor of Montreal, who extended the freedom of the City to the Delegates while in that city. Addresses were also made by Louis Guyeur, Deputy Minister of Labor of the Province of Quebec; A. Treppanio, Alderman of the City of Montreal, and A. Verville, Past President of the Trades Congress and member of the Plumbers & Steam Fitter's Union, and others, after which the business of the Convention was turned over to Brother Tom Moore, President of the Congress, who made the opening address in which he took occasion to reply to a vicious editorial appearing in the Montreal Gazette. He made a very eloquent appeal for a constructive and co-operative session and outlined what the policy of the Chair would be during the sessions of the Congress, after which the regular routine business was transacted, committees appointed, etc. In the evening the Delegates attended the Convention Ball held in the Ball Room of the Mount Royal Hotel which was a social affair, everybody seemed to enjoy themselves immensely.

On Tuesday, sessions were held morning and afternoon.

On Wednesday at the morning session, the Fraternal Delegates made their addresses to the Convention. The British Trades Union Congress was represented by Fraternal Delegate, Right Honorable Frederick O. Roberts, J. P., M. P. for West Bromwich and Parliamentary representative of English Typographical Association who gave a very interesting explanation of the labor movement of Great Britain. He very ably explained the condition of the striking miners in that country but did not hold out any hopes of victory for the strikers. He did not seem to be very much impressed with the general strike that took place in that country, supposedly in support of the striking miners. He went into condition in Great Britain and held out hope for a better and brighter day for the laboring classes of that country. Politically, he appeared to be strong for the Labor Party of Great Britain. In the afternoon, the Delegates were taken

on a sight seeing trip around the city, stopping at the new City Hall and other places of interest. This trip was arranged for by the citizens of Montreal, friends of Labor. In the evening the Amalgamated Association of Street Car Men gave a banquet at the Mount Royal Hotel, in honor of their International President, W. D. Mahon, and the Fraternal Delegates, which was a very pleasant affair.

Thursday, they held morning and afternoon sessions. At night a Theatre Party was tendered the Delegates at the Princess where they enjoyed the comedy "Abie's Irish Rose," tendered by the Province of Quebec.

On Friday, upon adjournment of the morning session, the Harbor Commissioners took the officers of the Congress and Fraternal Delegates and some others for a trip on the steamer Sir Hugh Allen, where luncheon was served, arriving back in Montreal in time to resume the afternoon session.

Saturday, the 25th, they held morning and afternoon sessions and then adjourned.

I find that the Labor movement in Canada is progressing, the membership has been gradually increasing. The report of the Delegates to this Convention would indicate that the workers who left the movement for whatever reasons, are again returning to the fold and there were many resolutions presented at this Convention bordering principally upon Legislative matters which have to do with the well being of the toilers of the Dominion of Canada. There were some extremists present but they did not make much impression upon the Delegates. I would imagine that there were 300 Delegates present at this Session. The country appears to be prosperous and the workers seem to be contented and striving to build up their Union.

In all, the movement in Canada is winning and everybody holds out hopes that within the next year, there will be an increase in the membership far beyond the expectations of the most casual observer of the movement and with such able leaders as President Tom Moore and Secretary-Treasurer P. M. Draper guiding the destinies of the workers of that country, there is great possibilities for future successes.

Yours fraternally,
JAS. B. CONNORS,
Fraternal Delegate.

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE FROM THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR TO THE MEXICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

March 16, 1926.

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

I take this means of submitting my report as fraternal delegate, representing the American Federation of Labor, at the Seventh Annual Convention of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana, called by us the Mexican Federation of Labor. The convention was called to order at 4.30 o'clock Monday, March 1st, 1926, in the Theatre Hidalgo in Mexico City. There were 1,525 delegates from all parts of the Republic, representing all industries. About 65 per cent of the delegates were peasants. Fernando Rodarte was elected chairman and president of the convention.

The first action of the convention was to send a telegram to Plutarco Elias Calles, President of Mexico, pledging the undivided support of the C. R. O. M. in his attitude towards the church and endorsing his conduct of administering the government of the Republic of Mexico.

There were over 400 resolutions dealing with different subjects affecting the organizations dealing with cooperation and political questions. There was a resolution passed for the founding of an Institute of Social Science. Another resolution establishing a college for the training of labor leaders. This school is to be maintained by the C. R. O. M. and will be opened on the 1st of May of this year. Students will be registered from all labor unions in the Republic of Mexico according to a percentage of membership. A resolution was passed for the founding of a rehabilitation institute to be supported jointly by the government and the C. R. O. M., which is the Mexican Federation of Labor, to rehabilitate workers who have been disabled in industrial accidents. Another resolution was passed calling on the President of the Republic to curb the activities of military officers in certain parts of the country from assuming a Fascist attitude towards the labor unions. Reports showed that a military officer had assassinated one of the leaders of the organization at Vera Cruz. This resolution provoked a very warm discussion by a number of delegates and was passed by unanimous vote.

A resolution was adopted endorsing the Rochdale cooperative system, also a program of the C. R. O. M., for the construction of houses as well as production and consumption cooperative societies. A resolution was passed calling for the founding of labor and farm loan banks. A resolution was passed endorsing the international policies of President Calles in sending representatives who would represent the workers of Mexico and also their government to foreign countries for the purpose of studying the industrial conditions in these countries and for explaining to the workers of the various countries Mexico's actual conditions.

The last day of the convention was spent in hearing reports from these labor attaches, who had been delegates and had visited the various countries as representatives of labor and of the government. Among these reporting were delegates that had visited Switzerland, Argentine, Germany, Italy, France, Russia and the United States. Eulalio Martinez, the labor attache to Russia, delivered a seething denunciation against the Russian government, stating that they had spies trailing him all the time he was there, had opened his mail and treated him very shamefully. Following this report from the delegate to Russia the following resolution was passed by the Federation:

"Considering the incorrect form in which our delegate, Eulalio Martinez, was treated while in Russia, being subject to indecorous espionage, the C. R. O. M. suspends all activities and classes of relations with the workers' organizations of Russia until it explains satisfactorily its conduct towards our delegate.

"Let there be made a public protest against the manner in which our delegate, Martinez, was treated by the Moscow International.

"That the Executive Council request the diplomatic representatives of Russia in Mexico stop the lending moral and economic, as they have been doing, to the so-called radical groups, enemies of the C. R. O. M. and of the workers."

I rather think that the resolution in Spanish was much more radical than this translation shows. My address as fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor was well received. In addition to my address addresses were made by Paul Scharrenburg, fraternal delegate from the California State Federation of Labor, also by John Horn, fraternal delegate from the Los Angeles Central Labor Union. I was accompanied by Mr. L. D. Bland, Treasurer of our Inter-

national Union, and Mr. William Taber, Secretary of Division 241 of the Street Railway Men's Association of Chicago. We were all well received and each of my colleagues was given seats and honorary cards as delegates to the convention.

On the fifth day of the convention President Calles of the Mexican Republic visited the convention and asked the privilege of the floor. To me it was some sight to see the President of the Republic come to a labor convention and ask the privilege of the floor. In opening his address he stated that he did not come as President of the Republic but as a comrade and fellow worker. His address was without doubt a wonderful presentation of the situation in Mexico and he was cheered to the echo. He reviewed the work of his administration, dealing with the church question, which is now acute, pointing out that his administration had already established 3,000 rural schools throughout the republic. He also pointed out the various economic advancements that had taken place and stated that what was desired by Mexico was the right to work out her own salvation, and that if the workers would organize and stand loyally by their organization and their government they would soon establish a republic where economic liberty and justice would prevail. The cheering that followed the close of President Calles's address was the most wonderful that I have ever experienced in my forty years of work, which has brought me in touch with many conventions and mass meetings of workers. The records of the Federation show that seven years ago the Mexican Federation of Labor had 7,000 members. The records at this convention show that there are 1,500,000 workers enrolled under the banner of the Mexican Federation of Labor and that the work of organization is going on rapidly throughout the republic. The rule of the Federation is that only one officer is salaried, being that of the Secretary of the Mexican Federation, and that officers can serve but one term. The following officers were elected for the next year:

Ricardo Trevino, Secretary General.

J. Marcos Tristan, Secretary of Interior.

Lomberto Elias, Secretary of Agriculture.

Luis Navarro, Secretary of Interior.

Ignacio Viscarro, Secretary-Treasurer.

Luis Morones, President.

Just prior to the close of the convention the five of us, representing the United States, were presented with

golden emblems representing the Federation and the Republic. Luis Morones closed the convention with a ringing speech that brought great applause from the delegates. The convention closed at 8 o'clock Saturday evening, March 6. We were requested to remain over and on Monday, March 8, we met with President Calles and had quite a lengthy conference. We discussed with him the industrial situation as affecting the workers of the two countries, and he assured us of the friendship of his administration towards the American Federation of Labor and the workers of the United States.

President Calles asked me to convey his regards and best wishes to you as President of the American Federation of Labor, and to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and through you and the officers to the membership of the American Federation of Labor. He assured us that he highly appreciated the many kind things the American Federation of Labor had done for him and the Mexican people.

On Tuesday, March 9, we were the guests of Mr. Luis Morones, who is Government Secretary of Commerce, Industry and Labor, as well as the representative of the Mexican Federation of Labor. He entertained us at a dinner, at which a number of the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor were present, and during our entire stay in Mexico City Mr. Morones looked after our welfare and comfort, seeing that we were well cared for and entertained, placing at our disposal an automobile and doing everything possible for our comfort and welfare. From the time we arrived in Mexico City Mr. Roberto Haberman took us in charge, representing the Federation of Mexico, acting as our interpreter, showing us the various sights in the city, attending the convention with us, keeping us informed of the subjects before the convention, and doing everything within his power to make our stay there pleasant, comfortable, also aiding us in gaining information and knowledge of the conditions prevailing in that country, and in any communications you may send to the Mexican Federation of Labor I wish you would thank both Mr. Morones and Mr. Haberman for their kind treatment extended to the representatives of the American Federation of Labor.

Following your instructions I took up

with Mr. Morones the question of appointing the Committee on Immigration, as had been outlined at the Washington Conference. He informed me that he had already appointed a committee and had notified you of the same. I was introduced to two of the gentlemen whom I was advised had been appointed on the Immigration Committee and they informed me they were soon to leave for Washington to take up the work.

Trusting that this rambling report will convey to you and the Executive Council some idea of the situation prevailing in Mexico, and thanking you for the kindness in appointing me as the fraternal delegate, I remain

Fraternally yours,

W. D. MAHON,

Fraternal Delegate.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN, President.

JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-Pres.

FRANK DUFFY, Second Vice-Pres.

T. A. RICKERT, Third Vice-Pres.

JACOB FISCHER, Fourth Vice-Pres.

MATTHEW WOLL, Fifth Vice-Pres.

MARTIN F. RYAN, Sixth Vice-Pres.

JAMES WILSON, Seventh Vice-Pres.

JAMES P. NOONAN, Eighth Vice-Pres.

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Treasurer.

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

President Green: It now appears that we have completed the work of this convention. All matters brought before the convention have been considered and disposed of. All resolutions and the various subjects in the Executive Council's report were referred to the proper committees and acted upon. It is significant that in this convention no point of order was raised upon any delegate or upon any question and no roll call was demanded by the convention except the one just taken upon the convention city.

I regard this convention as one of the most educational and instructive conventions we have ever held. There is no university in the country that could offer a two weeks' course on political and social economy such as has been offered by this convention. I express my appreciation of all the members of committees

for the service they rendered, for the work they performed. I express appreciation to the delegates for their co-operation all during the convention. I express my appreciation to the committee on arrangements and for all who served in making this convention a success. We now go to our homes full of hope and with a vision broadened and enlarged for future usefulness and service. I wish

you a safe return to your homes, I wish that we may make substantial progress during the coming year, and now I have the privilege of declaring the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned *sine die*.

At 6:30 o'clock p. m., Thursday, October 14, 1926, the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned *sine die*.

Frank Morrison

Secretary,
American Federation of Labor.

JOHN F. SIMMONS,
Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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